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*The Medieval Cult of
Saint Dominic of Silos*

ANTHONY LAPPIN

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THE MEDIEVAL CULT OF
SAINT DOMINIC OF SILOS

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by
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To my parents

CONTENTS

	FIGURES AND TABLES	viii
	PREFACE	ix
	ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
	PART ONE: <i>Beatus Dominicus.</i> A Study of the <i>Vita Dominici Exiliensis</i>	
1	<i>Vita Dominici</i> : The Evolution of the Text	3
2	<i>Dominico Abbas</i> : Dominic in Hagiography and History	31
3	<i>Sanctus Dominicus</i> : The Cult of the Saint	85
4	<i>Quare me de propria domo eicis?</i> : Exorcisms	131
5	<i>Ille Promptissimus Deliberator</i> : Escapes	171
6	<i>Vir Venerabilis</i> : Visions of Dominic	197
	APPENDIX	
	<i>Intronizatur hodie Dominicus</i> : The Office of Saint Dominic	213
	PART TWO: <i>Santo Domingo.</i> The Cult of Dominic in the Thirteenth Century and Beyond	
7	<i>El Sancto Confessor</i> : Gonzalo de Berceo's Dominic	221
8	<i>Santo Domingo que saco los captivos</i> : The Dominic of the <i>Miráculos Romançados</i>	275
9	<i>E dexó aquí sus fierros</i> : The Recording of the Miracles	329
10	<i>De Sancto Dominico de Silis</i> : The Cult of Dominic outside Silos	391
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	413
	INDEX	431

FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

1	Stemma of the <i>Vita Dominici</i>	24
2	Geographical distribution of supplicants, <i>Vita Dominici</i> , II.1–15	97
3	Geographical distribution of supplicants, <i>Vita Dominici</i> , II.1–60	98
4	Geographical distribution of supplicants, <i>Vita Dominici</i> , III.1–48	98
5	Churches dedicated to Dominic	100
6	Central area of figure 5	101
7	Eastern area of figure 5	102
8	Origin of Energumens	149
9	Central Area of Figure 8, origins close to Silos	150
10	Stemma of the <i>Vida de Santo Domingo</i>	226
11	<i>Lactis</i> and <i>lapis</i> in Visigothic script	268
12	<i>Fortis orta</i> vs <i>Fontis oria</i>	268

TABLES

1	Misreadings of <i>S</i> and <i>R</i>	6
2	Continuations of <i>Vita Dominici</i> , II–III	14
3	Distribution and Frequency of Cures in the <i>Vita Dominici</i>	110
4	Types of nocturnal non-figurative visions	296
5	Attendance of captives at the shrine	309
6	Details of the early circumstances of capture	332
7	Status and price of captives, place of sale and redemption	342
8	The importance of the captives' <i>fierros</i>	366
9	Chronology of <i>miráculos</i> 1–18	374
10	Chronology of <i>miráculos</i> 19–32	375
11	Comparison between Rodrigo de Cerrato's <i>Abbreuiatio</i> and the <i>Vita Dominici Exiliensis</i>	400

PREFACE

The medieval cult of Dominic of Silos provides a remarkable accumulation of hagiographic materials from the late eleventh century onwards. These sources — monastic, clerical, popular and mendicant by turns — are supported by the artistic production of the monastery and beyond in forming our impression of the nature and extent of the veneration accorded to the saint. In this book, I propose to analyse the various phases and transformations of the cult, whereby the figure of a reforming abbot became revered as a liberator of captives and a symbol of the nascent nation of Castile. The *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, the first hagiography to have been composed to honour Dominic's cult, was described by Derek Lomax as

una fuente narrativa escrita en la Castilla de Alfonso VI muchísimo más larga que todas las demás, que sí merece más atención por parte de los historiadores de lo que ha recibido hasta ahora.¹

a narrative source written in Alfonso VI's Castile very much longer than all the rest, that indeed deserves more attention from historians than it has received until now.

Given the varied perspectives involved in the creation of the rest of the hagiographic material associated with Dominic, it would be fair to repeat Lomax's assertion for Dominic's cult throughout the Middle Ages and to claim that devotion to the saint as expressed in written records and images makes the cult an important feature of medieval Spain; its study can only help our understanding of that particular society, especially during the key historical period of the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century. This is the first time that a study has been written on the Spanish saint's cult that takes in the whole of the Middle Ages. In so doing, I hope to have been able to glimpse some of the rhythms of its development that would be invisible were only one of the works the centre of attention. I also hope that the present imperfect offering will encourage others to approach the hagiography of the peninsula with new eyes, that the study of medieval Spanish saints' cults might shake off the unfortunate mantle of Francoist piety which it has inherited. The saints' lives of medieval Spain and Portugal are understudied, and, if approached with the right tools, rich in interest and importance for scholars.

Although never an international centre of pilgrimage such as Santiago de Compostela, or the recipient of massive royal patronage as was Guadalupe in

the fourteenth century, the extent and variety of sources available from Silos provide a rich fund of information regarding the attitudes of the different orders of Castillian society to the saint's cult and, furthermore, an idea of how hagiography interacts with the *saeculum*. As with many saints' cults, that of Dominic saw a slow growth in popularity in its initial stages to become, though the number and type of miracles, celebrated throughout Castile; even the ceasing of miracles at the saint's tomb does not seem to have unduly harmed the saint's reputation during the twelfth and early thirteenth century, since his miraculous activity had become linked to the sponsorship of escapes — and for these miracles, it was not necessary to have a functioning thaumaturgic shrine. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, there was an explosion of miraculous liberations; this period was the high point of the shrine.

The book is divided into two roughly equal parts. Part One considers the Latin account of the saint's life and cult. Part Two is primarily dedicated to the vernacular record: Gonzalo de Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* and the *Miráculos Romançados*, as well as works produced during or after the thirteenth century, be they in Latin or vernacular.

The first six chapters are dedicated to the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*. The first chapter discusses the genesis, transmission and internal chronology of the work; analysis of the contents of the work forms the basis of the following five chapters. The second chapter considers the coherence and historicity of Dominic's biographical details and thaumaturgic credentials as they are presented in Book I of the *Vita*. The following chapters interrogate the record of posthumous miracles in Books II and III of the *Vita* with respect to the function of the miraculous within the cult, the types of miracles and pilgrims present, and the attitudes and psychology of the latter; an attempt to explain the frequency of exorcisms; a consideration of escape miracles; and a discussion of the numerous visions associated with miracles, a feature which, in the quantity and detail of the accounts, distinguishes Dominic cult from others and enables a picture of his devotees' conception of the saint to be drawn. Part One is completed by a short appendix, in which I date the office written for the saint's feast and identify it as the monks' own view of the saint, as distinct from the popular view that we may grasp in the miracle accounts.

Gonzalo de Berceo's verse translation of part of the *Vita Dominici* has kept, more than anything else, the memory of the cult alive and has been by far the most studied of the texts considered here. Indeed, the original impulse behind the writing of the present book was a desire to place Berceo's poem in the wider context of devotion to Dominic, although, as the book has grown, it has become much more than that; its emphasis now falls upon the development of the cult as a whole rather than giving especial importance to any of its singular elements. It would therefore be a pity if, in this copy, only Chapter Seven should have its pages metaphorically cut, or that, if it lies dusty on a university

library's shelves, then only that chapter's pages should have been embellished by the underlinings of students' blue biros. But, on the other hand, thoughtful vandalism may be better than unbroken abandonment. In considering Berceo's poem, I have attempted to place his variations and additions to his source within the intellectual and political context of early thirteenth-century Spain; through this focus, a clearer picture emerges of Berceo's motivations in altering the narration and his purpose in writing. I conclude by suggesting a new date and context for the poem's composition.

The *Miráculos romançados* represent the cult of Dominic at its zenith and are a rare example of non-Alfonsine prose from the second half of the thirteenth century. The collection has attracted limited critical attention. Its cause has not been helped by the absence of a readable modern edition. The reproduction in the vernacular of testimony given by beneficiaries of Dominic's miraculous intervention allows an authentically popular strand in the cult of the saint to appear. The occasional preservation of different narrations of the same escape allows for a comparative approach to the question of the nature and veracity of the accounts, considerations which have been absent from previous studies. After the excavation of the imaginative hinterland of the late thirteenth-century frontier of Chapter Eight, the following chapter focuses upon the manner in which the text was constructed: from the nuts-and-bolts of how each story was put together into a sequential narration to the more technical question of how the collection itself was arranged and written into a codex. The answer provides an insight into why it was done.

Dominic's *Vita* was twice abbreviated in the Middle Ages: first, probably in the 1270s by the Dominican, Rodrigo de Cerrato, as part of his collection of abbreviated saints' lives; and second, by an unidentified compiler, probably from the Riojan monastery of San Millán, as part of a small compilation of saints's lives for liturgical reading, which I term the *Abbreviatio Aemilianensis*. These abbreviations are considered in the final chapter, together with a poem from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* which features Dominic's shrine at Silos: I discuss this *miragre* in the light of Alfonso's vacillating devotion. By the late fifteenth century, Dominic's cult would seem to have been all but forgotten: his patronage of Castile was covered with the dust of oblivion, and the monastery was quietly sinking into the profitable business of prayer and the collecting of revenues from its flocks, without the monastic round being disturbed by excessive forms of thaumaturgy. Against this background, it is all the more surprising that the parish of Santo Domingo of Daroca in Aragón should have commissioned an altarpiece from Bartolomé Bermejo, the finest of Spanish primitives, allowing the medieval cult of Dominic of Silos to close with an artistic masterpiece. I hope I have been able to show how study of this form of religious or hagiographical art may benefit from being placed within the cult that gave it birth.

Since this study is divided between Latin and vernacular, I have had to make the following choices regarding the reproduction of names, which I realise

may not be to everyone's taste. For geographical terms, I have used the modern form of the word, thus Ribarredonda not Ripa Rotunda, Peñalba not Pennas Albas, so that, should one wish to find them on a map, the task is not made more difficult than necessary. Similarly, important historical figures are given by the names by which they are most familiar, thus Alfonso and Fernando, not Alifonsus and Fredilandus, or Rodrigo Díaz, not Rodric Didaz; but unknown or less-well-known individuals are given the form of name which appears in the text: Salvator not Salvador, Iohannes not Juan, Simeno not Jimeno, Garsia Munionis not García Muñoz. Due to the scarcity of the editions of the *Vita Dominici* and the *Miráculos romançados*, and from a desire to open studies on the peninsula to medievalists who are more at home with the northern triangle of France, England and Germany, I have quoted widely from the sources, and translated from all languages except French. The only Greek source that I cite has been quoted in its French translation.

The nucleus of this book was the middle two chapters of my doctoral dissertation: a comparison of the visions in the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis* and the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, and a consideration of visionary experience in the *Miráculos romançados*. I owe an enormous debt to my supervisor, Professor Ian Michael, who encouraged me to think about these matters, and I owe a further debt to Professor Jeremy Lawrance, who long ago examined the thesis and more recently read an earlier draft of this book, and who subsequently forced me to think about everything again. Debts of gratitude should also be acknowledged to Professor Catherine Davies, the series editor; to Professor David Hook, who supported its publication; and to the board of the Modern Humanities Research Association, who have published it.

Even before the thesis was written, I benefited from the hospitality of the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos; it was there that I learnt the joys of working in an archive, and from Miguel Vivancos Gómez, OSB, much of how to learn from what an archive contains. Along with many, both the devout and the curious, I have taken away some of the spiritual benefits that Grimaldus claimed for the intercession of his saintly abbot, and live in fond recollection of the peace, tranquillity and *quies* of the monastery. Now, of course, peace and tranquillity are far away. The wholly unotiose nature of academic life is supplemented by two little boys, Lapo and Cosma. They at least force a proper perspective upon one: why bother with books — especially if they have no interesting pictures — when you can bang things (anything) with a hammer?

Manchester, 20 April 2002

NOTES

1. Derek W. Lomax, 'Aspectos de la vida castellana en la época de Alfonso VI reflejados en la "Vita Dominici Siliensis"', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes (Toledo, 20–26 mayo 1985)*, vol. II, Serie Histórica, 5 (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1985), pp. 291–304, at p. 291.

ABBREVIATIONS

PL:

Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–1890).

Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*:

Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954–1254), ed. by Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, Fuentes Medievales Castellano-Leonesas, 50 (Burgos: Garrido Garrido, 1988).

Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255–1300)*:

Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (1255–1300), ed. by Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, Studia Silensia, 18 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1995).

VSD:

Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos.

PART ONE

Beatus Dominicus

A study of the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*.

CHAPTER 1

VITA DOMINICI: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT

The *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, as is normal for hagiographies, evolved over a period of time through a process of addition, reorganization and recension to end as an impressively long document that extends over four hundred pages in its modern edition.¹ It is ascribed to a contemporary of Dominic and a monk in his monastery, Grimaldus. He is named as such in a vision at III.11, p. 480 (see below, pp. 131–33).² As we shall see below, he ceded the authorship to a series of continuators early in the composition of Book II.³ Over a hundred posthumous miracles were recorded in the *Vita*'s Books II and III, a number on a par with major shrines such as Notre Dame de Rocamadour.⁴

The *Vita Dominici* has survived in four medieval manuscripts, and three eighteenth-century editions also used medieval manuscripts other than those preserved in the present day. We thus have six witnesses to the original text. I shall discuss the manuscripts and then pass on to the eighteenth-century texts.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED TEXTS

S.

A thirteenth- or fourteenth-century copy on parchment, Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 12, folios 1–86; the final leaves are not extant. The manuscript also contains the thirteenth-century copy of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* by Berceo and a very early fourteenth-century copy of the *Miráculos romanzados*. The binding is post-medieval.⁵ This manuscript has been corrected in line with the part of the stemma represented by *V*; these corrections are referred to as *S*¹ and *S*² to distinguish the hands present.

B.

A late fourteenth-century copy, Universidad de Salamanca, ms. 1458, folios 58rB–65vB, 18rA–33rA [*sic*]. The manuscript is one of a series which hold only part of the enormous work of compilation carried out by Bernardus Briocanus (Bernardo de Brihuega) on the orders of Alfonso X as part of the preparations

for a series of translations that would carry forward his vernacular chronicles by including the lives of the martyrs and the confessors of the universal Church together with a selection of saints from Spain.⁶ These translations have not survived, if they were ever attempted.

C.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 275, f. 7r–8r. A careless copy on parchment of I.I (entitled ‘In Sancti Dominici de Silicibus abbatis’ and divided into six lessons), forming part of a fourteenth-century compilation of saints’ lives, designed as a supplement to a breviary.

R.

A mid- to late fifteenth-century copy, mainly on paper. Parchment is used only on the outside folios of gatherings: Madrid, Real Academia Española, ms. 5. The *Vita Dominici* ends incomplete at III.15 (fol. 43v). This copy has been taken from a previous binding and adapted to its present sixteenth-century binding.⁷

P.

Juan Tamayo Salazar, *Anamnesis, sive Commemorationis sanctorum hispanorum, ad ordinem, et methodum Martyrologii romani, quo utitur ecclesia catholica*, 6 vols (Lyon: Borde, Arnaud and Rigaud, 1651–59), VI, 494–520, containing an abbreviated text of the first book of Dominic’s life.⁸ Tamayo noted at the beginning of the life that

Eius ACTA Latina scripsit laxato calamo *Monachus* quidam S. Abbatis *Synchronos*, quae literis Gothicis MS. accepi ab amico *D. Iosepho Pellicero* saepius à me laudato, qui pro texendis hisce Nostrorum Sanctorum Actis mihi plura suppeditauit. Ergo isthaec *Coëtanei Monachi* integra ob amatorum gratiam antiquitatis dabimus. (VI, 494; Tamayo’s italics)

A monk, who lived at the same time as the holy abbot, wrote his Latin Life with a prolix pen; I received the text from a manuscript in Visigothic hand from my friend, Don José Pellicer — who has often been praised by me for his frequent help in producing these Lives of our Saints. Therefore, we reproduce this monkish contemporary completely for lovers of antiquity.

He repeated some of his observations at VI, 520:

En ACTA genuina, quae *Monachus* coaetaneus scripta reliquit, et adhuc MSS. seruantur literis Gothicis exarata in Monasterio Exiliensi, et in Actuario *Coenobij B. Martini Madridensis*, in cuius codicis calce continetur miracula ad numerum CXIV duobus libris divisa, in quorum primo LIX in secundo LV numerantur, quorum ecphrasin transcribere prolixum.

The genuine Life, which a monkish contemporary left written, and now copied from Visigothic manuscripts in the Monastery of Silos, and at present in the Monastery of San Martín in Madrid, in whose codices one hundred and fourteen miracles are contained, divided into two books, in which the first has fifty-nine and the second fifty-five, which would be too lengthy to reproduce.

It is to be noted that Tamayo's numeration of the miracles in Book II and III is identical to that of the indices of *S* for those books.⁹

G.

Tamayo's reproduction of the translation of Dominic, which he gave at a separate date (18 December) at IV, 502–04. At IV, 502, he notes,

Translatio *sacrorum pignorum* S. DOMINICI Exiliensis] Et si nullibi haec festiuitas in Scriptoribus editis hac die reperiatur, tamen illam consignat Monachus Coaetaneus, et ferè synchronos S. Abbati, qui eius res gestas luculento sermone prosecutus, etiam huius *Translationis* echphrasim adnotauit. Huius operis Codex MS. Gothicis, et vetulis elementis exaratus ad seruatur in Coenobio *Exiliensi*, quem beneficio eruditissimi amici *D. Gasparis Ibañez de Segobia* Alcantarensis Equitis accepi, è quo sequentem *Translationis* relationem excripsi.

The translation of the sacred relics of Saint Dominic of Silos. Although this festivity cannot be found in any printed text on this day, it was recorded by a contemporary, a monk who lived at the same time as the holy abbot, whose life he put down in artful prose, and whose translation he described. I print the following account of the translation from a manuscript in Visigothic hand in the monastery of Silos copied thanks to my most learned friend don Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, knight of [the Military Order of] Alcántara.

The text that *G* offers is essentially the same as that proffered by *P*. Most of the differences between the texts are typographical or based on differing styles of punctuation, yet some interesting variants may be found.¹⁰

V.

Sebastián de Vergara, *Vida y milagros del thaumaturgo español, Moysés segundo, redemptor de cautivos* [...], *Santo Domingo Manso* (Madrid, 1736), pp. 309–452. Also containing Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* and the *Miráculos romançados*, this was the first publication of the three texts. For the Latin Life, Vergara used a single manuscript, to which he gave a semi-palaeographical edition in that he conserved both orthography and punctuation, mistakenly believing that he had Grimaldus's holograph before him. The manuscript was written by one hand up to III.33 and a page had been left blank at the beginning of Book III, which Vergara reasonably supposed to have been destined for a prologue to match those that adorn Books I and II but which was never composed. Miracles after III.33 were written 'en diferente

puño y letra' (in a different hand and letter).¹¹ Such phrasing might be taken to indicate that the manuscript was completed in Carolingian script, which had successively replaced Visigothic script after the imposition of the Roman rite in the 1080s. Yet other descriptions make it clear that the manuscript was written throughout in Visigothic script, and Vergara's phrase merely pointed to a noticeable change of hand. When the saint's tomb was opened in 1732, only four years before Vergara's edition was published, the manuscript was described as being written throughout in Visigothic script;¹² and Fray Martín de Sarmiento also recorded that the manuscript, of which he says 'ví, leí, y registré todo' (I saw, read and checked throughout), was 'un Códice antiquísimo, escrito con caracteres Góticos' (an extremely ancient codex, written in Visigothic letters).¹³

Initial remarks concerning the affiliation of manuscripts and texts

As Valcárcel has shown, *S* and *R* belong to a different leg of the stemma to *V*.¹⁴ Valcárcel was unaware of the existence of *B* and *C*, but it may also be possible to situate these two manuscripts in the same family as *V*, although until a complete collation is carried out it will be impossible to be sure. Tamayo's two versions, *P* and *G*, are more difficult to situate because of the compiler's tendency to alter and abbreviate his text to suit contemporary taste. But both *P* and *G* are claimed to descend directly from one or more Visigothic manuscripts. *V* is explicitly the copy of a Visigothic manuscript. *S* and *R* show symptoms of direct descent from a Visigothic manuscript.¹⁵ *S* and *R* descend independently from the same manuscript as can be seen from Table 1, below, where *R*, generally the less exact manuscript, contains correct readings which the scribe of *S* misread due to his unfamiliarity with his model's script.

Table 1: Misreadings of *S* and *R*

	<i>S</i>	<i>R</i>
I.3.52 (p. 184)	curreret	careret (= <i>VP</i>)
I.6.69 (p. 232)	ut	et (= <i>VP S</i> ²)
I.6.69–70 (p. 232)	afectum	effectum (= <i>VP</i>)
I.9.28 (p. 256)	famulum	famulam (= <i>VP S</i> ¹)
I.15.4 (p. 278)	adacis	audacis (= <i>V S</i> ¹)
I.16.33–34 (p. 284)	regiones	regionis (= <i>V S</i> ¹)
I.23.48 (p. 304)	cum	eum (= <i>VP</i>)
I.23.96 (p. 308)	aut tribuentes	attribuentes (= <i>VP</i>)
I.23.97 (p. 308)	oblatis	oblatas (= <i>VP</i>)
I.23.141 (p. 312)	intuetur	intuemur (= <i>VP S</i> ²)
II Prol. 14 (p. 320)	actu	acta (= <i>V</i>)
II.15.29 (p. 372)	certissimum	teterrimum (= <i>V</i>)

A more specific explanation of the interrelation of the manuscripts depends on an analysis of the evolution of the *Vita Dominici*, to which we shall now pass.

ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE *VITA DOMINICI*

Chronological analysis

The manuscripts and printed editions that preserve variants of the *Vita Dominici* witness to a process of addition and re-elaboration of the text whose chronology we shall explore below. An aside by the author indicates the *Vita*'s original purpose. Embarking upon an account of the wonders that accompanied Dominic's sanctity during his life, the hagiographer observed, 'Et omne quod referemus idonei testes, si necesse fuerit uel si tantum causa increuerit, ecclesiastico iure roborabunt, qui stantes et presentes et uidentes fideliter interfuerunt' (I.7.4–6, p. 238; And, if it be necessary or if the cause be advanced to such a degree, all that we relate will be confirmed, in accord with canon law, by suitable witnesses who, being there present, faithfully saw). The cause or process of canonization was underway when these words were written; the original kernel of the life was designed for the diocesan inquiry into Dominic's sanctity carried out shortly after his death and which led to his translation in 1076, just over two and a half years afterwards.

The first indisputable addition to the text was, then, the account of the translation (I.23.104–165, pp. 308–12) and, following this, the relation of the miracles that occurred after the translation. Part of the original nucleus, written between Dominic's death and his translation, were of necessity Dominic's first posthumous miracles, worked whilst Dominic's body was inhumed in the cloister that was still under construction.¹⁶ This set of miracles is probably represented by II.1–5, since II.3.17, II.4.7 and II.5.4, pp. 326–28, mention crowds of people frequenting the church. The spur to Xemenó's initiating of the canonization process was precisely the number of pilgrims arriving at Silos (I.23.112–16, p. 310).

Furthermore, II.6.8–9, p. 330, reveals that the woman remained in the health she had regained at Silos until she died. This information indicates that some time had passed between the miracle and the miracle-story's composition, a period which would be unlikely to have been between the miracle and the composition of the *Vita* for the diocesan process. And by II.7 the translation had already taken place, since the paralytic woman was placed at the tomb one evening; the following morning, after dawn mass, she was cured. Had Dominic's remains still been buried in the cloister, it is unlikely that she would have been present for the mass in the church, since she could not move on her own account. Although the position of the saint's tomb must be guessed at in II.7, it is made explicit in II.8.12, p. 334: the cure took place during the mass being said at the saint's tomb. Masses would only have been said at the saint's tomb after the translation, and Grimaldus's account of that translation specifies that

translatum est corpus sanctissimi uiri a sepulcro in quo primum, excedens a seculo, fuerat reconditum et intra ecclesiam, ante altare beati Martini, ubi nunc ueneratur, honorifice est tumulatum. Quo in loco ad usus diuinorum sacrificiorum ara in ipsius honore ac nomine est constructa, ubi creberrime monstrantur diuina, ipso optinente, beneficia omnibus cum fide et deuotione uenientibus ad ipsius poscenda suffragia. (I.23.133–39, p. 310)

the body of the most holy man was translated from the grave in which he was first placed after he left this world and buried honourably within the church opposite the altar to St Martin where he is now venerated. In this place an altar was built for the purpose of offering the holy sacrifice [of the Mass] in his honour and name, where very often there are shown forth divine benefits — through his intercession — to all who come with faith and devotion to pray to him.

Unusually, no miracles are recorded as occurring at the time of the translation itself. II.6 may have been added when the account of the translation was inserted into the text of I.21; alternatively (and more probably), it was added with the miracles that follow it.

Our discussion will next turn to those miracles which are datable, at least in general terms, in order to establish an initial chronology for the composition of Books II and III of the *Vita*. The first identifiable date in Book II is the dedication of the extended church and completed cloister in 1088 at II.21.61–65, pp. 358–60.

Menéndez Pidal dated II.25 (pp. 370–75) to roughly around 1089.¹⁷ The tale concerns the liberation of a *miles*, Petrus of Plantata,¹⁸ who was captured by Moors when raiding the land around the Christian castle of Aledo in Murcia.¹⁹ Pidal's date is only a guess. All that can be said is that Petrus was present in Aledo after it was built in 1085/86 and before its surrender at the beginning of 1092, and, furthermore, that he was held captive two years (II.25.12, p. 370), therefore giving possible dates of 1088–94. Any more precise a dating depends upon the dates of the miracles both before and after this one.

The subsequent miracle is again the narration of an escape and begins:

Est castrum quod Fita uocatur, quod incolit gens Christicolarum et est aliud castrum quod Guatafagara uocatur, quod incolit gens Ysmahelitarum. Qui Ysmahelite sunt sub gloriosi Aldefonsi regis ditione, ipsius imperio parentes atque tributis ac uectigalibus seu omnibus aliis reditionibus seruientes. (II.26.1–5, p. 376)

There is a castle called Hita in which dwell Christians and there is another castle called Guadalajara in which dwell the Ishmaelites. These Ishmaelites are beneath the lordship of glorious King Alfonso [VI, 1065–1109], obeying his *imperium* and submitted to tribute, taxes and all other contributions.

The subjection of Guadalajara lasted from 1088 until the Almoravids arrived in 1091. The narration must have been written before this later date.²⁰

It is only II.42 which allows of a precise date to be established: Martino, *prepositus domus* to Bremundus Rodric, a noble in the court of Alfonso VI, was struck down by a vengeance miracle for sawing wood on a Sunday in preparation for the Emperor's campaign against Granada, which took place in 1091. Martino was immediately advised to go to Silos, which he did (II.42.1–4, 14–27, p. 428).²¹ We may further note that II.45 occurred after 1085, since that was the date at which Santa María de Ribarredonda was founded, whence the mute monk came to Silos to be healed. But that does not help us in dating the miracle, particularly since II.42 took place in 1091. It can only help to bolster the sense that a sequential chronology is being respected in the recording of the miracles.

The release of Bellitus from Zaragoza at III.10 was also dated by Menéndez Pidal to shortly after 1091. A 'miles christianus' (a Christian soldier or knight), seeing the captive sitting miserably at the door of his master's house, encouraged him to call upon the name of Dominic. Pidal thought that this 'miles' was a member of the Cid's army, and thus the date of the occurrence would be shortly after 1091.²² On the other hand, since Bellitus was captured by Saracens serving in Alfonso VI's army (III.10.2, p. 479), he may have been taken during the Aledo campaign of 1089, in Alfonso's campaign against Granada in 1090, or in the failed campaign against Valencia in 1092.²³ The identification of the 'miles christianus' with one of the Cid's followers is wild conjecture; he was much more likely to be a mercenary in the pay of the rulers of Zaragoza.

The final date available to us is the close of the collection. Since the whole text of *V* (i.e., upto and including III.48) was written in Visigothic script, a style of writing which fell into disuse early in the twelfth century at Silos, an estimate of the *terminus ante quem* as being around AD 1120 is unlikely to be far wrong.²⁴

The index to *S* gives the titles of a further nine miracles (III.49–57), yet the manuscript does not provide any texts for them.

XLVI.	De claudo debile sanato.
XLVII.	De debile sanato.
XLVIII.	De alio debile sanato.
XLIX.	De puella a demonio sanata.
L.	De demoniaco sanato.
LI.	De alio demoniaco sanato.
LII.	De quodam monacho claudo sanato.
LIII.	De muliere omnibus membris contracta et sanata.
LIV.	De puella clauda sanata.
46.	The cure of a lame paralytic.
47.	The cure of a paralytic.
48.	The cure of another paralytic.

- 49. The girl healed of a demon.
- 50. The cure of a male demoniac.
- 51. The cure of another male demoniac.
- 52. The cure of a certain lame monk.
- 53. The cure of a woman's withered limbs.
- 54. The cure of a lame girl.

Since the index to *R* does not contain these miracles, and both *S* and *R* descend from the same Visigothic manuscript, these miracles must have been added to *S* when it was copied, perhaps at the end of the thirteenth century. A more precise date can be found in an indulgence offered to Silos by Philip, Archbishop of Salerno, and eleven bishops on 14 December 1297, which lists the cures of demoniacs and other sundry illnesses as occurring at the shrine.²⁵ This indulgence was the third and last of a series that Abbot Iohán (1284–98) had procured to reinforce Silos's attractions to pilgrims.²⁶ The first two mention the freeing of captives, and it is clear that they are referring to those in the recent past, not those recorded in the *Vita Dominici*. Given that no exorcisms are mentioned in the *Miráculos romançados*, it is probable that the annotation in *S* recorded the existence of texts which had been sent to Italy to impress the various bishops, archbishops, patriarchs and cardinals from whom Silos hoped to receive indulgences. Texts or résumés of miracles from the *Miráculos romançados* were certainly sent to Rome (see below, p. 376). Thus the additional chapter headings are probably dateable to shortly before the end of the thirteenth century.

Continuators and campaigns of writing

Our knowledge of the construction and recording of the miracle-collection is not limited to a series of deduced or apparent dates. It is possible, through literary, stylistic and linguistic analysis, to identify various authors and campaigns of writing within the text, and it is to this level of scrutiny that we now shall descend.

We have established above that the original kernel of the *Vita* extended to II.5. A form of closure provided for some of the miracle-stories is represented by a final invocation or prayer: the first such is found at II.21 (dateable, as we have seen, to 1088). Such an invocation is probably designed to mark the end of a unit of text copied into the *Vita*. Furthermore, between II.21 and the chapters written up after the translation (i.e., following on from II.5), it is noteworthy that four miracles record that the cured remained in good health for the rest of their lives (II.6.8–9, p. 330; II.10.11–12, p. 336; II.14.10–11, p. 342; II.19.24, p. 352). These notes on the longevity of the cure indicate that the miracles were not included in the text immediately, but a certain amount of time must have elapsed before they were given final form. The simplest way to explain this gap between miracle and final record is to postulate that there

was a campaign of writing in which the account of Dominic's miracles was written up as far as II.21.²⁷

The two miracles subsequent to II.21 (II.22–23) also suggest that time had elapsed before they were recorded. Both relate the same story: a woman busied herself with household chores on a Saturday evening instead of attending a church service. The first woman's arm withered and afixed itself to her neck (II.22.4, p. 362). The second woman's arms contracted (II.23.5, p. 364). The first woman waited for a week before going to Silos. The second woman set out immediately (II.22.5–6; 23.6–7). Both remained in vigil overnight at the tomb before they were cured during the dawn mass (II.22.8–11; 23.10–14). Yet only the second is named: Maria from Yecla (II.23.1–2), an afternoon's walk from Silos. In spite of the slight differences in the accounts, it is probable that one miracle has become two in the oral tradition of the shrine, a doubling which would imply that some time had passed before the text was written down. In the next chapter, an *inergumena* from Peñalba is not named (II.24.1, p. 366), an omission which again implies that the account was written at a distance from the event it narrates.²⁸ The information that the woman was not troubled further by diabolical attacks (II.24.34–35, p. 368) can only strengthen this impression.

If we may identify II.21 as the final miracle in a campaign of recording, the subsequent campaign probably only reached to II.25 or II.27, since the former, an escape miracle, ends with a prayer (II.25.86–92, p. 374) and the latter, a long account of an exorcism, also ends with a prayer (II.27.154–58, p. 390).²⁹ This division of the text is strengthened by the following miracle, which notes that a boy cured by Dominic '*usque hodie incolumis et letus et, ut seruus fidelissimus, deseruit Exiliensis monasterii utilitatibus*' (II.28.24–25 (p. 392); even now he is happy and healthy and, as a most faithful servant, he serves the needs of the monastery of Silos). A very short doxology is found at the end of the following miracle (II.29.61, p. 396).

Campaigns of writing may be associated with the same or different authors, and stylistic traits may be used to identify hands in the text. One particularly relevant trait in this text is the authors' varying preference for Latinized place-names against a semi-phonetic reproduction of vernacular ones. Throughout Book I and the initial miracles of Book II, Latinized toponymy is used: '*Mons Rubicundus uulgarī locutione*' (I.21.2, p. 292; Monterrubio, according to the speech of the common folk [i.e., although Latinate in form, the words do not represent the Latin toponym but merely render the Romance form in a decorous fashion]);³⁰ '*ex uico Spelionensi*' (II.4.1, p. 328; from the town of Espejón); '*ex uillula que uocatur Corneliana*' (II.5.1, p. 328; from a village called Cornelianos); '*Exaguniensi opidi*' (II.6.1–2, p. 330; Sahagún); '*ex uilla que dicitur Fortis*' (II.7.1, p. 332; from the town called "Strong", [i.e., Villafuertes]); '*ex Castro Muniensi*' (II.8.1, p. 334; from Castromuño); '*ex uilla que uocatur Kobaense uulgarī lingua*' (II.9.1–2, p. 336; from the town called Cueva in common language); '*ex uilla que uocatur Noua*' (II.10.1, p.

336; from the town called New [i.e., Villanueva]); 'ex castro Coriliensi' (II.11.1, p. 338; from Castrocuriel); 'ex uico Enebreuensi' (II.12.1, p. 340; from Nebreda); 'ex Alkoçarensi Castro' (II.13.1, p. 342; from Castro Alcozar); 'ex uillula que uocitatur Agosina' (II.16.1–2, p. 346; from the village called Agosín).³¹

The recorder of the miracles had probably changed by II.31, since there the place of origin of the child cured at Silos is given as 'de uico qui uocatur Villa Maior' (II.31.1 (p. 402); from the place called Villamayor), which may be compared with the earlier Latinate forms, 'ex uilla que dicitur Fortis' (II.7.1, p. 332) and 'ex uilla que uocatur Noua' (II.10.1, p. 336).³² The recorder had certainly changed by II.38 (p. 418), since the Romance form of the girl's place of origin, Salas, is used, rather than the Latinate adjective used elsewhere by Grimaldus, Exaliensis (I.10.1, p. 258; compare the forms 'Exaguniensi opidi', II.6.1–2 (p. 330) for Sahagún and 'Exiliensis' for Silos). Such a change may have occurred any point after II.16, which is the last Latinizing adjective, 'Agosina' (II.16.1–2, p. 346) thus far in the text. At II.25.71, p. 374, the first use of the term 'gens Ysmaelitarum' (people of the Ishmaelites) to designate Muslims is witnessed, strengthening the view that the continuation from II.22 is by an author other than Grimaldus.

This second author — or a third — may then be said to have written from II.28 until beyond II.38; the unity of this section is reinforced by the observation at II.36.11–12 (p. 414) that a man who had suffered from *tortio oris*, or a twisting of the mouth, remained healthy for the rest of his life. This author did not write further than II.39, since, as Valcárcel rightly asserted, another author took up his quill at II.40 (pp. 422–26).³³

The fortieth narration of Book II presents itself as a new start within the collection of the saint's posthumous miracles. It is adorned with a short prologue announcing a glorious miracle for the purpose of the listeners' edification, the only time that the word 'edificatio' is used within the *Vita Dominici*.³⁴ Latinate toponyms also reappear: 'Pampilonensis regionis' (II.40.6, p. 422; of the kingdom of Pamplona); 'uulgari lingua dicitur Ripa Rotunda' (II.45.3, p. 434; called in the common tongue Ribarredonda).³⁵

According to Valcárcel, this author composed only five miracles, before being substituted by another author who worked from II.45–III.5. This view is based predominantly upon the length of the chapters, which, in the latter section, are a maximum of twenty lines in length and a minimum of ten (with the exception of II.54, which extends over twenty-nine lines).³⁶ Latinate toponyms continue to occur ('Montesinus' (II.47.1–2, p. 436; Montesino); 'uico qui uocatur de Francorum fluuio' (II.52.1, p. 446; Riofrancos); 'de ciuitate que Vurgis uocatur' (II.58.1, p. 458; from the city called Burgos); 'in territorio Castri Bekerensis' (III.5.1–2, p. 474; in the territory of the castle of Viguera), but these forms now rub shoulders with 'Cuebas' (II.49.1–2, p. 440, earlier referred to as 'Kobaense'), 'Penna de Aranda' (II.51.1, p. 444; Peñaranda).³⁷ Furthermore, II.45 begins, unusually for the *Vita*, with 'Quodam

tempore' (p. 434), placing the miracle in the past; and II.46.10–11 and II.47.10 (p. 436) both make reference to the perpetual health of cured *demoniacae* throughout their subsequent lives. The verb 'appellare' is used for the first time at II.46.1–2, then at II.51.1 and II.55.1 (pp. 436, 444, 452);³⁸ it is recorded in the collection again only at III.37.1 (p. 520) — but here applied to a person, not, as in the previous examples, a place.

However, III.1–4 all express ignorance over why individuals had been overcome by illness — a concern rarely witnessed in the rest of the *Vita*, and only returned to at III.23, 25, 34, 39, 44, 47.³⁹ Two words not found elsewhere in the *Vita* occur at III.2.9, p. 468 ('condescendens') and III.5.10–11, p. 474 ('benefactor').⁴⁰ It is not clear, then, whether the same author was responsible for the narrations of miracles at the end Book II and the beginning of Book III; indeed, what evidence there is points towards different hands having been at work.

A section of much shorter miracle-stories follow, with an extension of between four and ten lines, from III.6–18.⁴¹ Exceptions to this rule are III.10–11 (pp. 478–80). This section sees a high degree of words which are not used elsewhere in the *Vita Dominici*: 'alienigena' (III.7.1, p. 476); 'maceratio', 'tor-tor', 'liberator', 'deliberator' (III.10.4, 10.6, 10.8, 10.15, p. 478); 'consolator' (III.16.3, p. 486); 'opitulari', which only occurs in III.17.3 and III.18.4 (p. 486); and 'possessus', which occurs in III.6.2, 13.2, 18.3 (pp. 474, 482, 486).⁴² Latinate toponymics are in part preserved: 'Septempublica' (III.9.1, p. 478; Sepúlveda).

Valcárcel's subsequent section goes from III.19–35, based on the relative length of the miracles.⁴³ Here Valcárcel is in part mistaken. As pointed out above, the main hand in *V*'s model finished at III.33 — thereby indicating a much more secure cut-off point for this continuator. The status of III.32–33 (which are represented in *SR* in Book I) is discussed below, at pp. 18–22. Furthermore, Valcárcel's own grammatical analysis of the text pointed out that errors in the concordance of nouns begin at III.34; and within the group III.19–32, Latinate toponyms are yet again seen: 'de uico Clunia uulgariter dicto oriundus' (III.20.1–2 (p. 490); from the place in the common tongue called Clunia — but really called by the vulgar 'Coruña del Conde'), 'de uilla que uocatur Oniense' (III.23.1 (p. 494); from the town called Oña). 'Procurator' is found in III.27 and 29, and not elsewhere; similiary 're(h)abere' and 'editui' are witnessed at III.30 and 31.⁴⁴

The final section of the *Vita*, then, is the text written by the second hand to *V*'s model: III.34–48. All forms of evidence tie these narrations together, not only their length: the construction *per* + ablative (III.34, 35, 37, 38), the use of *in* + accusative (III.36), *de* + dative and *cum* + accusative (III.37), *post* + ablative (III.38), *habere* meaning *esse* (III.39, III.41), *iuxta* + nominative (III.41), *cum* + nominative (III.44).⁴⁵ Unique words within the *Vita* are provided by 'coangustare' (III. 38) and 'gloriosus' (III.47);⁴⁶ III.34 also bears the same

phrase as III.53, 'princeps tenebrarum satellite' (a warrior of the prince of darkness).

A summary of our conclusions regarding the various stages at which Books II and III were written is the following table:

Table 2: Continuations of *Vita Dominici*, II–III

1	II.1–5/6	(1071–76)	6	II.40–44	(42: 1091)
2	II.7–21	(21: 1088)	7	II.45–60/III.5	
3	II.22–27		8	III.6–18	
4	II.28–30		9	III.19–31	
5	II.31–39		10	III.34–48	(48: ante c.1020)

Given the existence of these sections, it is possible to enquire after how the miracles were recorded. If, within these sections, certain types of cures are gathered together in an unbroken sequence, then we may conclude that the recorder has ordered his material; if, however, the cures are much more randomly spaced, then the most probable explanation is that the cures have been recorded chronologically. For section 1, there is no overwhelming order given to the miracles: three disparate miracles (cures from blindness, paralysis and deaf- and dumb-ness: II.1–3) are followed by three cures from blindness (II.3–6). Section 2 has two major groups of similar types of miracles: four cures from lameness (II.8–11) and four exorcisms (II.18–20); yet an exorcism is also related at II.14, and two cures from blindness at II.13 and II.16. It would thus seem to be the case that the miracles are not ordered on a schematic classification of the type of cure, and that the sequences of similar types of cures found within it are due to similar miracles following each other at the shrine. These comments could be repeated for subsequent sections.⁴⁷

The evidence points towards the keeping of a relatively continuous record at the shrine, a record maintained in chronological order and which was sporadically added in fair copy to the *Vita Dominici*.⁴⁸ The maintenance of the record implies that the shrine was manned by monks whose role, as numerous other collections of miracles attest, was to welcome pilgrims, inquire after their origins and illnesses and, in turn, answer their questions regarding the saint and his thaumaturgic powers.⁴⁹

Interpolations in the text of the Vita Dominici

The manuscripts of the *Vita Dominici* witness some variation in the arrangement and inclusion of various episodes. Due to their inclusion at different points in the manuscripts, Valcárcel termed these segments interpolations. Their varying positions within the manuscripts are of assistance in clarifying the relationships between the extant copies of the text and their models. The interpolations identified by Valcárcel are four in number, and are as follows:

(1) I.5.194–209, pp. 206–08. Although Dominic's father and brothers joined him at Santa María de Cañas, his mother did not and Dominic refused to visit her when she was dying.

(2) I.19, p. 290. A tale which relates that the local bishop, coming to rededicate the restored church of Santa María de Cañas, saw that Dominic was living with women. He turned his mule around, but since the saint was innocent of the imputation against his chastity (the women were his mother and his sister), the bishop's mount refused to budge. The latter recognised his error, and the two men were reconciled. The story occupies the position of I.19 in *SR*, but *V* includes it in I.5, after (1).⁵⁰ It is not present in *P*.

(3) III.32–33, pp. 509–10. Two miracle stories which have this position in *V* but in *SR* find themselves in the first book as I.23 and I.24, that is immediately before the account of Dominic's death.

(4) III.43.30–41, p. 534. A prayer to be recited upon Dominic's feast-day, recorded only in *V*. *S* is the only other manuscript to continue to this point; it also omits the following miracle (III.44, p. 536).

Regarding (1), Valcárcel suggests that for linguistic and structural reasons it should be considered an addition to the original *Vita*. From the point of view of structure, the paragraph that comes immediately before (1) ends with the account of how Dominic converted many from their evil ways: 'In qua Dominus eius meritis multa beneficia concessit et multos sancta illius exortatione, a captiuitate suorum malorum operum conuersos, ad uiam ueritatis et iusticie reuocauit ac felici perseuerantia donauit' (I.5.191–94, p. 206; In it [Santa María de Cañas], the Lord granted many blessings through his merits and through his holy exhortation called back many, who had been converted from the slavery of their evil works, to the way of truth and justice and granted them perseverance). This thought is echoed by the close of (1): 'Quo in loco Domini gracia per eum multa signa dignatus est ostendere multosque, conuersos a peccatorum suorum errore, dignos redidit sua benedictione' (I.5. 207–09, p. 208; In this place the grace of the Lord deigned to show many signs through him and made many, once converted from the error of their sins, worthy of his benediction). Linguistic considerations bolster Valcárcel's interpretation: the phrase 'bonae religionis' is not otherwise used within the text to describe a person, nor are the words 'aegrotare' and 'discedere' elsewhere to be found.

However, even if (1) is an addition to the original nucleus of the *Vita*, then it was added very early in the history of the text. All manuscripts contain it in the same place, and even Berceo has the gist of it.⁵¹ The story may have been added when the account of the translation was also added to the life, and have been brought by monks of San Millán when they attended the liturgical event. The linguistic differences to the rest of the *Vita* probably indicate that the author was incorporating a written source that had come to his attention, and which may have been sent in response to a request for further information on the saint's life at Cañas and San Millán. There clearly was a form of inves-

tigation carried out, since the hagiographer makes reference to information he had received concerning Dominic's conduct whilst a youth, 'ubi didicimus a suis qui adhuc supersunt familiaribus' (I.2.202–03 (p. 178); whence we learnt from those close to him who are still living).

The material would not have been included in the original nucleus since, although it noted the conversion to religious life of Dominic's father and brothers, it also revealed the saint's failure to convert his own mother, both, in their own ways, remaining obdurate. His mother refused to be reduced to the monastic state; he refused to visit her on her deathbed — although he did offer an intercessory eucharist for her salvation. The story was probably known to Grimaldus when he composed the original *Vita* for the process of canonization, since he makes no mention of Dominic's mother when speaking of Dominic's genealogy (I.1.1–6, p. 162). (1) was perhaps a marginal note to the text which was then included in a subsequent copy, added at the same time as the account of the translation.

In the light of this additional biographical material included in the *Vita* after Dominic's translation, we may identify further material in the long digressions comparing Dominic to various Old Testament figures (Abel, I.2.5–51; Jacob, I.2.52–89; Moses, I.2.90–169; David, I.2.170–97 (pp. 166–78); Job, I.3.27–49; Phineas, I.3.50–80 (pp. 184–86)). These digressions were added to make the *Vita* suitable for monastic reading after the saint had become the subject of an official cult within the monastery. The end of the section comparing Dominic to the Patriarchs and David ends with 'Sed iam ad propositi ordinem redeamus' (I.2.204 (p. 178); But now let us return to the proper order of our story), a device to tie the additions in to the following narrative. I.1 — which has no digressive meditations upon Old Testament typology — is but forty lines long; I.2, without the additions, would be around fourteen; and I.3, similarly, less than fifty.

The interpolation represented by (2) presents more complex problems, since it is present in *VB* at the end of I.5, whereas *SR* grant it a separate chapter, I.19 (p. 290), preceded by a short prologue which is not found in *VB*. Valcárcel's edition follows *SR* in the placing of the miracle. In *VB*, the tale is placed outside the section dedicated to the saint's miracles, which begins with I.7, but it is also the only occasion in which a miracle is associated with Dominic's time at San Millán or its dependencies. Strictly speaking, (2) is not a miracle worked by the saint but merely a sign of divine favour to overcome a bishop's suspicion of the holy man. It is therefore not necessary that it should be included within the section of Book I dedicated to the saint's miracles *in vita*.

More importantly, the two stories, (1) and (2), contradict each other.⁵² Dominic's mother either spurned her son's entreaties to leave the world or was acting as his cook when important visitors needed feeding. She cannot have done both things. The contradiction is important, since it points us to what are layers in the tradition of the saint's cult, and that the origins of (2)

are from a geographically peripheric region of devotion to Dominic. All medieval accounts that mention the matter are unanimous that Dominic's father and brothers joined him in the restored monastery. The peregrinating story of the dedication of Santa María de Cañas by the bishop, however, indicates another, later phase. Dominic is presented much as a rural priest, needing a housekeeper to look after his necessities, not as the head of a thriving coenobium. Priors do not need to call upon their mothers to cook; monks are more than capable of providing food and drink for themselves and for those to whom they offer their obligation of hospitality. There is no suggestion that Dominic and his monks were living a radically ascetic life and normally digging up roots and gathering berries. On the contrary, it is clear that the provision of food for the monks that followed him was Dominic's first concern, to the extent of labouring with his own hands (I.5.162–74, p. 204).

The presentation of Dominic as a rural priest suggests that the story has been applied to Dominic although its origins lie elsewhere.⁵³ The reasons for its association with Dominic are the desire to link Cañas more closely to his thaumaturgic activity and the wish to make his character less unbending in showing him on good terms with his mother.

Since (2) occupies different positions in the surviving manuscripts, it is legitimate to inquire after its original position. Valcárcel, unfortunately, confused the issue totally by an appeal to Berceo's versification. In his view, because Berceo did not mention the story, then the tale must have been initially present in the manuscript after II.26, the last chapter that Berceo had available to him: 'de lo contrario, Berceo hubiera incluido con seguridad un hecho tan pintoresco' (if it were not the case, Berceo would surely have included such a picturesque event).⁵⁴ Berceo may have dedicated much of his time and many of his verses to the telling of miracle stories; but it is not for that reason that we may assume him to have been either stupid or credulous. He was neither of those things. (2), even as a fiction, is incoherent and faintly ridiculous. It narrates the discomfiture of a bishop and condones the presence of women (when conveniently termed 'sister' and 'mother') in the living quarters of clerics. Berceo had numerous reasons not to narrate it, above all its transparent falsity. His poem cannot assist us in deciding upon the initial position of (2).⁵⁵ In any case, the suggestion that a miracle which was meant to have occurred early in Dominic's lifetime should be relegated to the collection of posthumous miracles is itself slightly absurd.

It is much more likely that (2) was added directly into Book I, where both parts of the manuscript tradition place it. The *SR* version contains a short prologue; the *V* version lacks it, and integrates the story into another chapter, although it remains separated from the point of the narration in which Grimaldus mentions the dedication of the church without any indication that there was a story attached to it. He merely wrote that Santa María de Cañas 'est dedicada summo cum honore ac debita veneratione' (I.5.190–91, p. 206;

was dedicated with all honour and fitting veneration). The account then turns to the conversion of sinners. The tale of the dedication was not, therefore, originally included in I.5, where *VB* place it. *SR*, then, witnesses to the first place in which the story entered the *Vita*. It is more likely that such a story should enter the *Vita* first as an independent narrative and then be edited into the relevant portion of the saint's life than that it should have been added as an integral part of a chapter and then extracted to form a separate chapter. We may suggest, then, that *SR* represents a recension earlier than *V*, in which the compiler of *V* tidied the material provided by the previous tradition.

(3) presents a similar problem to (2). Two miracles are witnessed in different places in the text: *V* places them at III.32–33; *SR* at I.23–24. In *SR* the tales, although they are clearly posthumous, are included in the accounts of Dominic's miracles *in vita*.⁵⁶ As Valcárcel explained the matter:

Su inclusión en el libro I^o, está en clara incongruencia y contradicción con el plan de la obra, según se expresa en el prólogo a I.7[.2–4, p. 238: 'ad ea que Dominus Iesus [...] per hunc adhuc uiuentem in corpore dignatus est facere referenda accedamus']. Es decir, por lo que hace al caso, su plan es el de no incluir en el libro I^o más milagros que los obrados en vida. Sin embargo, es claro que estos milagros presuponen ya la muerte del santo según se ve por su texto: III.32: 'in vissione ammonita beati Dominici uisitare limina'; ... 'ipsum monstrum ligauerunt et ante sepulchrum beati Dominici ... monastrauerunt'. Y III.33: 'puella ante sepulchrum sancti Dominici manum extendit'. Admás, estos capítulos suceden en la narración de *S* al 'De nimia egestate famis Exiliensis cenobii' en uno de cuyos últimos párrafos declara el autor su intención inmediata, que es la de pasar a narrar seguidamente el 'transitus' del santo: 'et his pro modulo nostro expletis prout Dominus concesserit referemus qualis in transitu suo hic uenerandus uir domini claruerit'. Es evidente, entonces, que lo colocado entre esta cláusula y el 'tránsito' está fuera de lugar.⁵⁷

Its inclusion in Book I is totally incongruent and contradicts the design of the work, as it is expressed in the prologue to I.7[.2–4, p. 238; let us begin to tell of those things which the Lord Jesus deigned to work through him whilst he (Dominic) was still living in the body]. That is to say, as far as is relevant here, the author's purpose was to include in Book I only miracles which had been worked *in vitam*. Yet it is clear that these miracles already presuppose the saint's death, as can be seen from the text itself: III.32: 'advised in a vision to visit the shrine of the blessed Dominic'; 'they tied that monster up and showed it before the tomb of the blessed Dominic'. And III.33: 'the girl stretched out her hand before the tomb of Saint Dominic'. Besides, these chapters follow on, in *S*, from 'On the great famine suffered by the monastery of Silos', in one of whose last paragraphs the author declares his immediate intention, which is that of going on at once to narrate the saint's death: 'and thus with this finished according to my ability, I will tell with the Lord's help how the venerable man of God shone [with sanctity] at his death' (I.22.74–75, p. 298). It is then obvious that what is placed between this phrase and the *transitus* is out of place.

Valcárcel concludes that the position of (3) in *V*, towards the close of the collection, is its original position. He explains that its transfer to Book I was due to the attractiveness or usefulness of the material: the first story concerns a pilgrim from Galicia in whose stomach a snake nested; the second story is the cure of a woman who contravened the precept that one should rest from labour on the Lord's day. Both stories would therefore provide a 'conspectus generalis' or summary of the miracles of Books II–III.⁵⁸

It behoves us to challenge Valcárcel's conclusion. When Vergara described the manuscript that he was editing, he noted that the manuscript was written in a different hand from III.34, as we have discussed above. All of the manuscript, upto and including III.32–33, but no further, was written in the same hand — or at least the same style of Visigothic script —, clearly distinguishable from the hand which copied the subsequent miracles. We must then conclude that either these two miracles occurred roughly at the end of the collection, or that they were placed at the end by the compiler of Vergara's exemplar, just as he had tidied up the anomalous story of the dedication of Santa María de Cañas, discussed above as (2). Neither position, however, represents the miracles' original point of insertion in the *Vita*, as can be seen from the indices or lists of chapter titles preserved in *S* and *R*. (*V* has no indices). In the index to Book I, *S* and *R* have the following at the relevant segment:

- XX. De uestimentis pauperum.
- XXI. De leproso mundato.
- XXII. De quadam puella qui serpentem euomit et segete a turbine liberata.
- XXIII. De egestate famis Exiliensis cenobii.
- XXIV. De transitu et sepultura eius. (ll. 24–28, p. 160)

- XX. The paupers' clothes.
- XXI. The cleansed leper.
- XXII. A certain girl who vomited a snake and the field saved from a storm.
- XXIII. The famine at the monastery of Silos.
- XXIV. His death and burial.

As can be seen, the index mentions the miracle of the snake, but not that of the woman whose withered hand was cured. Furthermore, the chapter containing the miracle of the snake also included another tale, the field saved from a storm, which is not present in any of the surviving manuscripts. And, finally, the miracle of the snake/storm is placed before the tale of the famine at the monastery, not after, as it occurs in *SR*. We shall henceforth refer to the miracles that concern us as 'Cleansed leper', 'Snake', 'Field', 'Withered hand' and 'Famine'.

Since both *S* and *R* agree regarding the placing of 'Snake' and 'Withered hand', these cures must have been thus present in their Visigothic model. Their index (which does not agree with the chapters in the text) would

therefore have come from an earlier manuscript, the model to *S* and *R*'s model. The original position of 'Snake' was between the 'Cleansed leper' and 'Famine'. In the model to *SR*, the location of 'Snake' was changed and the story of the 'Withered hand' used to substitute for 'Field'.

'Snake' and 'Field' were, we may assume, considered suitable to include in Book I because both show Dominic's patronal power being exercised over a territory. In 'snake', the woman is freed of the serpent nesting in her stomach when she walks within the 'terminos Sancti Dominici' (III.32.13, p. 508; the territory of Saint Dominic). Although the text of 'field' has been lost, the title provides enough information to describe the nature of the miracle: Dominic preserved a crop (or possibly vines) from destruction during bad weather. The most usual means by which such preservation was achieved was through a previous procession with relics around the field or the placing of a statue or reliquary in the field to guarantee its protection.⁵⁹

Unusually, both miracles occupy only one chapter of the book, indicating their common character as an addition. But their position did not interfere with Grimaldus's design in ending Dominic's active thaumaturgy with 'Famine', the last and crowning miracle of Dominic's abbacy. In the subsequent revision, 'Snake' was placed after 'Famine'; 'Field' was replaced by a separate chapter, 'Withered hand'. This latter account tells how Dominic's intercession was able to undo a vengeance miracle which had befallen a young girl as a punishment for picking apples and other fruit on the feast of the Assumption (III.33.1–4, p. 510). The place of the miracles was altered in *SR*'s model in order to alleviate the incongruence of posthumous miracles appearing in the collection before all of Dominic's miracles *in vita* had been recounted. The substitution of 'Field' by 'Withered hand' was doubtless motivated by the desire to have a more exemplary miracle than that provided by the former.

The question as to when 'Snake', 'Field' and 'Withered hand' entered the collection is a difficult one. 'Snake' was written by an author who used Latinate toponyms: the woman afflicted is described as coming 'a confinio Compostellane ciuitatis' (III.32.1–2, p. 32; from a place near Compostela). This feature allows us to identify the author either as the one who composed the first twenty-five to twenty-seven miracles, or as one of the continuators beyond I.40. Berceo's translation may be of some assistance in this matter, if used cautiously. He did not use these stories, although one might have expected him to, since he reproduces all of the posthumous miracle stories he found in his copy of the *Vita*.⁶⁰ He did not, in any case, versify beyond II.26. Combining this testimony with the reasonable assumption that the initial posthumous miracles are the work of the author of Book I, Grimaldus, we may place the occurrence of 'Snake' and 'Field' to after the fresh start made by the author of II.40, and therefore from around 1090 onwards. Grimaldus would not have upset his own structure in Book I by the inclusion of posthumous miracles. However, the continuator who wrote II.40 had literary pretensions of his own, marking that miracle with a prologue announcing that

greater miracles were to be narrated. It is perfectly conceivable that he inserted 'Snake' and 'Field' into the work of his predecessor as Chapter 22 of Book I; it may also have been he who included (2) as Chapter 19.

Valcárcel noted that the narration of 'snake' had been enlarged at some point. His argument is based on the structure of the tale. The account of how the Galician woman, Gotina, had initially swallowed the snake is followed by her suffering due to the snake's eating all that she herself ate and her useless employment of doctors. She is then described as 'inuocans itaque dei clemenciam atque lacrimosa sancti Dominici nomen reclamans, in uisione ammonita beati Dominici uisitare limina, iter arripuit et ad suam domum sana remeauit' (III.32.10–12, p. 508; calling therefore upon the mercy of God and tearfully naming Saint Dominic, she was advised in a vision to visit the shrine of the blessed Dominic; she set out upon the journey and returned to her home cured). Only after the information that she returned home cured is given is the account of her cure detailed — a structure not seen in any other miracle of the *Vita Dominici*. Valcárcel observed,

Es sumamente extraño que, después de finalizar la narración con la fórmula habitual ('ad suam domum remeauit'), de nuevo continúe ésta para contarnos lo que le acaeció a Godina en el camino de regreso. Teniendo en cuenta de lo añadido, de tono entre épico y legendario, es necesario para completar la narración de lo sucedido (porque, si la enfermedad consistía en llevar una serpiente en el vientre, en el "sana remeauit" no se dice cómo se libró de ella), pienso que una mano posterior, dándose cuenta de tal circunstancia, introduciría esta continuación. En todo caso, ese añadido sería ya antiguo, pues figura en los tres mss.⁶¹

It is extremely strange that, after finishing the narration with the customary formula ('she returned to her home'), the narration again continues to tell us what befell Gotina on her way home. Bearing in mind that the addition, whose tone is between the epic and the legendary, is necessary to complete the narration of what happened (because, if the illness comprised having a serpent in her stomach, the [description that she] 'returned healthy' does not say how she freed herself of the serpent), I am of the opinion that a later hand, realizing that there was something missing, introduced the continuation of the story. In any case, the addition was already old, since it figures in all three manuscripts.

Such a continuation may have been added when the position of 'Snake' was changed and 'Field' removed.

The undoing of vengeance miracles is witnessed throughout the collection (II.22 as far as III.30), although they were most common between II.22–42, and therefore from 1088–91. 'Withered hand' may well have been taken from this section of text when it was decided that 'Field' should be replaced, so that a specialization of the shrine should be highlighted. Urraca was struck by a vengeance miracle because she ignored both offices and mass of the feast of the Assumption, a feast which was not celebrated under the Mozarabic

liturgy.⁶² The prominent position given to the story is no doubt due to its exemplary value, indicating the necessity of adhering to the new Roman rite. The decisive placing of this miracle so shortly after the liturgical change must call into question Walker's conclusion regarding Silos that 'There is scant evidence for enthusiastic acceptance of the new liturgy among those who produced the new manuscripts for many years after the initial edict'.⁶³ Surely those who were producing the liturgical manuscripts at Silos were also those who produced the *Vita Dominici*. Here they showed themselves enthusiastic in emphasising the importance of a feast-day in the new liturgical round.

The final addition to consider is (4), a prayer asking blessings upon Dominic's devotees and the kingdom which was to be recited upon his feastday (III.43.30–41, p. 534). The text is only recorded in *V*.

Effundamus itaque aliquantulum coram illo precem ut semper eius patrociniis fruamur. Oramus te itaque, sanctissime pater, ut humillimas nostre petitionis uoces attendas, affectum conspicias et, considerato nostre conditionis ficmento, hostem comprimas; expellas tyrannidem, dissidentes pacifices, tuearis presules, gubernes clericos, abbates dirigas, foueas monachos eosque ex omni tribulatione insidiantium eripias, a suggestione inmundorum spiritum [*leg.* spirituum] custodias; aperias carceres, uinctos absoluas, opressos releues, famem pestemque repellas, fidelibus defunctis requiem sempiternam adquiras et omnibus qui tua deuote solemnina peragunt, celeste leuamen acceleres, quatinus feliciter in Christo Domino seruire mereantur, qui cum Deo Patre et Sancto Spiritu unus deus uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen' (III.42.30–41, p. 534)

And so, let us say a prayer for a short while before him that we may ever enjoy his protection. And so we pray to you, most holy father, that you may hear the most humble words of our petition, you may look upon our desire, and, taking into account our situation, contain the foe; expell tyranny, pacify the disaffected, watch over bishops, govern clerics, direct abbots, encourage monks and free them from all tribulation from the evil ones, keep them from the suggestions of the unclean spirits; open prisons, free those chained, lift up those weighed down, keep famine and pestilence far from us, gain eternal rest for the faithful departed and, for all those who devoutly keep your feast, gain them speedily the consolation of heaven, so that they may deserve to serve in Christ our Lord, who, with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, one God, lives and reigns, for ages unending. Amen.

This text is preceeded by a prayer which also occurs in *S*, the only other manuscript to have preserved this miracle:

Quapropter, fratres karissimi, sobrie et iuste in Domino gaudeamus, qui tam pium et misericordem ac gloriosum patronum nobis concedere est dignatus; quem pia ueneratione et dignis obsequiis honoremus ac fideli mente recolamus, ut ipse pro nobis intercedere dignetur, quatinus ipsius meritis et precibus a malis omnibus in hoc

seculo et in futuro a gehenne ignis incendio mereamur liberari et cum eo in celesti regno sine fine regnare. (III.43.23–29, pp. 532–34)

Therefore, dearest brethren, let us rejoice soberly and justly in the Lord, who has deigned to grant us such a kind and merciful and glorious patron; whom we honour with devout veneration and fitting praise and whom we faithfully call to mind, so that by his merits and prayers we may merit our freedom from all evils in this world and from the conflagration of the fire of Gehenna in the world to come and to reign with him in the heavenly kingdom for ever.

The additional text follows on from this, and functions as a recapitulation of ideas expressed in the above, expanding the subjects of its intercession to the state of the kingdom, the behaviour of secular and religious authorities, the liberation of prisoners and the relief of the starving, preservation from disease and a concern for the faithful departed. As Valcárcel notes,

El carácter de añadido posterior de esta exhortación y oración final viene dado no sólo de su ausencia de uno de los dos mss. (S), sino de que el cap[ítulo] había quedado conceptual y fomalmente cerrado en la línea 29 ['et cum eo in celesti regno sine fine regnare'], incluida la correspondiente exhortación [i.e., 'Quapropter, fratres karissimi'], por la que ésta que ahora nos ocupa implica una repetición.⁶⁴

That this final exhortation and prayer is characteristically a later addition is shown not only by its absence from one of the manuscripts (S), but also by the fact that the chapter had remained conceptually and stylistically closed at line 29 ['and to reign with him in the heavenly kingdom for ever'], including the corresponding exhortation [i.e., 'And so, most dear brethren'], so that this section which we are presently dealing with implies a repetition.

At this point, *V*'s model was being written by a different hand to that which had compiled the text up to III.33. The additional prayer is only the most striking of the series of omissions and discrepancies between the manuscripts towards the end of the collection (that is, after III.33), differences which are significant in establishing the relative status of the manuscripts.

V's model did not transmit any indices, but does give titles to each chapter in the text. *R* is deficient in that its text does not reach beyond III.14.3, but it does preserve an index for Book III. *S* preserves both an index and the texts for this section of the *Vita*, but generally does not give chapter headings. Within the indices of *S* and *R*, there are two transpositions of the order of chapters as the sequence of their texts occur in both *S* and *V*: once *S* is mistaken (transposing the titles for III.35–36); once *R* is mistaken (transposing III.46–47).⁶⁵ The phrasing of the titles up to III.43 in both indices is identical, showing that they descend from the same source at this point. *V*'s titles coincide with *SR* only at III.39, 41 and 42.⁶⁶ Yet at III.44, all the titles diverge. *S* omits this miracle from both its text and its index. *R* and *S*(index) only bear

the same title at III.45 and 48, the latter being the last title in *R*'s index and the last chapter in *V*.⁶⁷

The confusion that the indices of *S* and *R* and the omissions that the text of *S* witness to after III.41 suggest that the model of *V* had become the official text for the recording of miracles performed at the shrine. The omission of III.44 from both the index and text of *S* is most indicative in this direction. *V*'s model continued to be the leading text into the thirteenth century, since this was the text given to Bernardus Briocanus to copy for Alfonso X. But this status granted to *V*'s model was not to continue, and copies made of the *Vita* at Silos after the thirteenth century used the earlier recension, perhaps because it was earlier. Continuation of the collection of posthumous miracles was then limited, in the manuscripts of the *Vita Dominici*, to the nine chapter-headings included at the end of the index to Book III in *S*.

A STEMMA OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscript stemma is unavoidably complex due to the manner in which the *Vita Dominici* was continually expanded and revised. What follows is therefore highly provisional, and would depend upon the work of a new edition to establish the theoretical dependences traced therein. The original archetype or nucleus of text, α , was submitted for the diocesan enquiry. This reached to II.5. An expanded version, β , was then made to include the translation and some additional material in Book I (see figure 1).

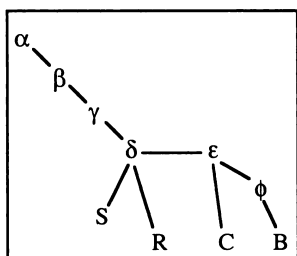


Figure 1: Stemma of the *Vita Dominici*.

Further material was added to Book I, namely 'Snake', 'Field' and possibly the story of the dedication of Santa María de Cannas, referred to as (2) above. These additions were possibly carried out at the same time that II.40–45 were written up; this stage in the evolution of the text will be called γ . Of course, α , β and γ might have been the same manuscript, with additional material added on loose leaves or as marginalia. A revised and expanded version of γ , in which 'Snake' changed position, 'Field' was omitted and 'Withered hand' was introduced (δ), became the model for *S* and *R*. A more thoroughgoing revision to the text and its order produced ϵ , born of a desire to tidy what had become an unwieldy, uneven and at times contradictory document. ϵ provided the model for *V*, for Bernardus Briocanus's text, ϕ (copied into *B*), and probably

for C. ε placed 'Snake' and 'Field' at the very end of the record of the posthumous miracles that had up to then been recorded (III.32–33) and integrated (2) into I.5, rather than retaining it as a separate chapter. ε maintained its position as the official or main text of the hagiography and was expanded again with new miracle stories which were only inconsistently added to δ. The stemma, however, does give an indication of the high level of revision to and the possibly large number of manuscripts of the *Vita Dominici*.

NOTES

1. Grimaldus, *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, ed. by Vitalino Valcárcel, *La 'Vita Dominici Siliensis' de Grimaldo: estudio, edición crítica y traducción*, Centro de Estudios 'Gonzalo de Berceo', 9 (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1982), pp. 146–545. References to the text are given by book, chapter and line numbers(s), followed by the page reference to Valcárcel's edition. The correct title of the work is the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, not *Siliensis* as Valcárcel has it. *Exiliensis* is the adjectival form used throughout the work in question to refer to Silos (see, for example, I.5.428, I.6.1, III.45.3). To use the adjective which was *always* preferred by the authors of the *Vita* is self-evidently the proper choice for its title. Valcárcel refused this form and preferred the late-medieval *Siliensis*, although there was by no means unanimity on this usage — Rodrigo de Cerrato used 'de Silis' and 'Siliensis'. *Siliensis* is taken from the late medieval *Abbreviatio* of the saint's *Vita* from San Millán (see below, pp. 403–07). This adjectival form unfortunately connects the *Vita* to the tendentiously titled *Historia Silensis*, an eleventh-century chronicle whose attribution to San Isidoro de León is now as firm as the attribution to Silos was shaky (see the introduction to the *Historia Silensis* in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, ed. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 12–16). Just as the *Vita Dominici* should be called by its correct title, so it would be preferable to change the title of the *Historia Silensis* to something less compromising: the *Historia Seminis*, perhaps, with allusion to the textual crux on which the attribution to Silos was claimed but which probably hides an unresolved abbreviation for 'Sancti Iohannis', the earlier dedication of San Isidoro in León.
2. Valcárcel, pp. 89–96. Frida Weber de Kurlat, 'La "visión" de Santo Domingo de Silos. Berceo, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, cuartetas 224–251', in *Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach (con motivo de sus XXV años de docencia en la Universidad de Oviedo)*, 6 vols (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1976–84), III (1978), 489–505, at p. 492, mistakenly grants Grimaldus the title of *abad*. Valcárcel claims that Grimaldus was French (pp. 92–94) due to the similarities in phrasing between the *Vita Dominici* and the *Vita Mansueti* and *Vita Apri* on the one hand and the *Vita Gerhardi* on the other. Two parallels with the *Vita Mansueti* are striking, but the others and those that Valcárcel draws between the *Vita Dominici* and the *Vita Apri* are the result of chance; the similarity with the *Vita Gerhardi* is due to a common source (Athanasius's *Vita Antonii*). Furthermore, Grimaldus is not necessarily a French name: a town in Extremadura is called Grimaldo (forty-five kilometres from Cáceres, on the transhumance routes from northern Spain). Since the vision in which Grimaldus is named as the author is attributed to Galindus, his servant, who was Aragonese, we may hypothetically place Grimaldus's origins in the east of the peninsula, either Aragón or Catalunya. Could the similarities between the *Vita Dominici* and the *Vita Mansueti* be due to an unidentified common source? The question must remain open.
3. It is unlikely that the Grimaldus referred to at III.11.26 (p. 480) could be the continuator from II.40 (as suggested by Anne Boylan, 'Manuscript illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (Xth to XIIIth centuries)', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburg, 1990, p. 193), since the term used by Dominic in Galindus's vision, 'librum mee conuersationis' (the book of my conversation), can only mean, in the monastic usage of the word *conuersatio*, his earthly life and behaviour.

4. The twelfth-century collection of miracles of Notre Dame de Rocamadour has been recently translated by Marcus Graham Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1999).
5. Valcárcel, p. 21. See also F. J. Pérez de Urbel and W. Whitehill, 'Los manuscritos del Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 95 (1929), 521–601, at p. 575; and Alonso Andrés, 'Notable manuscrito de los tres primeros hagiógrafos de Santo Domingo (ss. XIII–XIV)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 4 (1917), 172–94 and 445–58.
6. See Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La obra de Bernardo de Brihuega, colaborador de Alfonso X', in *Strenae. Estudios de filología e historia dedicados al Profesor Manuel García Blanco*, Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras, 16 (Salamanca: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1962), pp. 145–61, esp. pp. 154–57. The compilation stretches over mss. 2538–42.
7. Valcárcel, pp. 23–25.
8. Valcárcel, pp. 27–28; Valcárcel does not mention what I have termed *G*, even though Tamayo directs the reader to his report of the translation at VI, 520: 'Aliquot notabilia dedimus in die eius *Translationis* Tom. 4. XV. Kal. Septembris'.
9. In the index to Book II, *S* omits one miracle from the index (II.35, 'De alio ceco illuminato': see Valcárcel's *apparatus criticus*, p. 318). *S* is the only manuscript whose index contains note of miracles beyond the text of *V* and the index of *R*, to the number specified by Tamayo (see pp. 9–10).
10. 'Adephonsi' (*Translatio*, Tamayo, IV, 503) vs 'Aldephonsi' (*Vita*, Tamayo, VI, 519; Valcárcel, ed., I.23.119, p. 310); 'Fredelandi' (*Translatio*, *ibid*) vs 'Ferdinandi' (*Vita*, *ibid*; I.23.120, p. 310); '& infernalía' (*Translatio*, *ibid*) vs & venalia (*Vita*, VI, 520) — *SRV* read 'et inuenialia' (I.23.149, p. 312). The *Translatio* ends with the following, absent from all other witnesses: 'Transferitur Corpus, cum spiritus almus *Helena* lungitur Angelicis Spiritibusque piis' and Tamayo's comment, 'Hinc verum *translationis* Diem agnosces tam in prosa, quam in versu, cum Dies transitus *S. Helena* fuerit XV. *Kalendas Septembris*, vt ex Romano liquet Martyrologio' (Tamayo, IV, 504). It may have been drawn from a breviary, although Tamayo does seem to have inserted, in the stead of 'cuius [*scil.* Dominici] hodie festiua gaudia felicit ad superna gaudia transitus festiuis' (I.23.157–58, p. 312), the following into his version of the *Vita*: 'una cum sanctissima regina Helena, Magni Constantini matre quae etiam hac die in caelos coronata transcendit cordialibus' (VI, 520; Valcárcel, p. 312). *S* was also altered for reading at the celebration of the saint's translation: 'transitus' in the quotation above was crossed out and 'translationis' written above it.
11. Vergara, *Vida y milagros*, §7; see Valcárcel, pp. 25–27.
12. Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. B. IV–21, fols. 24^r–24^v and 36^r.
13. Martín de Sarmiento, OSB, *Obras pósthumas del R^{mo} P. M. Fr. Martín de Sarmiento, Benedictino*. I: *Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles dadas a luz por el Monasterio de S. Martín de Madrid, y dedicadas al exc^{mo} Sr. Duque de Medina-Sidonia* (Madrid, 1775), p. 255.
14. Valcárcel provides ample proof over more than five pages of tables contrasting common readings of *S* and *R* with those of *V*, at pp. 55–60.
15. Valcárcel, p. 22, notes, regarding *S*, 'una muy frecuente confusión de las letras a/i (del tipo acciderat / acciderit o inquiritur / inquiratur, etc.); a/u (tipo ipsam / ipsum, at / ut, etc.); s/r (tipo audiemur / audiemus, sollertes / sollertes, etc.); confusión también, aunque no tan frecuente, de r/t (tipo intuentium / inruentium, rumore / tumore); r/u (tipo caritate / ciuitate); l/t (tipo luluenti / lutuenti); l/d (tipo molesta / modesta); l/i (tipo abjectorum / ablectorum o delectum / delectum); c/t (con un número muy elevado de confusiones en el caso ti-/ci- más vocal, o en otras como coti(die) / totadie). Algunas de estas confusiones me hacen pensar que el modelo de *S* estaría en letra visigótica' (a very frequent confusion of the letters a/i, a/u, s/r; and also the confusion, although not as frequent, of r/t, r/u, l/t, l/d, l/i, c/t (with a very high number of confusions in the case of ti-/ci + vowel, or in others such as coti(die) / totadie). Some of these confusions make me think that the model of *S* would have been in Visigothic script).

16. On the cloister and its construction, see Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, 'El claustro de Silos y las fuentes documentales', in *El románico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988*, Studia Silensia, Series Maior, 1 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 77–84; Vicente García Lobo, 'La epigrafía del claustro de Silos', in *El románico en Silos*, pp. 85–104.
17. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols (1st edn 1929; 4th edn, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947), I, 361 and II, 759 n. 2.
18. Valcárcel, p. 371, n. 2, identifies this as Llantada, which he describes as a now-disappeared town on the banks of the Pisuerga, close to the surviving village of Llantadilla (judicial district Carrión de los Condes, Palencia). According to Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, Llantadilla was the site of a battle between Sancho II and Alfonso of León on 19 July 1068 ('Chronicon regum Legionensium (Chronicle of the Kings of León)', trans. by Barton and Fletcher in their *The World of El Cid*, pp. 74–89, at p. 83); but the same battle is referred to as occurring at Llantada in the *Historia Roderici*, §5 (trans. by Barton and Fletcher, in their *The World of El Cid*, pp. 98–147, at p. 101).
19. On Aledo, see Juan Muñoz Ruano, 'Castillos en la vida de Alfonso VI', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo*, Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes, vol. 2 (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1988), pp. 305–19, at pp. 311–33.
20. See Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 268.
21. Valcárcel, p. 429, n. 1; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, II, 759.
22. Valcárcel, p. 479, n. 1bis; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 424–25.
23. On the campaign against Valencia, see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 232–33. On the Aledo and Granada campaigns, see the *Historia Roderici*, §§32–33, §44, in Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 160–61, 169. It is unlikely that Bellitus was captured at the battle of Zalaca (1086) at which Alfonso was defeated by the Almoravids (cf. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla*, pp. 185–90). See below, p. 179.
24. Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, *Glosas y notas marginales del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Studia Silensia, 19 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1996), pp. 52–55. Cp. Richard Fletcher's opinion that the use of Visigothic script was 'rare by about 1125 and to all intents and purposes obsolete by the 1140s' in *The World of El Cid*, p. 94.
25. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255–1300)*, doc. no. 330, p. 278.
26. Marius Férotin, OSB, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), p. 109.
27. On the expansion of miracle collections as more miracles occurred, see Pierre André Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction', *Francia*, 15 (1987), 149–82, at pp. 173–74.
28. With Valcárcel, p. 367 n. 1 (and Gonzalo de Berceo), it is sensible to associate 'Pennas Albas' with Peñalba de Castro.
29. The narration itself is perhaps the product of two separate moments of composition, since the tale is told of a girl possessed by a demon, brought to Silos, then freed; then possessed again by other demons and only freed with great labour when brought to Silos. The end of the first possession is told as any other miracle, 'plene est sanitate reddita et gratulabunda et incolumis rediit ad propria' (II.27.28–29 (p. 382); fully returned to health and unharmed and happy she returned home), and what follows is tagged on to it: 'Fluente autem curriculo aliquanti temporis' ... (27.30 (p. 382); Some time having passed ...).
30. For this phrasing and others (e.g., at II.9.1–2, III.20.1–2), see Roger Wright, 'Latin and "Ladino" (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries)', in his *Early Ibero-Romance: Twenty-one studies on Language and Texts from the Iberian Peninsula between the Roman Empire and the Thirteenth Century*, Hispanic Monographs Estudios Lingüísticos, 5 (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1994), pp. 265–76, at pp. 272–75. Wright's discussion, however, is vitiated by his not identifying different authorial hands in the manuscript. Since perhaps over twenty or thirty years separate Grimaldus from the final continuator, it is not impossible that certain key terms — particularly 'uulgari' and 'uulgariter' — had changed their meaning.

31. Valcárcel identifies these places as the following: *Mons Rubicundus*, Monterrubio de la Sierra, judicial district Salas de los Infantes, Burgos (p. 293, n. 1bis, referred to again as 'uulgari locutione Mons Rubicundus uocatur' at III.35.1–2, p. 514); *Spelionensi*, Espejón, judicial district Burgo de Osma, Soria (p. 329, n. 1); *Corneliana* would seem to have disappeared, but is mentioned in a document of 972 as 'Cornelianos in riuido Pinitello' (p. 239, n. 1bis — Berceo identifies the place with Cornellana de Asturias; the mistake indicates that it had probably ceased to exist even in Berceo's day); *Exagunensis* is Sahagún (p. 331 n. 1; cp. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 77); *Fortis*, Villafuertes, judicial district Lerma, Burgos (p. 333, n. 1); *Castro Muniensis*, Castromuño or Castillo de Muño (Valcárcel, p. 431, n. 1), the head of the *comarca* or judicial area, situated between those of Burgos, Lara, Lerma, Palenzuela and Castrojeriz, and is mentioned also in II.43 ('in territorio Muniensis castri'), III. 34.2 (p. 512, 'territorio Muniensis Castri'), III.43.2 (p. 532, 'in pago Castri Muniensis'); *Kobaense*, Cueva de San Clemente, judicial district Lerma, Burgos (p. 337, n. 1), mentioned again as 'Cuebas' (II.49.1–2, p. 440); *Nova*, Villanueva de Carazo, judicial district Salas de los Infantes (p. 337, n. 1bis); *Castro Coriliensi*, Coriel de los Ajos, Valladolid (p. 339, n. 1); *Enebreuensis*, Nebreda, judicial district Lerma, Burgos (p. 341 n. 1); *Alkoçarensi* *Castro*, Alcozar, judicial district Burgo de Osma, Soria (p. 343, n. 1); *Agosina*, Ausín or Los Ausines, province and judicial district Burgos (p. 347, n. 1).
32. Villamayor is near Lerma (Valcárcel, p. 403, n. 1); for Villanueva and Villafuertes, see the previous footnote.
33. Valcárcel, p. 37. He did not identify the earlier changes of author or campaigns of writing.
34. Valcárcel, p. 37.
35. Valcárcel, p. 435 n. 1, identifies *Ripa Rotunda* as Santa María de Ribarredonda (partido judicial de Miranda de Ebro, provincia de Burgos).
36. Valcárcel, p. 39. Valcárcel overlooked the short narrations at II. 41 and II.43 (eight and seven lines respectively)
37. Valcárcel identifies these places as the following: *Montesinus*, Montesino (p. 437, n. 1bis), which was near Silos but has now disappeared; *Francorum fluuium*, Riofrancos, a town now disappeared but founded before the tenth century on the River Franco between Lerma and Palenzuela (p. 447, n. 1); *Castrum Bekerensis*, Viguera, judicial district and province Logroño (p. 475, n. 1); *Penna de Aranda*, Peñaranda de Duero, judicial district Aranda de Duero, Burgos (p. 445, n. 1).
38. Valcárcel, p. 32.
39. Valcárcel, p. 34.
40. Valcárcel, pp. 31 and 33.
41. Valcárcel, p. 37.
42. Valcárcel, pp. 31–33.
43. Valcárcel, p. 37.
44. Valcárcel, pp. 31 and 33.
45. Valcárcel, pp. 34 and 37.
46. Valcárcel, pp. 31 and 33.
47. Thus in section 3 (II.22–27), although two *contractae* are represented at II.22–23 (see above, p. 11), and two escapes narrated at II.25–26, two exorcisms are found at II.24 and II.27.
Section 4 is too short for any conclusions to be drawn: two lame men (II.28–29) healed followed by a man cured from fever (II.30).
Section 5 (II.31–39) has a couple of miracle-sequences: cures from blindness (II.33–35) and from contracted hands (II.37–38), but two exorcisms are present at II.32 and 39 and a boy with a contracted leg (a complaint conceptually linked to the contracted hands of II.37–38) begins the section.
Section 6 (II.40–44) has two cures of mutes separated by a cure from blindness (II.40–43). Although section 7 (II.45–60/III.5) has some sequences (two exorcisms followed by the cure of two *debiles*, II.46–49; two cures of blindness, III.1–2), these contrast with the cures of hunchbacks (II.52, 57, III.3), the spread of exorcisms (II.50, 53, 56, 59, III.5), and the cures of two dumb men (II.45, III.5).

Section 8 (III.6–18) contains two contiguous escapes (III.9–10), but again exorcisms are sprinkled throughout (III.6, 11, 13, 18), as are cures for women with contracted limbs or a withered hand (III.12, 15, 17).

Section 9 (III.19–31) does contain some sequences (fever: III.21–22; blindness: III.23–24; contracted limbs and a withered hand: III.28–29), but fever is again cured at III.25, and there are two cures from *tortio oris* at III.19 and III.30.

Section 10 (III.34–48) contains two sequences of exorcisms (III.42–43, 47–48) separated by three cures from, respectively, lameness and dumbness, contraction of limbs and lameness (III.44–46); the earlier part of the section sees two cures from *tortio oris* at III.37 and 40, and an exorcism at III.35.

It is only at III.49–57, which feature only in the index of *S*, that we find a conceptual scheme being used: three cures of *debiles* (49–51), three exorcisms (52–53) and then the cure of a lame man, a woman with contracted limbs and a lame girl (55–57). Nearly two hundred years, however, separate the addition of these titles in *S* and the copying of *V*'s (or *SR*'s) model — see above, pp. 9–10.

48. Lomax, 'Aspectos de la vida castellana', pp. 292–93, contrasts the chronological sequence in the *Vita Dominici* with the thirteenth-century 'administrative report' of the miracles of Pedro González, where miracles are ordered according to the types of sicknesses cured.
49. Pierre André Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e–XII^e siècle)* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1985), pp. 123–24, 186–87. For the thirteenth century at the shrine, see below, pp. 329–31.
50. Valcárcel fails to mention this in his *apparatus criticus* at the relevant page (p. 208).
51. That Gonzalo de Berceo omits Dominic's mother's burial is unimportant, in spite of what Valcárcel thinks. Gonzalo has the core of the story: Dominic's mother refused to enter his priory when his father and brothers did. And even though he does not mention her burial, he mentions prayers for her soul. It is therefore more likely that artistic licence will explain Berceo's omission than any oddity in the transmission of the story.
52. Valcárcel, p. 41, n. 38. See also Chapter Two, n. 16 at p. 74, below, for further discussion.
53. Another rural story was attached to Dominic; see pp. 234, 403 and 405–06, below.
54. Valcárcel, p. 40.
55. Berceo's omission of the tale, even if we accept for the moment that it was not in the exemplar he was using, only informs us of the time at which (2) was added to the *Vita*, that is, after the date that II.26 was included. It cannot tell us *where* in the *Vita* it was first included. Yet we cannot take for granted that Berceo's exemplar did not contain the tale.
56. The entire text of III.32 is given at pp. 106–07, below.
57. Valcárcel, pp. 41–42; the italics are Valcárcel's.
58. Valcárcel, p. 42.
59. The account of a saint's protection of a field against a storm or hail is common throughout Europe: Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 161–62, 271, 292.
60. He does insert the detail that candles are laid at the tomb of the saint in several miracles; this detail is only to be found in the *Vita Dominici* precisely at III.33.8, p. 520. But it is in all probability a coincidence, marking a development in devotional strategies in the search for a miracle rather than a direct borrowing from the Latin account in question.
61. Valcárcel, p. 509.
62. Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London: The British Library, 1998), p. 212.
63. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 223. For a more positive view of the change, see Luciano de la Calzada, 'La proyección del pensamiento de Gregorio VII en los reinos de Castilla y León', *Studi Gregoriani*, ed. by G. B. Borino, 3 (Rome: Abazia de San Paolo, 1948), pp. 1–87, at pp. 57–78.
64. Valcárcel, p. 536, n. 3.
65. Throughout I use the numeration that Valcárcel has adopted for this book in his edition, numeration according to *V*. To give the corresponding numeration of *S* (text), *S* (index) and *R* would lead to a Babel-like confusion of figures.

66. Thus 34 *V*: 'De puero a febris liberato' ≠ *RS*(index): 'De paruulo ab inflatione et febris sanato' ≠ *S*(text): 'De alio puero a febris liberato'; 35 *V*: 'De muliere a demonio liberata' ≠ *RS*(index): 'De demoniaca sanata'; 36 *V*: 'De duobus captiuis liberatis' ≠ *RS*(index) 'De captiuorum liberatione' (note that *S*(index) transposes 35 and 36; *S*(text) omits the titles); 37 *V*: 'De milite a torcione oris liberato' ≠ *RS*(index)*S*(text): 'De milite a torcione oris sanato'; 38 *V*: 'De ceco sanato' ≠ *RS*(index) 'De paruulo ceco [*S*(index) adds "et"] inluminato' (*S*(text) omits the title); 39 *VRS*(index): 'De alio puero ab inflacione sanato' (*S*(text) omits chapter); 40 *V*: 'De homine a torcione oris sanato' ≠ *RS*(index) 'De quodam iuvene a torcione oris sanato' (*S*(text) omits title); 41 *VRS*(index): 'De ceco illuminato' (*S*(text) omits title); 42 *VRS*(index): 'De demoniaco sanato' (*S*(text) omits chapter); 43 *V*: 'De demoniaca sanata' ≠ *RS*(index): 'De puella a demone [*S*(index) reads 'demonio'] possessa et liberata' (*S*(text) omits title).
67. Thus 44 *V*: 'De muta clauda sanata' ≠ *R*: 'De muliere muta et sanata' (*S*(index) and *S*(text) omit this chapter); 45 *V*: 'De contracta sanata' ≠ *R*: 'De puella et clauda sanata' (*R* has transposed this chapter-heading with the following, and *S*(text) omits it, as it does the following; the sequence of the text in the latter follows *V*); 47 *V*: 'De demoniaco sanato' ≠ *R*: 'De quodam iuvene ab amentia sanato' ≠ *S*(index): 'De paruulo a temptatione diaboli liberato' (*S*(text) omits the title); 48 *V*: 'De demoniaca sanata' ≠ *RS*(index): 'De quadam puella a diabolica temptatione liberata' ≠ *S*(text) 'De puella demoniaca', written by a corrector's hand.

CHAPTER 2

DOMINICO ABBAS: DOMINIC IN HAGIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

As we have seen, the genesis and transmission of the *Vita Dominici* was a complex process. Our focus in this chapter will be on the individual whose sanctity the *Vita* was written to celebrate. Given that the *Vita* was composed close in time to the saint's own life, and was written for an audience who knew the man personally, it is highly likely that the figure of the saint presented in Book I is close to the historical individual as he was experienced by those closest to him. There is, furthermore, a psychological coherence to the saint as presented by Grimaldus that allows us to grasp, albeit fleetingly, a sense of the man himself. It is the saint's character and biography that we shall now explore.

The first book of the *Vita* is divided into two clearly delineated parts. The initial six chapters retell how Dominic came to be abbot of Silos, beginning with his early years. The subsequent chapters of Book I relate the signs, wonders and miracles which he performed during his time as abbot of Silos. The account ends with his death in 1073 and his subsequent translation. The hinge between these two parts is a vision that Dominic received after having taken charge of Silos. It is this vision which both determines the saint's view of himself and Grimaldus's view of the saint. It is not to go too far to say that the vision makes Dominic's sanctity possible. Analysis of this supernatural experience will therefore form a central part of this chapter.

The *Vita*, as far as I.7, follows an absolutely chronological path, in detailing Dominic's life before and immediately after his arrival at Silos. However, I.8 occurred in 1061, and the final miracle to be narrated, I.22, features Fernando I, and therefore must have occurred in or before 1065, the year of the king's death, yet, since it relates a lack of material prosperity, probably occurred early in Dominic's rule as abbot. It is highly unlikely, in any case, that all of Dominic's miracles occurred in a four-year period of 1061–65. Thus, although I.1–I.7 are chronological, this approach is partially abandoned by Grimaldus when narrating Dominic's deeds as abbot, limiting the miracles to a period of the saint's existence but not establishing a chronological sequence amongst them. Grimaldus's practice falls between the two forms of narration identified by Sigal as characteristic of French hagiography of the period: some writers

would present the miracles which had occurred during any given period of the saint's life together, with no particular effort made to order them chronologically within that section. Others would place the miracles 'dans un ou plusieurs chapitres spéciaux', without regard for chronology. Only a few attempted to tie each miracle precisely to the saint's biography.¹ Grimaldus identifies Dominic's time as abbot as the time of his thaumaturgy, but the impression of a special section dedicated to miracles is reinforced by the absence of any narration concerning Dominic's abbacy which is not connected to the marvellous.

THE ORIGINS OF SANCTITY

According to the *Vita*, Dominic was born to a noble father in the town of Cañas, a Riojan village in the zone of influence of the reconquest monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. The nobility of his father, Iohannes, is easy to believe, bearing in mind Dominic's rapid promotion in San Millán as a monk and his connections within the Castilian ruling class when abbot of Silos. Dominic's mother is not mentioned, although this omission may be due to her spurning her son's request that she join him in religious life, as suggested above, p. 16. The traditional date for Dominic's birth — although it is clearly not known with any precision — is AD 1000. However, since Grimaldus could draw upon witnesses for the saint's youth (I.2.202–03, p. 178), it is more likely that Dominic was born rather later, around AD 1010.²

The childhood of the saint is described by Grimaldus as being a foretaste of his subsequent adult sanctity. Each stage of Dominic's existence in the early period of his life is marked by hagiographical *topoi*, commonplaces drawn from the lives of earlier saints. These *topoi* are deployed to characterize the saint's personality, to place his particular inflection of Christian goodness within a living tradition, to suggest how he fulfilled that tradition of sanctity but also to indicate how he represented a new departure.

Dominic's *infantia*, in which he dwelt at home with his parents, is assimilated to the childhood of the Patriarch Jacob and, from the monastic world, Antony the Great, the prototype of Egyptian hermits (I.1.32–39, p. 164).³ When a boy, Dominic was sent to guard sheep (I.2.1–2, p. 166): his care of the animals mirrors the great figures of the Old Testament, Abel, Moses and David, and stresses his continuity with the most important local saint of the Visigothic past, Aemilianus.⁴ Furthermore, Dominic's shepherding looks forward to his abbacy, the real sheep foretelling the spiritual flock he would later guide (e.g., I.2.184–97, p. 178). His education is also detailed through suitable *topoi*, namely that of 'il motivo dell'abbandono o del rifiuto delle scienze mondane — a favore del sapere biblico-teologico o dell'anacoretismo — da parte del santo adolescente che si incammina per l'arduo sentiero della perfezione, ricorre pressoché costantemente sin dai testi archetipali del genere agiografico' (the motif of the abandonment or refusal of worldly education in

favour of biblical and theological wisdom or of being a hermit on the part of the holy adolescent who journeys along the arduous way of perfection, repeatedly occurs from the archtypal texts of hagiography).⁵ Dominic's turning his back upon worldly knowledge (I.1.32–39, p. 164) and the brevity of his acquisition of the Sacred Scriptures (I.2.205–08, p. 178–80) cast him as one whose heart was fittingly given over to things of the spirit, indicate the suitability of his ordination, and presage his subsequent choice of the eremitical life.

The saint's secret flight to the wilderness (I.3.93, p. 188) casts him within a venerable and venerated pattern of Visigothic saints. Aemilianus abandoned his sheep and adopted an eremitical master, Felix, with whom he lived for a number of years before retreating to his own hermitage around which a group of male and female hermits coalesced.⁶ Fructuosus, living as a hermit, attracted a group of monks around himself which became the nucleus of a monastery. He abandoned this foundation to seek out an eremitical existence, the cell becoming the focus for another group of monks which which was yet again abandoned in a cyclical process of foundation, retreat, and reabsorption into a monastic community.⁷

Yet Dominic, after a year and a half in the wilderness, made a radical break with the traditions of Mozarabic eremitical practice. He chose not to seek an eremitical master, but rather to join the large, powerful and wealthy foundation of San Millán de la Cogolla (I.3.93–95, p. 188, and I.4.28–35, p. 192), which had been in existence for nearly a century and was undergoing rapid change, expansion and Benedictinization. The Benedictine rule's insistence on the necessity of monastic experience before any eremitical experience might be attempted supplanted the Mozarabic Church's anarchic toleration of individual eremitism, sometimes contained within a loosely cenobitic structure, at times wholly apart and alone.⁸ Dominic's decision to come down from the hills and into the monastery is a sign of the penetration of the European ideal of monastic best practice into what had previously been a relatively closed and highly traditional ecclesiastical organization that had remained faithful to practices long since abandoned elsewhere. The slow trickle of outside ideas and ideals into Christian Spain at the beginning of the century would gather pace until it wholly swept away the Mozarabic Church and its liturgy shortly after Dominic's death and integrated both ecclesiastical and monastic structures into those found elsewhere on the continent.⁹ Dominic may have entered into contact with specifically Cluniac ideas: the monk Paternus had been sent by King Sancho (†1035) to the French monastery to learn its ways and, on his return, was appointed abbot of San Juan de la Peña.¹⁰

Grimaldus describes Dominic's entering the monastery of San Millán as an imitation of its eponymous saint, Aemilianus (I.4.52–55, p. 192), yet Dominic's action was the complete opposite. Dominic chose the path of monastic discipline and coenobitic subordination to an abbot rather than the hermit's freedom so assiduously sought by Aemilianus. The latter's wild ways

and quasi-sarabaitic wanderings had been first rendered palatable by his hagiographer, Braulius, roughly seventy years after his death. Grimaldus goes a step further, and presents Dominic's abandonment of the *eremus* as the imitation of a man who actively sought the wilderness throughout his life. The only continuation between the two religious ideals is the basic conception of the ascetic life as spiritual warfare against the devil (I.4.41–48, p. 192), a characterization dear to Grimaldus's heart.¹¹

Although spiritual warfare is frequently mentioned in the *Vita*, Dominic did not have to strive against demons in quite the manner that Aemilianus was drawn into single combat with Ancient Enemy. Dominic's *Vita* is without the face-to-face confrontation that so characterizes Braulius's account of Aemilianus's experiences. The only indisputable exorcism that Dominic performed during his life was the curing of Oria, an anchoress obsessed by a demonic apparition from an unmoving snake (the devil in disguise: I.9, pp. 254–56), a far cry from Aemilianus's putting a defecating demon which infested a senator's house to flight or from his wrestling match with the devil in which he conquered by the sign of the cross.¹² Even in the description of Dominic's time as a hermit, Grimaldus maintains a coy silence regarding any details of his deeds or his sufferings, preferring a *topos* of inexpressibility (I.3.96–102, p. 188), echoing Braulius's description of Aemilianus in the wilderness but omitting any mention of visible apparitions of the devil.¹³

The rhetoric of the struggle with the devil has remained from earlier hagiography, but it is clear from the narrative, or rather from the absence of this particular style of narrative, that the conception and the experience of struggle with the devil had changed notably. The saint is assailed by neither demonic pigs nor Ethiopians, and, even had he been, he did not retell his experiences to the intimate circle of monks that surrounded him (I.5.3–6, p. 194). Demonic apparitions had lost their exemplary value, both as an encouragement for the monks who might hear accounts of them and as a means of depicting the saint's own high level of sanctity. The consequent emphasis on ascetism and prayer, rather than on battles with devils, was very much a dominant theme in eleventh-century monasticism.¹⁴ Dominic was a saint very different from his Visigothic forebears.

THE TESTING OF THE SAINT'S VOCATION: SANTA MARÍA DE CAÑAS

The saint's role in the monastery of San Millán, which he entered at any time before 1038, was decidedly non-eremitic. His presence there is described in terms of his formation in the cenobitic virtues of humility, patience and, above all, obedience (I.5.1–56, p. 194–96). The crowning moment of this obedience came when he was sent back by the abbot and monks to his home village of Cañas to restore the decrepit church of Santa María, which had been in the inattentive possession of San Millán long enough for it to have become destitute and deserted. Grimaldus casts this mission as a test set for Dominic

by the 'pater prefati monasterii beatissimi Emiliani omnisque fratrum congregatio' (I.5.147–48, p. 202; the abbot of the aforesaid monastery of the most blessed Aemilianus and the whole congregation of the brethren), a unanimity of desire in the monastery to test the man's resolution by forcing him, under the vow of obedience, to return to the very place from which he had fled as a hermit.

If Grimaldus is telling factual truth, and not gilding a simple administrative decision with the drama of doubt, Dominic had created some unease in the community, some uncertainty over his virtue and his motivation, perhaps precisely by rejecting the eremitic life to come to the fold of the coenobium. Grimaldus goes to some lengths to justify Dominic's leaving the wilderness to join the monastery (I.4.1–40, pp. 190–92), indicating that Mozarabic beliefs about the superiority of eremitism had not died out, even when that eremitism had not had its vocation first tested within a monastery's enclosure. The monks' reason for sending Dominic to Cañas was not because that was where his family lived, where he was known, and so where he might easily be reabsorbed into familial and secular concerns, but rather because it was from Cañas that he had entered the *eremus* (I.5.157–58, p. 204). The question in their minds was whether Dominic was still a hermit at heart or whether he had made the transition to being a monk, for whom the virtue of obedience to a superior was more important than any self-gratifying, ascetic flight into a solitary wilderness.

Santa María de Cañas was to prove the making of Dominic. It was here that his fame was made as a restorer of monasteries. Grimaldus paints Dominic's arrival in dramatic terms. Not only the church but the larder and living quarters were bare, all goods expropriated, it would seem, by laymen. Dominic, much anguished by the situation, was inspired by the Holy Spirit to labour with his hands (I.5.162–74, p. 204). Faced with a disastrous situation, the saint kept his head, and transformed the refounded priory into a monastic ideal by returning to the original practices of the Desert Fathers. Dominic's sanctity, Grimaldus claims, was already achieved: by imitating the fathers of monasticism, he was raised as their equal, his whole being suffused with the presence of God. It was perhaps the combination of a lived-out monastic ideal and evident personal holiness which brought about the restoration of the church and the supply of all the necessities of the monastic life, for Dominic quickly found benefactors, both men and women, who were attracted by his *fama* (I.5.181–91, p. 206). He had become a Mozarabic celebrity, assisted no doubt by his connections amongst the local nobility, but also by the abiding affection for the primitive ideals of monasticism which the Spanish Church and its laity held.

Dominic was, then, a powerfully effective fund-raiser, attracting donations by his conspicuous sanctity, turning around a lost cause which had been altogether abandoned by its mother-house, and crowning this achievement by the re-dedication of the church, a ceremony which eloquently underlined the

success he had encountered (I.5.191–92, p. 206). No doubt the conversion of his father and brothers to religious life under his guidance (I.5.194–97, p. 206) also brought suitable monetary gifts to the refounded priory.¹⁵ His mother's refusal to join the male side of the family in the religious habit (I.5.197–98, p. 206) was possibly motivated by a desire to prevent the whole of the family's possessions being swallowed by Dominic's religious zeal and, more specifically, by the desire to re-equip his priory — particularly since Dominic may have had at least one sister as well as brothers.¹⁶

Dominic's life would, contrary to the hermit's vocation that he had originally chosen, be shaped by the attitude of the laity, pious and otherwise. His *éclat* in reforming the priory and church of Santa María de Cañas was made possible only by the generosity of laymen and women, and his future career would depend upon a similar source. The generosity here was not that of the widow's mite, but was only within reach of the nobility. The figure celebrated by this warrior aristocracy was not a hermit, dwelling in an inaccessible wilderness, to be seen by patrons only arduously and rarely, but rather a monk who was re-establishing regular, stable, monastic, Benedictine life within the confines of a town in an area where repopulation was still essential. Benedictine stability could provide a fixed, functioning presence around which settlement could coalesce, attracted by the spiritual, medicinal and social benefits that monasteries could provide. In this small vignette of the restoration of the San Millán priory at Cañas, we may see the local nobility working together with the monks to secure their presence in an area previously abandoned by them. In this restoration, Benedictines, with their unmistakable communal life and vows of stability, had the edge over the anarchic Mozarabic reliance on the *codex regularum* and the whim of the abbot.

A man such as Dominic could not be allowed to moulder in a priory for long, particularly since his fame was spreading throughout the kingdom and even further (I.5.210–13, p. 208), presumably along the grapevine of the nobles who were bound throughout the peninsula by the twin tendrils of marriage and warfare. The abbot recalled Dominic to the mother-house, a summons which he obeyed at once, much to the surprise of the monks at San Millán (I.5.226–27, p. 208), who clearly expected him to prefer the house he had brought back from ruin and, more importantly, to which he was beginning to attract vocations. Dominic had become a charismatic leader. Obedience, however, was set against the cult of personality, and the monastic virtue won. He returned to San Millán straightaway, to be promoted as *prepositus* or prior of the monastery (I.5.232–35, pp. 208–10). In this position he distinguished himself, according to his hagiographer, with love being manifested in all his deeds and by his lack of falsity (I.5.244–274, p. 212). Passages such as these that enumerate Dominic's personal virtues are reminders that, although his life was characterized, even determined, by political moment and the decisions of *grands seigneurs*, his fame for sanctity amongst his monks was based on a much more intimate and human estimation of his personality formed through

close contact in the monastery: his truthfulness, his compassion, and his ever-present, unfeigned kindness.

Promotion may bring unexpected evils, and Dominic's priorship was convulsed by the irruption of García, king of Pamplona (1035–1054), into the monastery, demanding that the monks make a donation to himself, 'secundum suam prauam consuetudinem' (I.5.345, p. 218; according to his depraved habit). Dominic opposed this compulsory levy, on the grounds that the monastery's property was inalienable in canon law (I.5.346–50, p. 218).¹⁷ Taking advantage of a stylistic recourse unusual in the *Vita Dominici*, Grimaldus has the king retort in direct speech, arguing that it was unjust to be deprived of what his father and grandfather had provided for the monastery. Dominic remained firm: any wealth that had been donated had ceased to be the property of the king's family as soon as it was given to the monastery (I.5.352–66, p. 218).

Although the use of direct speech might indicate that a clash of personalities was the source of the difference (and so constitutes a literary emphasis upon the fortitude of the saint in opposing the predatory rage of the monarch), the words placed in both men's mouths indicate that the difference was a sharp clash of ideologies. García was expressing the traditional layman's view, that a monastery was like a bank, a holding institution for surplus wealth. Donations might earn the gratitude of the monks, a gratitude which would express itself as spiritual interest in the form of their intercession on behalf of benefactors. But, crucially, the gift could be called back when necessity demanded it.¹⁸ Private ownership of churches by laymen was not unusual in Spain during this period:¹⁹ for small communities the care and vigilance which an overlord might be prepared to lavish upon ecclesiastical property would be their only protection from depredations by other, less generous nobles. García's ancestors had founded the monastery and held it in much financial favour. When he needed some spare cash, he should have been able to demand it from those who were so heavily indebted to himself and to his predecessors.

Dominic, in contrast, put forward the conception of the eleventh-century reformers: churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical property belonged not to man, but to God and to the titular saint. It could not be given away.²⁰ Dominic's allegiance to the cause of ecclesiastical reform may well have been made sharper by his experience at Santa María de Cañas, where the ruin of the church and monastery was probably the product of lay appropriation of its *necessaria* and the impotence of the mother house. His stance, in opposing the old way of doing things, was consonant with his Benedictine trajectory in abandoning the *eremus* to become a monk. The king, after threatening the saint with excommunication, the cutting out of his tongue and, finally, death (I.5.367–78, pp. 218–20), stormed away to have the abbot depose him from his position as *prepositus* (I.5.380–86, p. 220).²¹ Dominic's demotion at the king's behest was García's eloquent rejoinder to any reluctance in accepting the royal prerogative of interfering for good or ill with the monasteries in his care.

The *Vita Dominici* is the only historical witness to Dominic's deposition as prior: he does not appear within any San Millán documentation of the period. Yet Dominic's actions in resisting García are in harmony with his character as the *Vita* presents it. His uncompromising nature can also be seen in his refusal to visit his mother on her deathbed because she had refused to follow his advice and join him in the monastery (I.5.197–200, p. 206). García, on the other hand, is characterised in the *Historia Silensis* as being envious of riches, covetous of wealth, and prone both to taking impulsive action and to uttering violent threats. Grimaldus and the Leonese author of the *Historia Silensis* also acknowledge García's outstanding military reputation.²²

DOMINIC'S EXILE AND HIS MISSION TO REFORM SILOS

Dominic was sent out of the monastery again, to a hermitage known as Tres Cellulas (Three Cells) higher up in the mountains than San Millán (I.5.387, p. 220). This time, however, he was forced to leave the monastery not as a test but as a degrading punishment. Even in this out-of-the-way hermitage he was pursued by García, who came to demand the riches Dominic had refused to hand over six months earlier. It cannot have been that San Millán was still holding out against García's depredations. García went after Dominic because he enjoyed making threats and could mock Dominic's failed attempt to oppose him. When prior, Dominic had resisted García's theatrical menaces with remarkable fortitude. He was unafraid of martyrdom, and reacted to his illegal deposition and transfer to a hermitage with saintly patience. Yet he could not stand the king's mockery and abandoned his vows of obedience to and stability within the monastery of San Millán, left the hermitage to which he had been assigned by the abbot without the latter's permission and thus began a self-imposed exile from the kingdom of Pamplona.²³ The motif of the saint as a willing exile from the power of a tyrant is found in Pelayo of Oviedo's depiction of the good Bishop Adaúlfo of Santiago-Iria (the tyrant in this case being Veremudo II), although in this twelfth-century account the bishop died immediately that he had abandoned his see, doubtless from a combination of stress and saintly consideration for all concerned.²⁴

Dominic, in comparison, travelled to the court of Fernando I (1016–65), where he received a fitting welcome (I.5.425–30, p. 224). Implicit in the *Vita*'s juxtaposition of monarchs, the good Fernando, the bad García, is a distinct Leonese-Castilian bias, to be expected in the product of monastery in the heart of Castile.²⁵ Dominic passed from the envy, corruption and threats of violence in Navarre to the orderly rejoicing of the Castilian populace, united behind their king (I.6.49–59, pp. 230–32). Since Dominic's renown as the rebuilder of Cañas had echoed throughout the peninsula, Fernando sought to capitalize upon this fame in rejuvenating a derelict monastery in his own kingdoms. Dominic had opposed García's expropriation of San Millán's wealth; Fernando, a decade and a half later, would prohibit lay interference

with churches at the Council of Coyanza in 1055: 'Statuimus ut omnes ecclesie et clerici sunt sub iure sui episcopi. Nec potestatem aliquam habeant super ecclesias aut clericos laici' (We establish that all churches and clerics be under the control of their bishops. Laymen may have no power over churches or clerics).²⁶ There was a meeting of minds, to some degree. The possibility of monastic renewal, even reform, south of Burgos must have appealed to the king. In any case, in granting Silos to Dominic, Fernando had little to lose.

The process of reform received some support from within the kingdom, as exemplified in the tale of the faithful priest, Licianus of Silos, who prayed for a reformer to come to his monastery. In answer to this prayer Dominic was sent (I.6.1–49, pp. 228–30). This pious narration is used as a prologue to Fernando's decision, again emphasizing the distinction between the two royal brothers: García was in league with the devil, but Fernando was the pawn of Providence. Within Dominic's own lifetime, Fernando would bring García's reign to an end at Atapuerca (1054). A moral lesson could easily be drawn.

Yet beneath the juxtapositions and invocations of Providence, a certain unease in Grimaldus's account can be sensed. Grimaldus felt he had to justify Dominic's abandonment of Tres Cellulas, and therefore of his own monastery; he had previously defended Dominic for abandoning the *eremus* to go to San Millán. Grimaldus was at pains to point out that Dominic left the kingdom of Pamplona through no fear of martyrdom, but rather that he might have the necessary peace and quiet to live out his monastic vocation. Such an explanation is disingenuous, at least. García was hardly likely to take up residence in the Montes de Oca to continue to badger Dominic. He was probably out hunting when he came across the thorn in his side which had been so rapidly and painlessly removed and therefore decided to entertain himself for a few minutes with sport of a different kind.

Faced with García's taunts, the words spoken by Dominic in anger and haste forced a path of action upon him, even though it was not consonant with the fundamentals of his monastic vocation. But instead of searching for another hermitage or for entrance to a monastery outside García's realm, Dominic headed directly to Fernando I.²⁷ The ex-prior was looking to the monarch to supply him with suitable employment, perhaps as the head of a new foundation or as the restorer, with enough royal backing, of a completely derelict house. It may have been Providence which directed Dominic's steps to Fernando's court, but the king's concession of Silos to him was far different from what Dominic could have expected. Silos represented neither the complete destitution and abandonment of Cañas nor the power of San Millán. The monastery was already populated with monks, but both they and it were in a bad way.

The *Vita* presents Dominic travelling to Fernando alone, but it may be that those monks who accompanied him to Tres Cellulas were also being punished for their support of his uncompromising but unrealistic stance against García, and that they, in turn, accompanied him to the king, forming the kernel of his

supporters at Silos. If that were so, then Dominic was probably looking for a grant of land from Fernando in which to found his own reformed monastery with those monks faithful to his ideals. Grimaldus was surprisingly well-informed about Dominic's time at San Millán and Tres Cellulas, although less so regarding Cañas — where he had to rely upon a written source (see above, pp. 15–16) —, and his depiction of Silos before Dominic's arrival is, moreover, decidedly sketchy and symbolic. It is not beyond reason to suggest that Grimaldus was one of a group of monks who travelled with Dominic to Burgos and who, through narratorial modesty, did not record his role in Dominic's deeds.

Fernando's response was not quite the vindication for which Dominic no doubt wished, although that is how Grimaldus presents it. Fernando conceded a dilapidated monastery to Dominic without consulting its monks (I.6.74–80, pp. 232–34), who were left to acclaim (I.6.82) the *fait accompli* after the bishop of Burgos had consecrated him. Fernando left him there to sink or swim. Dominic was probably ordained abbot in 1041, but he does not appear in any documents that year. He first witnessed a document in 1042.²⁸ When imposing Dominic upon the monastery of Silos, Fernando I did not reinforce his gesture with a renewal of the original foundation or with any other grants of land. This was not through lack, even though he was harried at the beginning of his reign by disturbances and rebellions in his own territory.²⁹ In the same year that Dominic was enthroned as abbot, the king donated the monastery of San Juan de Tabladillo (in the same valley as Silos) to the monks of San Pedro de Arlanza.³⁰ Perhaps he was paving the way for the annexation of Silos to Arlanza should Dominic fail in the task he had been set. In view of Fernando's difficult political situation, he could not, even if he wished to, aggravate García by overtly favouring a monk with such revolutionary ideas. The latter, in the 1040s, was by far the more powerful monarch, having taken the fight to the Muslim foe whilst Fernando was occupied with his own backyard.

Later in his reign, Fernando sent a gift of food rations to counter the famine in the monastery's vicinity. For Grimaldus, Dominic's pre-eminent role as abbot, protector of his monks, was strongly linked to his having been close enough to the king to be bailed out of dire necessity. Yet in this instance Fernando's generosity in freeing the monastery from the effects of a famine point to that monastery's own economic insecurity. It did not possess lands in sufficiently widespread areas to insulate itself against strictly local agrarian difficulties. For this reason, Fernando's gift of wheat was timely, but the need for his gift was created by the monastery's economically parlous situation which he had not taken any pains to rectify. Lackner, with Cluny in mind, wrote: 'In those centuries, when all power was based on the ownership of land, it was absolutely necessary for a monastery to secure a vast extent of landed property', since without land 'no monastery could possibly subsist or make any progress'.³¹

Fernando's charitable assistance was partly in character, to judge from the description of Fernando in the *Historia Silensis*: the king

amabat pauperes peregrinos, et in eis suscipiendis magnam habebat curam. Ad hoc vbicumque christianos monachos, clericos uel mulieres deo dicatas in paupertate viuere conpererat, eorum penurie compaciens, aut per se ut eos consolaretur venire, seu pecuniam mittere crebro consueuerat.³²

loved poor pilgrims and took great trouble in caring for them. Indeed, wherever he discovered Christian monks or clergy or women vowed to God living in poverty, having compassion for their need, it was his custom to either come in person or to send money frequently.³³

Yet Fernando in his dealings with Silos did not send money, and it is noteworthy that he instructed Dominic through his messenger that the wheat he was sending was not to be sold, quite contrary to the laudatory description given by the *Historia Silensis*. He was evidently still suspicious regarding the success of Dominic's abbacy.

The prayers of Licianus, whilst explaining Dominic's voyage from one king to another, also act to legitimize his presence in Silos. He was not merely appointed by the king to reform the monastery, but was desired by the remnant of monks faithful to their calling. Licianus provides a link with the past of Silos. Dominic was, after all, a foreigner from La Rioja, then part of the kingdom of Navarre. Licianus represents the ideal past of the monastery, his prayers being the means by which it was returned to the manner of life that it had had when it was founded by the Count of Castile, Fernán González. The task of Dominic's reform was partly to rebuild the monastery, which, as has been shown by García González, had been reduced to a small area, leaving many of its buildings abandoned and in disrepair. The same scholar is of the opinion that al-Manṣūr had brought about the ruin of the monastery during his destructive course through Christian domains nearly half a century earlier.³⁴ Yet Grimaldus hints that Dominic's actions as abbot were motivated not only by the repair of the physical structure of the monastery buildings but also by the desire to curtail extravagant lifestyles:

Affluentes etiam ac superfluentes diuitias et immoderatas abundantias saturitatesque deliciarum, inimicas totius humane salutis, exhorrebat, et suos omnesque quos poterat ab huiusmodi contagiis compescebat. (I.6.105–08, p. 236).

He eschewed abundance and overabundance of riches, immoderate excess and the overavailability of comforts — enemies of all human salvation — and he kept his own as much as he could from any type of these contagions.

Any attempt to rebuild the monastery, without an injection of new funds, would involve the redirection of money away from previous uses. And the

material decline of the monastery was linked firmly in Grimaldus's mind with the vices of the monks (I.5.429, p. 224; I.6.6–7, 40–41, pp. 228 and 230). No doubt Dominic also shared this opinion, since the equation of material ruin with sin was a cornerstone of the Benedictine world-view.

Material prosperity, in sum, seemed both a condition for and a sign of spiritual prosperity. Benedictine monks filled their chronicles and lives with accounts of properities, treasures, rebuilt churches, and magnificent books, partly of course to insure the record of them but no less to document and celebrate God's blessing upon the monks. So basic and self-evident had this become for them that it required expression, normally, only when challenged. Rudolph of Saint-Trond opened the sad tale of his abbey's desolation with a lengthy commentary on the judgment of God; that is, only spiritual decline could have brought on such material destruction.³⁵

Since donations to the monastery during the twenty years before Dominic's arrival are limited to a small set of families close to the monastery, we may suspect Silos was becoming dangerously close to a familial concern.³⁶ The arrival of a reformer with strong ideas about both behaviour and, especially, property would not be welcomed. It is notable that a gift of books to the monastery, sanctioned by Dominic as abbot, specifies that they were to remain the property of any member of the donor's family who should become a monk, and only when there was no surviving relative at the monastery might the books become a communal possession.³⁷

Dominic, then, came to a monastery in which there was entrenched network of local family loyalties; his task was to make Silos function in line with new European norms. The opposition Dominic faced is veiled by Grimaldus, as one would expect; but it surfaces constantly as the expression of disbelief in his sanctity. Dominic was lucky to have faced only incredulity; other reformers all too often paid with their lives for disrupting their charges' activities:

Abbo of Fleury, a relentless foe of immoral monks and nuns, was murdered by those he sought to reform. [...] St Aigulfus, abbot of Lérins, was murdered by his rebellious subjects. [...] Maurilius, abbot of Fécamp and subsequently of a monastery in Florence, found poison in his drink. [...] William, bishop of Limoges, a former prior of Saint Martial, died of poison, murdered by those who resented his reforms. [...] And Hugh, abbot of Saint Martin, who had survived a blow on the head made with an axe, was another victim of poisoning, in 1098.³⁸

It is no wonder that the conflictive situation into which Dominic had been placed brought on an acute personal crisis. He had been imposed by the king but left without continued and solicitous support on behalf of the monarch. The conflict in which he found himself could only be resolved through the use of thaumaturgy and prophecy, miracles that expressed a divine sanction for his actions and which could therefore bolster his disputed abbatial authority.

DOMINIC'S VISION

The whole of Dominic's life and a great part of his cult is dominated by one vision which forms the crux of Grimaldus's perception of the saint, just as, to judge from his later words recorded by the hagiographer, it completely informed Dominic's perception of himself. This vision is used to introduce Dominic's thaumaturgy, since until the vision Grimaldus's narration concerns itself with the saint's birth, his growth to maturity and his deeds: 'exordiis, incrementis et gestis beati uiri' (I.7.1, p. 238). Following the vision, the matter of the narration moves from the account of the saint's life and conflicts to depict the miracles that Christ worked through his servant: 'ad ea que Dominus Iesus, qui ait, "Sine me nichil potestis facere", ei concedere et per eum, adhuc uiuentem in corpore, dignatus est facere' (I.7.2-4, p. 238; to those things which the Lord Jesus, who said, 'Without me you can do nothing' (John 15, 5), deigned to concede to him and to do through him, whilst he yet lived here in the body). The vision is presented as a divine consolation and encouragement for his weighty preoccupation concerning the moral and material restoration of the monastery of Silos.

Dominic received the vision whilst sleeping and woke overjoyed, yet did not lose that most precious of all monastic commodities, an even keel: 'moderata est letitia exhilaratus' (I.7.24, p. 238; he rejoiced with restrained joy). His reaction was consonant with the monastic suspicion of excessive enthusiasm, since elation could easily give way to pride, or discouragement threaten the monk's continued perseverance in goodness. After retelling the vision in Dominic's own words, Grimaldus compares this experience with a vision witnessed by Martin of Tours. The comparison is not made due to any similarity of content. Martin saw Christ dressed in the half of his cloak which he had earlier given to a beggar.³⁹ Rather, Grimaldus uses the story of Martin's vision to underline the psychological and biographical importance that the visions held in both saints' development. From the moment that they received their visions, both men moved on from being wholly saintly in their actions to having a certainty about their own salvation usually denied to others. Both progress, through their individual visions, to consider themselves saints.

The dream-vision as the catalyst for a remarkable change of life is a feature not limited to these lives but witnessed as early as the Desert Fathers and in both Visigothic and Mozarabic saint's lives.⁴⁰ In essence, the marvellous change effected by the vision shows that the vision was truthful and divinely inspired. Yet the dream-vision, through its confirmation of the individual's sanctity, also provided a legitimation for the saint's use of the thaumaturgic power which he had been granted. Saints are, essentially, those Christians of whose salvation we are sure. The vision thus resolved a period of psychological crisis, enabling the saint to overcome the obstacles which had hitherto hindered his progress. It granted him the secure knowledge that he would receive the reward of salvation for the weighty task that lay ahead of

him if her were to continue as he had previously acted.⁴¹ In this way, he received divine permission to act as a living saint or holy man.

Dominic's vision is remarkable in its structure and patterning. It exercises a gravitational force on the rest of the *Vita*, providing a Ptolemaic centre around which all other events and their interpretations revolve and from which the whole *Vita* receives its order. It is this vision which Grimaldus has before his mind in writing of Dominic's early life; and it is this vision which Dominic had before his eyes in his reconstruction of Silos and in his thaumaturgy.

'Videbam,' inquit, 'in uisione hac nocte me iuxta quendam fluuium stare. De quo fluuio emanabant duo magni riui nimium profundi, unus retinens ad instar lactis colorem candidum, alter uero ad similitudinem sanguinis sanguineum. Et dum ambo riui de supra dicto fluuio procedere uiderentur, alter tamen alteri non iungebatur. Super fluuium uero uidebatur michi esse pons uitreus, spatium palmi et dimidii habens amplitudo illius. In cuius pontis extremitate stabant duo uiri, ultra humanam pulcritudinem pulcherrimi, uestibus albis induti, quorum pectora zonis aureis miro fulgore fulgentibus erant precincti. Et unus ex his duas coronas aureas, nimio et incredibili splendore splendentes in manu tenebat; alter uero unam solam ferebat, que septemplici fulgore illas duas quas alter tenebat superabat et insuper tota ex lapidibus preciosis contexta erat. Et ille qui duas coronas tenebat me uocabat et ut ad eos uenirem iubebat; set econtra, me respondente ac dicente, "Non possum, domine; nimis certe angustus et fragilis est pons iste, quem omnino nequeo pertransire," respondens dixit michi, "Noli timere, sed securus, libere transi et ueni." Cuius precepto obtemperans, prospero et inoffenso gradu, angustum et uitreum pontem transiui et ad eos ueni. Statimque unus eorum dixit michi, "He due corone, quas uides, tibi a Domino sunt date et quia iam illas meruisti, ab eo per nos sunt tibi transmissae." Cui nimio gaudio repletus et presentia aspectus eorum ueluti celesti refectione refectus dixi, "Domine mi, pro quo merito a Domino per tam clarissimos ministros hec accipio?" Qui dixit michi, "Hec prima corona a Christo datur tibi quia, ipsum sequens et perfectissimo precepto illius obediens, perfecte seculum reliquisti et prauis operibus eius abrenunciasti. Quam coronam si uis perpetuo possidere, oportet te usque ad mortem in hoc proposito felici perseuerantia perseuerare. Secunda corona tibi a Domino datur pro restitutione ecclesie quam restituisti sancte dei genitricis Marie et pro sancta, qua semper usus es, erga eam deuotione et pro tua, deo accepta, uirginitate, quam ab adolescencia decreuisti custodire absque omni contaminatione. Quam coronam si desideras perpetua possessione possidere, necesse est te omni uigilantia uigilare et contra demonum fornicationis legitime certare, quo possis uirginitatem tuam sine corruptione custodire. Tertia corona, que est preciosior, tibi preparatur pro cenobio Exiliensi, quod es a fundamento edificaturus et ad pristinum decorem reducturus et pro populo quem in eo deo es adquisiturus. Si ergo ea que a me audisti perseueranti instantia implere curaueris, has tres coronas, quas propriis oculis intueris, possidebis et cum Christo ac nobiscum sine fine regnabis." Et hec dicens, uisio a me ablata est. Et a sompno expergefactus de his que uideram cepi intra me tractare sollicitus.' (I.7.28-67, pp. 240-42)

'I saw myself,' he said, 'in a vision last night, standing next to a certain river. From this river there flowed two great and very deep streams, one having a white colour as of milk, the other blood-red like blood. And whilst both streams seemed to come from the afore-mentioned river, one did not join the other. But it seemed to me that above the river there was a glass bridge, a palm and a half in breadth. At the further side of this bridge stood two men, extremely beautiful beyond human beauty, dressed in white robes, girded across their chests with gold belts which were bright with a marvellous brilliance. And one of the men held in his hand two golden crowns, shining with great and unbelievable splendour; but the other carried only one, which surpassed the other two held by the first man with sevenfold brilliance and was furthermore completely covered in precious stones. And the one who held the two crowns called to me and ordered me to come to them; but instead, when I replied and said, "I cannot, lord; this bridge is extremely narrow and fragile, that I cannot cross at all," he said in response, "Do not fear, but without hesitation, cross freely and come." Obeying his precept, with a propitious and unhindered step, I crossed the narrow glass bridge and came to them. And straightaway one of them said to me, "These two crowns which you see have been given to you by the Lord and, because you have already deserved them, they have been sent to you by him through us." To which, filled with great joy and revived as if by divine nourishment due to the sight of their presence, I said, "My lord, for what merit do I receive this from such most noble servants?" To which he said to me, "This first crown is given you by Christ, because, following him and obeying his most perfect precept, you completely abandoned the world and renounced its evil works. If you wish to possess this crown in perpetuity, you ought to persevere with blessed perseverance in this intent until your death. The second crown is given to you by the Lord for the restoration of the church that you restored to Mary, the Holy Mother of God, and for your devotion to her which has always been your practice and for your virginity, accepted by God, which you decided from your youth to guard from all contamination. If you desire to possess this crown in perpetual possession, you must keep awake with all watchfulness and struggle legitimately against the demon of fornication, so that you may keep your virginity without corruption. The third crown, which is more precious, is prepared for you because of the monastery of Silos, which you are to build from its foundation and return to its former beauty and because of the people whom you are to gain for God in it. If, therefore, those things which you have heard from me you take care to carry out with persevering intent, you will possess these three crowns, which you see with your own eyes, and with Christ and ourselves you will everlastingly reign." And saying these things, the vision was taken from me. And, having woken from sleep, I began to ponder carefully within myself those things which I had seen.'

The saint's dream is a remarkably coherent interleaving of disparate elements, drawn, as dreams are, from Dominic's experiences both in literature and in life. In analysing the dream-vision, I shall therefore have recourse to two parallel sources: literary reminiscence and biographical recollection. The vision

need not be the witting product of the visionary's conscious mind, but it was consciously understood by the visionary — and others — as being coherent.⁴²

Dominic saw himself next to a river over which there stretched a bridge. The scene is a familiar one from earlier visions of heaven, hell or the places of the soul's purgation. The river, the first image mentioned, is a common barrier between this world and the next in classical legend and Christian texts. In the ninth-century *Navigatio Brendani abbatis*, an Irish abbot comes across a river which separates him from the abode of the saints and which he may not cross.⁴³ Copies of this text were probably present at San Millán and Silos during Dominic's lifetime.⁴⁴ When the motif of the river as a division between this world and the next is used, a bridge usually appears as the means of crossing, a juxtaposition found in virtually all ancient religions.⁴⁵ The appearance of this motif of the bridge between worlds in the West is usually dated to the sixth century, when it makes its appearance in a vision contained in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. Two tenth-century copies of this work were held by Silos: one is still in Silos (Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 2); the other is now London, British Library, Add. ms. 30854. The story would have inevitably been familiar to Dominic and his monks.

Visionary bridges usually express the testing of the souls that cross them, as is clear from Gregory the Great's comments: 'Haec uero erat in praedicto ponte probatio, ut quisquis per eum iniustorum uellet transire, in tenebroso foetentique fluuio laberetur, iusti uero, quibus culpa non obsisteret, securo per eum gressu ac libero perueniret' (Nowe those that desired to passe ouer the foresaid bridge, were subiect to this manner of triall: yf any that was wicked attempted to go ouer, downe he fell into that darcke and stincking riuier: but those that were iust and not hindred by synne, securely and easily passed ouer).⁴⁶ Dominic's complaint that the bridge was narrow confirms the interpretation of the bridge as a test. A narrow bridge is found in the ninth-century redaction of the *Visio Pauli* (Vision of St Paul);⁴⁷ a bridge which narrows itself for sinners is found in the vision of Alberic of Montecassino, which was set down only a few years after Dominic's death.⁴⁸ Another shrinking bridge is found in a text ascribed to the biographer of Saint Columban, the *Fis Adamnáin* (Vision of Adamnán).⁴⁹

Yet the test may not only be concerned with ascertaining the visionary's moral probity. Dominic's position as an reforming abbot sent to an unreformed monastery makes particularly relevant the similarities that his vision has with one recorded by Gregory of Tours in his sixth-century *Historia Francorum*. Although no manuscripts of Gregory of Tours's *Historia Francorum* in Visigothic script have survived, the text was known at least in excerpts at San Millán.⁵⁰ Abbot Sunniulf, the visionary in this case, was

vir totius simplicitatis et caritatis. Nam plerumque hospitum pedes ipse abluebat manibusque ipse tergebat; unum tantum, quod gregem commissum non timore, sed supplicatione regebat. Ipse quoque referre erat solitus, ductum se per visum ad

quoddam flumen igneum, in quo ab una parte litoris concurrentes populi ceu apes ad alvearia mergebantur; et erant alii usque ad cingulum, alii vero usque ascellas, nonnulli usque mentum, clamantes cum fletu se vehementer aduri. Erat enim et pons super fluvium positus ita angustus, ut vix unius vestigii latitudinem recipere possit. Apparebat autem et in alia parte litoris domus magna, extrinsecus dealbata. Tunc his qui cum eo erant, quid sibi haec velint, interrogat. At illi dixerunt: 'De hoc enim ponte praecipitabitur, qui ad dstringendum commissum gregem fuerit repertus ignavus; qui vero strenuus fuerit, sine periculo transit et inducitur laetus in domum quam conspicias ultra.' Haec audiens, a somno excutitur, multo deinceps monachis severior apparens.⁵¹

a man of perfect simplicity and charity. Many a time would he himself wash the feet of guests, and dry them with his own hands. His one failing was that he sought to rule the flock committed to his charge not by inspiring fear, but by entreaty. He himself used to relate that he once had a vision in which he was led to a river of fire into which people, running together from one part of the bank, plunged like bees seeking their hives. Some were immersed to the waist, others to the armpits, some to the chin; and all cried with their lamentations that they were grievously burned. Over the river was built a bridge so narrow that it was scarce broad enough to take more than one foot at a time, and on the further bank appeared a great house all whitened without. Then he asked those who were with him the signification of these things. But they replied: 'From this bridge shall fall headlong whosoever shall be found remiss in the strict governance of the flock entrusted to him; but whosoever shall have proved strenuous, passeth without danger, and is brought with joy into the house which thou seest yonder.' At these words he was roused from sleep and thereafter showed himself severer to his monks.⁵²

This passage features almost all of the elements found in Dominic's vision: the narrow bridge, the river, and the reward on the other side. For Dominic, the reward consisted of the crowns held by the two men in white; for Sunniulf, residence in the white mansion. The vision provided Dominic with a divine *imprimatur* for his implementation of a strict reform of Silos. As such, it is central to the vision's import, and this aspect was pointedly realized by his summoning of the monks to hear him after he had woken and had spent some time considering its meaning. The divine counsel was taken to heart, and he was presented, in the epitaph engraved upon his tomb, as the ideal abbot, rather in the mould of Sunniulf: he was one 'Orbi quem speculum Christus concessit honestum / Exortando bonos, corripiendo malos' (ll. 3–4, p. 314; whom Christ gave to the world as a true mirror/to exhort the good and correct the bad). As is to be expected, the role of the abbot in the monastery was of particular concern to the eleventh-century reformers. Thus Peter Damian exhorted Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino (later Pope Victor III, †1087) to 'show greater readiness to judge and correct his subjects [...] and] cautioned him against relaxing his zeal in ruling his monks'.⁵³ Discipline was essential.

Dominic's further complaint, that the bridge was *fragilis*, liable to collapse beneath his weight, goes beyond Sunniulf's vision and adds a personal element which continues the theme of abbacy. The bridge is made of glass, and, unlike other visions which feature glass bridges, the structure is feared for its fragility, not for its slipperiness.⁵⁴ This quality of brittleness may be considered a parallel to the danger of the collapse of the monastery. The vision occurs at a moment of crisis, when Dominic's anxiety for the monastery's welfare leads him to fear in case his reform fail (1.7.10–15, p. 238); the vision, a consolation for this anxiety, is linked intrinsically to Dominic's role as a reforming and rebuilding abbot. The ruin of the material structure, the brittle bridge, stands for the ruin of the monastery's fabric should Dominic fail in that reform.⁵⁵ As we have noted previously, Silos was partly in ruins when Dominic took up the reins of abbacy (a description is given by Grimaldus, 1.6.83–88, p. 234). The physical decay of monastic buildings would have been part of Dominic's own experience of monastic decline. Failure to reform the monastery would bring about its ruin, signified by the collapse of the bridge, and would therefore not allow him to cross to the other side of the river where the biggest, brightest and best crown was offered to him precisely for the reform of the Silos. Material construction was a necessary element in the moral reform of monasteries. Desiderius was an incessant builder, praised by contemporaries for providing the conditions for the 'raising of monastic peace in which his monks could maintain a monastic round of strictness and good order.'⁵⁶ The expression of an abbot's holiness through his labour of building and of restoration was popular in Cluniac hagiography and further afield.⁵⁷

The supernatural setting of the vision, its reminiscence of Sunniulf's vision and its insistence upon the physicality of the material of the bridge, all evoke Dominic's role as abbot. Beneath Dominic's and Sunniulf's bridges, as with Gregory the Great's before them, rivers flowed. Such rivers were usually associated with punishment, be it hellish, packed with 'dragons, scorpions, serpents of many species', or purgatorial, purifying through fire those who fell down into the waters.⁵⁸ The torrent is inevitably linked to punishment, and punishment for sins is inevitably linked to the eschaton. Dominic's river, splitting into two streams, one of blood, the other of milk, also points to the judgement to come.

The river of blood may be likened to that river of blood which flows from the winepress of God's wrath in Apocalypse 14, 19–20, symbolizing the judgement of God on evil-doers:

Et misit Angelus falcem suam acutam in terram, et vindemiavit vineam terrae, et misit in lacum irae Dei magnum: et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem, et exivit sanguis de lacu usque ad frenos equorum per stadia mille sexcenta.

And the angel put his sharp sickle into the earth, and gathered in harvest of the earth, which he put into the great wine-press of God's anger; and the wine-press

was trodden out beyond the city, and blood came from the wine-press as high as the bridle of a horse for one thousand six hundred *stadia*.

The apocalyptic overtones in Dominic's vision are strengthened by the outward appearance of the two men, dressed in white robes with gold belts. Such garb mirrors the dress of the seven angels who carry the chalices of God's wrath in Apocalypse 15, 6, 'Et exierunt septem Angeli habentes septem plagas de templo, vestiti lino mundo et candido, et praecincti circa pectoris zona aureis' (And the seven angels who bear the seven plagues came out of the temple, clad in pure white linen, with golden girdles at their breasts).

The river of milk finds no parallel in the Apocalypse, but one such river occurs in one of the most influential of visionary narratives, the fourth- or fifth-century *Visio Pauli*. The archangel Michael baptises sinners in a river of milk in order to lead them into the City of Christ alongside those who have never sinned.⁵⁹ It is therefore a place of purification.

We may conclude that the composite image of rivers and bridge in Dominic's vision contains a reference to those three types of souls at the end of the world: the river of blood to those who are judged and condemned to hell; the river of milk to those who are judged, but saved, and undergo purgation. A third type of souls at the judgement are those who are not judged and who will subsequently reign with Christ.⁶⁰ These are represented by Dominic in his act of crossing over the rivers, for, as one of the men in white inform him, 'cum Christum ac nobiscum sine fine regnabis' (I.7.65–66, p. 242; you will reign with Christ and with us forever). There will be the saved and the damned, and, after the judgement, they shall meet no more: the rivers, as they proceed, do not join up again.

Those who reign with Christ are the most perfect, a reward usually reserved to the martyrs. The crowns which Dominic was to receive are another testimony to his perfection; indeed, Grimaldus explicitly equals Dominic to the martyrs in comparing him to Abel, considered to be the first martyr: 'Et sic probamus quia beatissimus patronum noster, Dominicus, perfecte deuictis illecebris carnalibus, a merito martirii non est extraneus' (I.2.49–51, p. 168; And thus we prove that our most blessed *patronus*, Dominic, having totally conquered the passions of the flesh, is not excluded from the reward of martyrdom). Here, both saint and hagiographer relied on ancient tradition, a tradition which had been represented in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and strengthened in the Mozarabic Church, wherein hermits or monks were seen as the new martyrs, carrying on their martyrdom in private through *askesis*.⁶¹

Dominic is not simply a saint, but has the stature of a martyr. This is the implication of the dream-vision and its meaning was not lost on Dominic, as we shall see. The imagery of the crowns is vitally important, for they express Dominic's equality with the martyrs. Yet the crowns are given for specific reasons: two relate to Dominic's deeds in the past, the third prophesies his greatness allied to that of the monastery of Silos. The first crown is given by

Christ, because Dominic has followed him faithfully and completely abandoned the world and its evil works, a phrasing which closely echoes that of the baptismal promises. Since his childhood, Dominic had followed Christ and fulfilled obligations incumbent upon all Christians. The gift of the crown will only be made should Dominic persevere until his death.

The first crown is equal in worth to the second, which refers to his adolescence and manhood: his restoration of the church of Santa María de Cañas, his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and his own virginity. The church is restored *to* the Virgin; it was seen as her property, much as the lands possessed by the monastery of Silos were seen as Sebastian's property (I.15.12–15, p. 278) and the treasures of San Millán were conceived of as belonging to that monastery's patron saint (I.5.355–59, p. 218). Dominic's devotion to the Virgin is praised as something merit-worthy. Such devotion had a long history in the Mozarabic Church and was very much a sign of the times. Her cult was strongly linked to the Christian territorial advance against the Muslims, since almost all cathedrals and many frontier churches were dedicated to the Virgin.⁶² Yet the vision places devotion to the Virgin amongst active virtues, such as the rebuilding of churches and the maintenance of virginity. Veneration of the Mother of God is seen as intrinsic to Christianity. As with Ildephonsus of Toledo, whose devotion to the Virgin brought him the promise of heaven and a chasuble woven by angels, so Dominic was to be rewarded for his efforts on her behalf.⁶³ The final element of the reason for the crown's bestowal is the saint's virginity, kept from adolescence. Dominic's virginity is linked to the Virgin's own state; yet the qualification, 'deo accepta', hints at much more. Virginity was the means by which the soul could be joined in a spiritual marriage to Christ.⁶⁴ It is a reminder that, no matter how important devotion to the Virgin may have been, the view of Dominic and his contemporaries was profoundly Christocentric: the crown is given 'a Domino' (by the Lord).

The promise of the second crown is again predicated upon Dominic's perseverance, and here not simply in the rejection of the world, but also of the flesh and the devil: he must fight 'contra demone fornicationis' (against the devil of fornication). The injunction to 'legitime certare' (fight legitimately) is of particular importance to Grimaldus, who glosses the term extensively in a passage at the beginning of the *Vita* in which he has the import of Dominic's vision before his eyes (Prologus in *Vita Dominici*, ll. 20–44, pp. 146–48). The intended audience, the monks of the monastery and those who read the *Vita*, were encouraged not to be luke-warm in their attitude to their own salvation, but to struggle against the Ancient Enemy as Dominic struggled; then they too might receive crowns as Dominic had received his reward. Saint Aemilianus is, in this context, described as a 'legitimate fighter' against the devil who received the reward of eternal life for his pains as witnessed by the miracles at his tomb (I.4.43–48, p. 192). That the devil to be specifically fought against is 'of fornication' is probably a result of Dominic's reading of Cassian's *Con-*

lationes, which present victory over the spirit of fornication as central to any ascetic progress.⁶⁵

The angel who held the two crowns summoned Dominic over the bridge; the crowns represented his past successes which had indirectly led him to his present precarious position. Not only had he to contend with his own *bella intestina*, but he was also entrusted with an abbacy, a situation which, as we have seen, had already suggested some of the vision's elements. Unlike the first crown, which has its origins in the saint's childhood, and the second, which looks to the saint's adolescence and early manhood, the third crown focuses on his immediate situation and looks forward to something which must be achieved rather than preserved. Whereas either of the two crowns would be enough for his salvation (a thought expressed elsewhere by Grimaldus, 'coronam, hoc est, perpetuam uitam' (*Prologus in Vita Dominici*, l. 36, p. 156; a crown, that is, everlasting life)), the crown he was promised for Silos was seven times brighter than his other achievements. His sanctity would rest primarily upon the monastery itself, and would shine out manifoldly brighter than normal sanctity would.

The injunctions from the angels to persevere hints at the source which had suggested this part of the vision: an *apophthegma* translated by Paschasius Dumiensis. One of the fathers, instructing his disciple, fell asleep; the latter, wishing neither to wake him nor to leave without his blessing, stayed put. He was assailed seven times with the thought that he should take himself to bed. Eventually, the old man woke, prayed with his disciple and dismissed him as dawn was breaking. Then the old man had a vision:

et ecce quidam ostendebat ei locum gloriosum, et sedem in eo, et super sedem septem coronas. Interrobat autem illum qui haec ostendebat ei, dicens: Cuius sunt haec? Et ille dixit: Discipuli tui, et locum quidem et sedem pro conversatione sua donavit Deus; has vero septem coronas nocte ista promeruit.⁶⁶

and behold, someone was showing him a wonderful place, and a throne there, and seven crowns on the throne. He questioned the one who was showing him these things, saying, 'Whose are these?' And he said to him, 'Your disciple's, and God has given this place and the throne to him for his way of life; truly, he earned these seven crowns last night.

The tale is included in a section designed to encourage monks in patience and fortitude.⁶⁷ Dominic's crowns are for much greater fortitude and perseverance, reduced in number to three, signalling those things which would be his most important achievements, either in the past or in the future.

It is notable that his defence of the interests of his former monastery of San Millán before the king of Pamplona does not figure amongst his merits; there is neither mention of Aemilianus's gratitude, nor praise for Dominic's laudable firmness. At this point, Dominic saw his opposition as a failure: García had had his accustomed way with the monastery's treasury, Dominic had been

deposed as *prepositus* by the abbot, exiled from the community as a punishment, and finally forced to leave the kingdom of Pamplona. Most importantly, he had been abandoned by the titular saint when defending his interests. The perilous journey across the river may contain some sublimation of his difficult journey to Fernando's court; the angels, Fernando's providential welcome and his guarded placing of the monastery under Dominic's care.⁶⁸

Brian Dutton pointed out that two streams flow into one larger river in the valley where Silos stands, and these two tributaries have beds of white and red stones respectively, giving to the water of one stream a whitish, to the other a reddish, colour.⁶⁹ The vision takes local geography as its starting point and inverts it: the visionary streams flow from the larger river, and do not join up again. Similarly, the bridge, which stands for the monastery of Silos, is placed next to the river. The location of Silos in the foundation document of 954 was specified as being 'super crepidem fluminis quem dicunt Ura' (on a bend in the river which is called Ura).⁷⁰ The acute difficulty of Dominic's appointment as abbot was transmuted through the alchemy of sleep into an opportunity in which to develop a charismatic and spectacular sanctity.

The crown for Silos was partly for the building work which Dominic was to carry out, partly for the *populus* which he would cause to be saved in it. He was to rebuild the monastery from its very foundations. The promise that he would win a people for God perhaps glances at the Mozarabic liturgy's eschatological presentation of Christ as a warrior who wins a people for himself.⁷¹ It also explains Grimaldus's ebullient optimism when he speaks of the promise of salvation for those connected to Silos and more broadly, for all those within the Church through the ministry of the 'good shepherds', amongst whom Dominic is to be numbered (Prologus in *Vita Dominici*, ll. 6–11, p. 146). This theme is explicitly linked to Dominic in the *Carmen* in his honour, 'Nos tecum cuneis, pastor pie, iunge supernis / Quo conregnando semper maneamus ouando' (ll. 32–33, p. 156; make us join with you, merciful shepherd, in the celestial hosts/where, reigning with them, we may ever remain in triumph). Not only did Dominic prove a fitting guardian to the earthly monastery, restoring it to its original splendour, but he also became a *patronus* who could offer his monks and devotees the promise of salvation through his example and counsels. And not only Dominic, the saintly intercessor, would pray for salvation; his success in refounding and reforming the monastery would also allow the monks gathered there to perform their duty of intercession on behalf of benefactors.⁷²

Yet, although hagiography as a genre would seem to demand unquestioning belief in the saint from those who were proposing his cult, the monks' reaction to Dominic's vision was one of circumspection. They neither believed it wholeheartedly nor did they understand its import fully: 'Quam promissionem sibi ostense uisionis ab eo audientes tunc quidem funditus fidem dare negleximus, denique ab eo dicta fuerant de integro tunc intelligere non potuimus' (I.7.71–73, p. 242; When we heard the promise shown to him in

the vision, at first we did not bring ourselves to believe it thoroughly, and then we could not at that time wholly understand those things of which he had spoken). Such caution before visionary experience was the normal medieval attitude — one might even say the officially sanctioned response. Isidore of Seville wrote:

*Quamvis nonnulla vera sint somnia, facile tamen eis credi non opus est, quia diversis imaginationum qualitatibus oriuntur, et unde veniant raro consideretur. Tam facile igitur somniis fides adhibenda non est, ne forte Satanas, in angelum lucis se transformans, quemlibet incautum fallat, et aliqua erroris fraude decipiat.*⁷³

Although some dreams may be true, one need not easily believe in them, because they arrive from different qualities of imagination, and whence they come is rarely considered. Therefore, one should not give credence lightly to dreams, lest Satan, by transforming himself into an angel of light (cf. 2 Corinthians 11, 14), draw whomsoever is careless into error and deceive through some mistaken delusion.

Although classifications of dreams did exist, it would be erroneous to believe that Christian authors held a straight-forward belief in the possibility of distinguishing one class of dreams from another, as Macrobius would seem to have done.⁷⁴ Steven Kruger took Augustine's elegantly expressed description of types of dream and arranged them into a hierarchy, but thereby completely missed the point:⁷⁵

*Sicut enim aliquando et haec falsa, aliquando autem uera sunt, aliquando perturbata, aliquando tranquilla, ipsa autem uera aliquando futuris omnino similia uel aperte dicta, aliquando obscuris significationibus et quasi figuratis locutionibus praenuntiata, sic enim illa omnia.*⁷⁶

And as at times they are false and at times true; at times troubled, at times calm; and even the true ones are at times a perfect likeness of the future or speak clearly of it, but at other times foretell it with obscure indications and as if with figurative language: so they are all like this.

Augustine mixed the types of dream together precisely to underline how difficult it is to separate them. Suspicion in this area was only natural.

The monks' refusal to understand or believe in their abbot's words was only the first in a series of occasions in which Dominic's prophetic ability was scorned, at times by some, at others by all, of the monks. An instance of this is an event which Grimaldus narrated in the chapter immediately following Dominic's vision. The saint had attended the translation in 1061 of Vincent, Sabina and Christeta, martyrs under the persecution of Datian. Their relics were removed, under the patronage and blessing of Fernando I, from the abandoned city of Ávila to the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. Rather than return to his monastery carrying relics of the translated saints as was

customary after a ceremony of this sort, Dominic came back to his monks with nothing more than the blessing of the bishops, abbots and other holy men who had been at Arlanza. His monks were understandably upset, but Dominic reminded them of various scriptural passages to introduce his message:

si uolueritis audire et adimplere precepta Domini [...] et cetera mandata Domini in cordibus uestris retinueritis et opere adimpleueritis et iustis monitis meis obedientes fueritis et a uia ueritatis, non declinando ab ea neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram, non deuiaueritis, sine dubio uobiscum sanctum habetis, cuius meritis ac suffragiis omnibus uicinis uestris ac sociis inferiores non eritis. (I.8.33–34, 38–43, p. 248)

if you are willing to listen to and fulfil the precepts of the Lord [...] and if you will both keep the Lord's other commands in your hearts and fulfil them in works and be obedient to my just advice and not err from the way of truth, deviating from it neither to the right nor to the left, then without doubt you have a saint with you, by whose merits and prayers you will not be inferior to any of your neighbours and companions.

Dominic's instructions to err neither to right nor left recalls the narrow bridge of his vision and the underlying neotestamental image of the narrow gate and path that leads to eternal life (Matthew 7, 14). The sanctity of the abbot will surpass that even of those monastic houses which hold ancient and venerable relics of the martyrs. Dominic takes the prophecy contained in the vision absolutely seriously; yet his sanctity, unlike that of the ascete hermit, is not dependent upon his own spiritual athleticism alone; his sanctity is bound up with his monastery and its reform.

Dominic was concerned not only with reconstructing buildings but also with re-establishing monastic discipline. The monks had to conduct themselves well, and if they did, then the prosperity of the monastery was more than assured. It would shine as bright as that of the martyrs, particularly those whose relics lay in local monasteries. Silos would far outshine Cardena, Arlanza and San Millán, not to mention the host of smaller houses scattered throughout Castile.⁷⁷ Dominic's sanctity and his mission of reform were intimately connected, even mutually dependent. And reform and material well-being were closely linked, as we have seen. Yet the monks who listened to Dominic's promise of prosperity could not understand what was being said: '*Hoc responsum illius audientes omnes adstantes et quid responderit uel quem sensum responsio talis habuerit, non intellexerunt*' (I.8.44–45, p. 248; This reply of his all those who heard standing nearby did not understand, neither as to what he replied nor what meaning a reply like that might have). The prediction itself lapsed from memory until his death (I.8.49, p. 248). The promise was then incomprehensible: quite apart from the transfer of relics that Fernando had just sponsored, he had held Arlanza in high financial favour and had promised that he would be buried there in 1039 and 1046.⁷⁸ Judging from

the chronology of the *Historia Silensis* — which, being written in León, is probably to be trusted on the matter — Fernando's decision to situate his mausoleum at San Isidoro de León was taken after the translation of Isidore's relics there at the end of 1063.⁷⁹ Yet it is possible that Dominic caught wind of a change in the king's disposition toward Arlanza at the earlier translation, since Fernando did not repeat his promise that he would be buried there, no doubt to the visible disappointment of the monks of San Pedro.

The pattern established here by Dominic of prophecy and vision was harnessed again, at the very end of his life, to affirm his sanctity. To do this he positively courted doubt and disbelief, only to dispel it and convince those who doubted that he was a saint.

DOMINIC'S DEATH

Dominic's perseverance until death set the seal upon his sanctity; and just as his conception of himself as a saint was communicated through vision and prophecy, so the consummation of that sanctity was also revealed through the visionary and the prophetic. He had taken to his bed with a serious illness, from which he was to die. This would have occurred at the beginning of September 1073, since he witnessed to a document on 21 August of that year.⁸⁰ Dominic first prophesied that he would have a vision, and then announced that he had had the vision which had informed him that he would die three days later. He did.

Dominic's prophecy of his immanent vision and death was veiled, however, so that it would not be understood. It became a trick or joke played on the two senior members of the monastic community, but with absolutely serious intent. As he lay upon his bed, he summoned the prior and the cellarer and instructed them to prepare the monastery for the arrival of the bishop, the king and the queen who would arrive within seven days, on the Mozarabic feast in honour of the Blessed Virgin. The two monks supposed Dominic to be raving in the gravity of his illness, since they were sure that the king and queen could not and would not come to the monastery (I.23.14–17, p. 302). When they eventually questioned him as to why he had instructed them to make fitting preparations for the king and queen, Dominic pretended that he was outraged at their idiocy and went on to reveal that had been speaking of no merely mortal monarchs, but rather the heavenly king and queen, Jesus and his mother, who had come to speak to him in the church during the night and had invited him to join them in heaven (I.23.43–44, p. 304). Dominic contrasted the earthly banquet with the festal celebration of God awaiting him in heaven, saying that 'ab eis me inuitatum esse; denique, hoc triduo transacto, cum ingenti gaudio letus et felix interero eorum celeberrimo sacratissimoque conuiuio' (I.23.38–40, p. 304; I was invited by them; and so, after these three days have passed, I will attend, happy and full of joy, their most outstanding and most holy banquet).

There was sense in this, and the monks understood what he had done. Grimaldus describes the monks as realizing Dominic's plan with a reference to the opening of their mental perception: '*apertisque intellectualibus intimi sensus eorum oculis*' (I.23.41, p. 304; having opened the spiritual eyes of their inner perception) — their spiritual eyes were opened to what was passing before them, whereas before their worldly understanding had led them to expect the wrong sort of king and queen.⁸¹ But they also understood that the expense he had requested was not the wasteful result of senile raving. The preparations he had ordered for the royal advent were not simply commissioned so that his monks might be reminded of the spiritual meaning of 'king' and 'queen'. The feast became, after Dominic's death, the feast which celebrated Dominic's incorporation into the celestial banquet over which the heavenly king and queen preside, the celestial banquet which is the marriage-feast of the Lamb to the Church, in whose union Dominic's soul was to take part.⁸² There is an economy in the prophecy and its fulfilment: nothing is wasted.⁸³ A gathering following an abbot's death would have been dominated by secular, political worries concerning the appointment of a new abbot. Dominic, by his prophetic actions, forced the occasion to be a spiritual, religious occasion, both announcing and enacting the final end of man, which is beatitude.⁸⁴ Dominic, even though he had retired to his bed and was seriously ill, showed the two monks who were effectively running the monastery that it was still he who was the abbot, and that he was therefore still in charge, acting responsibly towards the monastery's interests even at his death.

The impression of a man in charge is continued in Dominic's final days. Dominic requested that the bishop, who had attended the monastery for the Virgin's feast, should remain to give him the consolation of his company; the bishop made haste to leave, alleging important business awaiting him. His attitude was quite understandable. Late December is not a time to be travelling, particularly in an inhospitable region such as the Tabladiello valley, where heavy snowfalls would be immanent and might result in the bishop missing the celebration of Christmas at his cathedral. Dominic gave him his blessing, but told him he would soon have to return. The following day, he summoned his monks to him and requested that they send for the bishop. One of the younger monks, bursting into tears, asked Dominic if he was now about to die. Dominic confirmed that he was, saying that he had requested and been granted by Christ and the Virgin a stay on his death until the bishop should arrive. With fitting decorum, he refused to say any more. The bishop returned and implicitly approved Dominic's sanctity by requesting his intercession. The saint died peacefully (I.23.52–90, pp. 306–08).

As we have seen with his earlier vision of the bridge and his prophecy on his return from Arlanza, Dominic announced his own salvation. Then he was publically proclaiming his sanctity, an action which, at least according to Grimaldus, was misunderstood by the monks. His death, however, left no room for miscomprehension. In an important detail, Grimaldus notes that

Dominic fell ill only after he had completely reformed the monastery; the success is reflected in the monastery's documentation through Sancho II's grant to Silos which entrusted the work of restoring an abandoned monastery near Valladolid in 1067 to Dominic's hands.⁸⁵ The prophecy inherent to his first vision was fulfilled, since Dominic had seen himself — his future self — crossing the bridge, succeeding in his reform, meriting his eternal reward. Now the prophecy of his death drew the two senior monks into a process in which they would be forced to acknowledge his sanctity. The prior and the cellarer were the most likely candidates to succeed him as abbot, and would therefore have the responsibility of fostering Dominic's cult after his death.

Yet, as Dominic breathed his last, something happened which he could not control. Child-oblates, who were in the room as the saint expired, saw 'coronas aureas, nimio fulgore fulgentes, super caput ipsius, quarum nimio splendore omnes humane lucerne ante beatum uirum posite obscurabantur. Atque, preeunte hoc incredibili immensoque coronarum lumine, in celum ferebatur. (I.23.92–95, p. 308; gold crowns, resplendent with exceeding splendour, upon his head; their exceeding brightness darkened all the human lights placed before the blessed man. And, as these incredible and immense crowns of light went before, he was carried into heaven). The number of crowns is not clear: the original number was two, since that is witnessed in *SR*, although *V* and the corrections added to *R* make the number three.⁸⁶ (The number of crowns in later *abbreviations* of the saint's life is two: see below, pp. 397). *V*'s alteration was no doubt motivated by the desire to make the number given in the oblates' vision tally with those offered in Dominic's own vision, lest it be wondered which crown had not formed part of his reward.

Visions experienced by children at a saint's death were considered trustworthy, as Grimaldus makes clear, 'Quod, licet paruulis asserentibus, non discredimus, sed potius puerorum reuelationi fidem attribuentes, illas coronas credimus quas illi in uisione a uiris albatis esse oblatas et promissas, si in proposito perseueraret, supra retulimus' (ll. 95–98, p. 308; although told by small children, we did not disbelieve this vision, but rather, having faith in the revelation to the boys, we believed those crowns to be those offered and promised him in the vision by the men dressed in white if he should persevere in his intent). In medieval ecclesiastical literature the child was often granted access to the supernatural world when saints or angels came to bear away the soul of one of their elders.⁸⁷ According to the *Vita Rudesindi*, Saint Senorina heard angelic singing while saying the office with her nuns at the moment that the soul of Saint Rudesindus was being carried to heaven:

At illa eis curauit interrogare, si earum aures uoces ille percuterent. Quo dixerunt, 'Minime'. At ipsa quadam puella ad se adscita oratione premissa interrogat si aliquid audiret. At illa, 'Audio uoces quasi in celo, sed quid sit prorsus ignoro'. Que respondens ait ad omnes, 'Scitote dominum nostrum Rudesindum episcopum migrasse a seculo et nunc angeli cum hymnis et laudibus deferunt in excelsum'.⁸⁸

And she took care to ask them, if those voices had struck their ears. They replied, 'Not at all.' And she called a young girl to her side and, after saying a prayer, asked her she heard anything. She said, 'I hear voices as if in heaven, but what they are I do not know at all.' On hearing this, she said to them all, 'Know that our Lord Bishop Rudesindus has left the world and now the angels are carrying him to the height with hymns and songs of praise.'

The phenomenon receives a partial explanation in the *Vita* of Stephen of Muret (†1124). A child on the point of death saw a vision of Stephen's soul ascending immediately after the saint's own death. His hagiographer declares this to be because of the child's virginity, which made him similar to the saint.⁸⁹ The ideal upon which such a conception rested was that the person was purified through abstinence. The child, being morally innocent, might more easily be a conduit for the supernatural, gaining what was open to his elders only after strenuous efforts to open their spiritual eyes, those eyes which provided the means of access into the supernatural world of angels and souls which had remained invisible to corporeal eyes after the Fall in Eden. Gregory the Great wrote, 'Nam multi nostrorum, mentis oculum fide pura et uberi oratione mundantes, egredientes e carne animas frequenter uiderunt' (for many of us that by sincere faith and plentiful praier haue had the eye of our soule purified, haue often seene soules going out of their bodies).⁹⁰

The crowns promised to Dominic in his earlier vision are the means by which his soul is escorted into heaven. The soul at death is usually accompanied by angels, such as is the case in the nearly contemporary plaque of Aemilianus's *transitus* from the ivory reliquary of San Millán.⁹¹ At Dominic's death, however, no angels are seen or heard; the crowns settle upon his head. The importance of the boys' vision is confirmed by the iconography of the tomb-cult. Dominic was soon depicted flanked by two boys. Indeed, the statuary itself began to influence later visions of pilgrims who attended the shrine, and the saint began to appear, in the thirteenth century, accompanied by young acolytes (see below, p. 288). A memory of this is preserved in the monument erected above Dominic's first resting place. The saint is portrayed being crowned by angels, while two children beg intercession at his feet. The crowns were also adopted as part of the monastery's coat-of-arms, combined with the abbatial staff.⁹²

The saint's death was the turning point, or at least Grimaldus presents it as such. The disbelief of the monks in their abbot was a thing of the past, to be contrasted with the absolute certainty with which the *Vita* was composed:

Sed nos, eo uiuente in corpore, his et aliis quam pluribus eius felicibus actibus fidem penitus acomodare dubitauimus. Nunc autem omni dubitatione postposita, secure illum iam cum Christo regnantem laudemus et honorificemus. Et hoc esse digne agendum ac deuotissime ipsius sacratissima membra, licet defuncta, ammonent et adtestantur assidue, quicumque enim, ut a plurimis iam certissime expertum est, ad

tumulum eius deuotus aduenerit et, iustum uotum suum offerens, deum per illius merita et intercessionem inuocauerit et in fide et sine hesitatione postulans orauerit, uere effectum suarum iustarum petitionem non carebit. (1.7.96–105, p. 244)

But, whilst he was living in the body, we doubted to completely believe these and many other happy deeds.⁹³ Now, however, all doubt put to one side, we laud and honour he who is surely now reigning with Christ. That this is to be done in a worthy and most devout manner is unceasingly made manifest to us by his most holy remains, although dead, since, as many have most certainly proved already, whoever approaches his tomb with devotion and, offering a fitting vow, invokes God through his merits and intercession and prays in faith and without hesitation, will not lack an answer to his just request.

Grimaldus could present the monastery and monks as falling behind the cause of Dominic's sanctity only when it had already been sanctioned by the bishop to whom the *Vita* was destined, since it was he who was the first to publically proclaim Dominic's sanctity as he lay *in extremis*:

O carissime pater, gratias omnipotenti deo referimus, quia te, superatis omnibus mundi laboribus et antiqui hostis callidissimis innumerisque artibus, ad loca tranquille pacis et perpetue refrigerii transire credimus. Nunc ergo precamur ut, iam de tua celesti gloria securus, pro nobis apud Dominum, ad quem pergis, intercedas atque tuis precibus nobis adhuc in periculis animarum nostrarum constitutis succurras atque nos post obitum nostrum, quod nostris non meremur actibus uel meritis, tuis intercessionibus tecum uiuere et conregnare obtineas. (1.23.79–87, p. 306–08)

Most dear father, we thank almighty God since, having overcome all the travails of the world and the infinite and most astute arts of the Ancient Enemy, we believe that you will go to the places of tranquil peace and everlasting refreshment. Now, therefore, we pray that, being already sure of your heavenly glory, you will intercede for us with the Lord, to whom you are going, and that with your prayers you may come to the aid of those of us who are still placed here in danger of our souls and that, after our deaths, since our acts and merits do not warrant such, by your intercessions you may obtain for us life and a share in reigning with you.

The end of Dominic's life, in Grimaldus's presentation, brought some form of ecclesiastical consensus over his sanctity, since a saint, to be officially recognized a saint, must die.⁹⁴ The leader of the consensus around Dominic's sanctity was the bishop who would translate his relics after the investigation was complete. Until then, in spite of Dominic's numerous miracles, his monks had remained recalcitrant. The most significant example of the monks' lack of faith is placed by Grimaldus in the chapter before he narrates Dominic's death, so that the contrast between the theme of disbelief and faith, which had run throughout Grimaldus's depiction of the saint's abbacy, might be seen as

clearly as possible. The whole of the surrounding area was afflicted with famine, to the point that the monastery was without food. The confrontation between Dominic and his monks was bruising: they bluntly said to him,

In tua prouidentia confisi, in hoc monasterio ad seruendum deo sumus congregati. Et nunc, ut uidemus, aut peribimus intolerabili inopia dire famis, hic demorantes, aut periclitabitur saluatio animarum nostrarum, hinc egredientes, et ad seculum, cui abrenunciauimus, ut canis ad uomitum et sus lota ad uolutabrum reuertentes. (1.22.9–13, p. 294)

Trusting in your providence, we have gathered together to serve God in this monastery. And now, as we can see, we will either perish from dire and intolerable hunger, should we remain here, or we will put in jeopardy the salvation of our souls, should we leave here and return to the world which we rejected, like the dog to its vomit or like the washed sow to the mire.

Instead of guiding them to salvation as a holy abbot should and instead of providing for their material necessities as a minimally competent abbot might, Dominic had led them into a situation where they were in danger of losing their souls, since, in leaving the monastery, the monks would be guilty of apostasy.⁹⁵ Their abbot was speechless, and began to groan and weep. His whole project of reform at this point was being washed away like a house on sand. His recruits to the monastery were criticising his leadership. The psychological crisis was only resolved when Dominic saw a dove pulling food from a dungheap, and saw in that a symbol of God's merciful compassion to all his creatures (1.22.26–27, p. 296). It was then that news of Fernando I's decision to send wheat to the monastery reached him. The story is not so much a miracle performed by Dominic, more an account of God's providence acting in his favour and, through him, in favour of the reform of the monastery. Other miracles were more straightforwardly miraculous, and it is to those that we shall now turn, enquiring what they may tell us of Dominic's role as both abbot and saint.

THE HOLY ABBOT

Dominic is presented in the *Vita* as maintaining a regular life within the monastery and its dependences. Certain monks were hermits, and, on one of the two occasions that he is depicted as travelling outside the monastery, Dominic was visiting them and inquiring after their manner of life when news of the escape of Muslim captives reached him (1.16.1–3, p. 282). The majority of Dominic's miracles characterize him as the protector of the monastery and its monks, nuns and laybrothers. He was able to use his *virtus*, his divinely-inspired thaumaturgic power, to preserve the monastery's *necessaria* or to defend its inhabitants from illness. Through the miracles, just as effectively as through his comparisons of Dominic to veterotestamental figures (e.g. 1.2.1–

212, pp. 166–180; I.3.27–80, pp. 184–86; I.4.57–69, p. 198), Grimaldus characterizes him as the ideal abbot. Yet the idealization is only carried out through the miracle stories. There is no description of Dominic's programme of reform, or, as in earlier chapters, of his non-miraculous deeds. Grimaldus, perhaps with good cause, was concerned to show Dominic as a thaumaturge, not as an administrator. The hagiographer gives no glowing description of his restoration of the monastic buildings, doubtless because under Dominic's successor, Fortunius, they were already being altered, expanded and replaced.

Dominic, through supernatural knowledge, foiled the flight of the Muslim captives mentioned above who had escaped through the carelessness of their gaoler (I.16.11–42, pp. 282–84). It is perhaps significant for the general state of the monastery that the gaoler was careless at exactly the time that Dominic was absent. In another narration, two pilgrims attempted to gain clothing from the monastery by hiding their own in the nearby church of Saint Peter in Silos, and appeared before the abbot naked. Dominic, rather laconically, instructed one of his monks to fetch the clothing from where they had hidden it and give it back to them (I.20.1–8, p. 292). The joke would seem to have been enough, and no vengeance was enacted upon the pilgrim's dishonesty.

Vengeance was visited upon an incorrigible thief, however. Garsia Munnioz was warned by Dominic to refrain from his depredations of the monastery's crops, an admonition which he disregarded. When Garsia continued in his wicked ways, Dominic placed a sample of the crop on the altar of Saint Sebastian, the patron saint of the monastery and church, and prayed. The villain was immediately struck by a disease of the skin, became swollen like a wineskin and was brought before the abbot, who informed him that his soul, if he were to repent, would be saved, but that there was no hope for his body. After receiving the eucharist from Dominic, the man died (I.15.12–36, pp. 278–80).

It is important for our understanding of the saint's character that he does not work a vengeance miracle alone, but needs must call upon the patron saint of the monastery to strike the culprit down. Dominic's placing of a handful of the crop that Garsia Munnioz had stolen was an attempt to force Sebastian's hand by presenting him with incontrovertible evidence of the theft. The miracle is not completely Sebastian's, however, since Dominic passes on the judgement that Garsia would not recover, a situation found in other similar vengeance miracles. Sigal records that a man, struck with paralysis by Saint Corneille for stealing wheat from a field belonging to the abbey of Ninove was not cured after making a pilgrimage to saint's shrine, since 'il était meilleur pour lui de cesser de mal agir à cause son infirmité que d'être guéri et de nouveau accomplir de mauvaises actions, plus répréhensibles encore que les premières.'⁹⁶ The *Vita Stephani Obazinensis* records that two robbers were struck with fever as a punishment for their transgression. Although one died lest he become worse, the other recovered so that he might do penance for his misdeeds.⁹⁷

The saint's gift of prophecy, then, could be used not only to predict his own sanctity but to protect the monastery's substance. The relative profusion of these miracles gives a sense of the parlous economic state of the monastery where the theft of crops from a single field was a most serious matter demanding supernatural, exemplary and definitive punishment.

Acts of prophecy — here, as is usual for the period, taking in both knowledge of things that have happened at a distance and things which will occur in the future — are rare in eleventh-century saints' lives, and their presence in Dominic's *Vita* point forward to their relative popularity in the twelfth century. Sigal observed that French saints who are recorded as having the gift of prophecy (generally, as in the *Vita Dominici*, termed 'spiritum prophetie') are only those who lived or whose *Vita* was composed in the twelfth century. 'Il semblerait donc que les hagiographes et leurs informateurs aient davantage attaché d'importance à ces phénomènes au XII^e siècle qu'au XI^e, peut-être en fonction d'une évolution des critères de la sainteté.'⁹⁸ Here we see the canon of sanctity represented by Dominic as being more evolved than those of French saints of his century, a feature which characterizes other elements of his thaumaturgy.

The centrality of the eucharist to Dominic is striking. Most of his miracles *in vita* use the mass as the means of praying for a cure (I.9.25–26, p. 254; I.10.14–20, p. 258; I.12.27–29, p. 268; I.17.12–17, p. 286; I.18.20–23, p. 288; I.21.7–9, p. 292). In comparison, Sigal only found one use of the eucharist (in combination with holy water) to work a miracle in France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that was to work an exorcism — a technique also used by Dominic (I.9; see below).⁹⁹ In one case where the eucharist was not used by Dominic, wine which had been blessed was poured into the mouth of a woman in a coma, who immediately recovered consciousness (I.11.25–28, p. 262–64). Sigal again notes that the use of blessed wine was rare, and usually administered to the possessed.¹⁰⁰

Dominic's concern with the sacrament extended to commissioning sacred vessels: his chalice has survived in Silos and is dedicated to Sebastian, patron saint of the monastery, as shown in the words engraved upon its base: 'IN NOMINE DOMINI OB HONOREM S[AN]C[T]I SABASTIANI DOMINICO ABBAS FECIT' (In the Lord's name, Abbot Dominic made [this] in honour of Saint Sebastian).¹⁰¹ The chalice is composed of two half-globes, one connected to the other by a short shaft. The two half-globes are each decorated externally by a single level of Romanesque arches, recalling the architecture of a church, and presumably making allusion to the celestial and earthly Church: the blood of Christ held in the upper (or heavenly) bowl being a sign and foretaste of the heavenly banquet. A paten from roughly the same period is also preserved; since this is without a dedication it may have been used by Dominic but probably not made under his orders.

The importance of the eucharistic sacrament for Dominic, then, together with the importance of his priestly role in that sacrifice, allows the reader to

see what Grimaldus later expresses with clarity. Dominic's miracles are worked through Christ, or rather, Christ works miracles through Dominic, and particularly through the sacrament that expresses Christ's continuing presence upon earth (see I.7.2–4, p. 238, cited above, p. 43). The almost exclusive dependence upon the eucharist as a vehicle for the miraculous may be a rather spectacular statement of Christological and sacramental orthodoxy. Dominic's middle years as abbot of Silos saw the raging of the Berengarian controversy over the real presence of Christ in the eucharist throughout Southern France and Italy; Berengar of Tours's figural interpretation was rejected and Christ's real presence in the eucharist affirmed.¹⁰² Dominic's miracles, seen in the context of his own time, cast him as a staunchly orthodox saint, and look forward to the enthusiasm for eucharistic miracles which was characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰³

At times Dominic would seem to have offered the eucharist by himself — such as when he freed an anchoress from diabolic temptation (I.9) or he liberated a captive from the Moors through offering the sacrifice of the Mass for his release (I.12.16–36, pp. 266–68). Here again, Dominic stands out: Sigal comments on how rare escape-miracles performed by saints *in vita* are: five out of a total of one hundred and fifty-nine, and 'dans aucune d'entre elles, il n'y a réellement action d'un saint'.¹⁰⁴ At times Dominic is surrounded by a small group of monks, an inner circle of supporters, who pray with him. Such is the case when Dominic came upon a sick lay brother for whom, due to his hard work in the monastery's service, he had a certain affection. The man's hand had swollen, preventing him from labouring in the fields. Dominic blessed it, and instructed him to carry on with his labours while Dominic and a number of his monks said a mass for his return to health (I.18.1–27, p. 288). A small group of monks was also present with him at the monastery's hermitage when they were reached by news of the Muslim captives' escape (I.16.22, p. 292). At times, the whole of the monastic community was called upon to aid Dominic's prayers for a thaumaturgic resolution. Thus Iohannes of Salas de los Infantes, who was cured from blindness: the man had himself carried to the monastery and laid at Dominic's feet. Moved by Iohannes's faith, the saint sought a cure through the prayers of the monastic community and the celebration of the eucharist; the cure came at the singing of the communion antiphon, 'Gustate et uidete quoniam suavis est Dominus' (I.10.18–19, p. 258; Taste and see how sweet is the Lord), a synchrony which underlined the divine origin of the cure. Miracles associated to the eucharist could, then, express either the saint's individual sanctity or the holiness diffused, thanks to the abbot, through the whole house.

Choosing the eucharist as a channel for thaumaturgy was a means of expressing the centrality of Christ and his power in any cure effected through the saint. On a figural level, the miracles link the healing of the body with the sacrament that is itself an expression of the salvation brought by Christ's death, resurrection and continuing presence in the Church.¹⁰⁵ Moreover,

within the context of the Mozarabic liturgy, the tying of eucharist to miracle pointed to the sanctity of the priest, since it is the priest's prayers which are described as a 'sacrificium dignum' within that liturgy: 'la purezza del sacrificio derive sia della vittima che si immola, che dall'atteggiamento interiore degli offerenti' (the purity of the sacrifice derives both from the victim who immolates himself and from the interior disposition of those who offer it).¹⁰⁶ It is from the eucharist that salvation and sanctity flow out to the Church.¹⁰⁷ As with the importance of prophecy in the *Vita*, the use Dominic makes of the eucharist in pointing to his own sainthood is without precedent in the eleventh century.

Although for Sigal journeys were the most common means for saints to be in a position of working miracles, Dominic forms part of a select group who worked their thaumaturgy on home ground.

Le cas de saint Arnoul de Soissons guérissant les malades par la fenêtre de sa cellule de reclus ou celui de saint Hugues de Lacerta que les malades venaient trouver dans son monastère sont plutôt à considérer comme des exceptions.¹⁰⁸

In Dominic's case, locals who suffered from otherwise untreatable diseases sought out the saint. Iohannes of Salas de los Infantes (I.10, pp. 260–62) we have discussed above. He had endured his blindness for many years. Maria from Castroceniza was brought round from a coma (I.11, pp. 262–64). Munio Garcia of Yecla was healed of fevers, which were possibly malarial (I.17, p. 286). These supplicants were drawn by the fame of Dominic's sanctity. But it is noticeable no miracles were worked for any of the monks. Miracles within the monastery are represented only by the exorcism of an anchoress that Dominic had himself enclosed (I.9.1–7, p. 254), and by the cure of a lay brother with a swollen hand (I.18.1–27, p. 288). The celebration of Dominic's renown as a healer took place outside, rather than inside, the monastery.

The saint's clientele was not limited to the local peasantry. On the second occasion that he is depicted as outside the monastery, he preaches to the laity who had gathered to hear him at Monterrubio de la Sierra, some forty kilometres from Silos. There a leper was brought to him so that he might heal him. Dominic accordingly said mass for him and washed him in salted water (I.21, p. 292), the beneficent properties of chlorine solution perhaps assisting the cure. Dominic's preaching in Monterrubio may have been just one example of an attempt to reach out to the laity, but Grimaldus, as with much else in Dominic's abbacy, gives no indication of the saint's continuing involvement in this activity.¹⁰⁹ However, his presence in a small town some sixty kilometres from his monastery which had no obvious connections to it, does suggest that Dominic was involved in some form of itinerant preaching.

The abbot, perhaps in part due to his public appearances and idiosyncratic behaviour (such as refusing relics at the translation of the Ávila martyrs) continued to be a Mozarabic celebrity, his popularity reaching all levels of

Castilian society. Grimaldus claims that he based his account of Dominic's miracles on three sources: the *populus*, the *illustres*, and the monks; but it was the *illustres* who could be described as Dominic's friends (I.8.97–100, p. 252). Such a telling observation is reinforced by the actions of Petro Pelagii, a blind Galician count, who came seeking a cure for his disability not only because of Dominic's fame but also because he knew the abbot well: 'Iamque omnino desperans, famam uirtutum uiri Dei, referentibus plurimis, agnouit. Et quia ei satis notus erat et creberrime domestica familiaritate ei inheserat, festinus ad eum peruenit' (I.13.5–8, p. 272; And then, wholly despairing, he came to hear through many accounts of the fame of the man of God's virtues. And since he was well-known to him had and very often joined him in close familiarity, he rushed to him).¹¹⁰ Petro Pelagii is probably to be identified with the individual named in Pelayo of Oviedo's *Chronicon regum Legionensium* as son of a deacon, Pelayo Froilaz and Countess Elduara, herself daughter of the Infanta Cristina and Infante Ordoño Ramírez. The latter was possibly the son of Ramiro III (king of León, 966–85) and his concubine Velasquita; Cristina, on the other hand, was daughter of Vermudo II, who had ousted his cousin Ramiro III from the throne.¹¹¹ Petro Pelagii's maternal grandfather (Ordoño Ramírez) was blind, and so Petro may have suffered from an inherited propensity to blindness.

Dominic's relations with the nobility did not end with friendship. He took an active role in establishing a link of patronage, summoning another 'uir nobilissimus', Garsia Munionis of Gumiell (I.14.1–2, 24–26, p. 274).¹¹² This man suffered from the falling sickness ('gutta caduua', ll. 3, p. 274).¹¹³ The etymology of the word, *gutta*, meaning a drop and hence a flux or catarrh, would tend towards a naturalistic interpretation of the disease, and Grimaldus refuses to judge whether his malady was caused by illness or demonic possession as the punishment for sin (I.14.16–20, p. 274). It was generally accepted that epilepsy could be contracted through moral failings: Gregory of Tours described a bishop who became epileptic through over-indulging in drink;¹¹⁴ Hildegard of Bingen (†1179) attributed one form of epilepsy to those of 'unstable and easy morals'.¹¹⁵

Grimaldus goes on to specify the man's symptoms: 'testamur quod de eo uidimus: dum huius infirmitatis calamitas eum arripiebat, allisus, spumabat, dentibus stridebat et arescebat et, pene omni humana effigie priuatus, auditione et loquutione carebat' (ll. 21–32, p. 274; we will attest to what we saw of him: when this misfortune seized him, dashed to the ground, he frothed at the mouth, ground his teeth and lost his strength and, deprived of almost any appearance of humanity, could neither hear nor speak). The description of Garcia Munionis's would seem to indicate the demonic strand of epilepsy, at least as one medical glossator saw it.

Epilepsiae genera sunt duo: una est talis, in qua cadunt subito nescientes et contractionem manuum pedumque et cervicis vel tremorem patiuntur; alia vero est,

in qua spumant et tremunt et non contrahunt membra, cum ceciderint, quos vulgos *demoniacos* dicit; et hii quidem ex parte sentiunt, illi vero omnino sine sensu sunt.¹¹⁶

There are two sorts of epilepsy: one is such that they fall down of a sudden without any warning and suffer from contraction and shaking of the hand and foot and neck; the other is such that they — whom the common folk call *demoniacs* — foam at the mouth and shake and their limbs do not become rigid and twisted when they fall down; and the latter are partly conscious, whilst the former are completely unconscious.

Dominic's cure is therefore all the more marvellous, since the glossator considered those seized by a demon to be incurable. The division of demoniac and natural epileptics was not accepted by everyone, and the difficulty of diagnosing whether individual occurrences of epilepsy were demonic or natural was felt by Grimaldus's contemporary, Constantinus Africanus (†1087): he advised whispering an imprecation to the demon in the patient's ear to see whether a reasonably long fit followed at once, thus showing that the cause was a devil.¹¹⁷ The efficacy of this technique would suggest that the condition which Constantinus identified as demonic might have been due to an original epileptic attack or attacks which had been functionally prolonged or amplified in symbolically meaningful ways.¹¹⁸

Dominic took pity on the man's horrible illness (I.14.24 and 27, p. 274); the sickness inspired horror above all because it was thought to be contagious.¹¹⁹ He had Garsia brought to Silos and attempted to cure his infirmity by prayer and fasting, the procedure established by Jesus at Matthew 17, 20 and Mark 9, 28 for the casting out of some devils. The cure took place, but only after a great effort on Dominic's part (I.14.34–39, p. 276). It is worth noting that it is extremely rare to find any cures performed by a saint *in vita* which are not immediate. Sigal, for example, assumes that all cures occurred at once when worked by living saints.¹²⁰

In Dominic's calling of the noble Garsia Munionis to him, we see the saint consciously deciding that he would attempt a miraculous cure using specific techniques, without any initial request of the sufferer or of those close to him. His behaviour is of a piece with his rushing from the church where he had said mass for the sick lay brother so that he might examine his hand to see if a miracle had occurred (I.18.20–25, p. 288); or his close questioning of the Christian captive in order to establish that his irons had fallen from him and he had escaped at the precise moment that Dominic had said mass for him (I.12.13–17, p. 266). In these examples, Dominic shows a need to verify or prove his sanctity. His thaumaturgic holiness was undoubtedly a means of bolstering his authority as abbot; but it would be wrong to rule out a psychological necessity, in which he could demonstrate the reality of his sanctity and therefore his salvation to himself as well as seeing the extent of

the power of his holiness. An anxiety about salvation and a corresponding wish to excel may be seen in his initial abandonment of his priestly duties to escape into the wilderness and by his subsequent abandonment of his eremitical life to join a monastery. Dominic was responding to his times:

[Eleventh-century] men and women clearly felt themselves to be existing in a time of transformation. There was a new impatience and a new intolerance towards everyday, age-old conditions. The signs of doubt and unease, a new preoccupation with purity and pollution, are evident. Gone was the optimism, or self-assuredness, of the Ottonian world.¹²¹

MODELS OF HOLINESS

As we have seen, Dominic's sanctity does not fit easily into the paradigms of eleventh-century sanctity. Nevertheless, Grimaldus is at pains to stress Dominic's likeness to other examples of holiness. The first, of course, is Christ. Dominic wins a people for himself (see above, p. 52, and n. 71 at p. 79) and shows obedience.¹²² Yet, more subtly, Grimaldus shows Dominic to be involved in the salvific work of undoing Adam's sin, a theme which occurs in the *Vita* just before his arrival at Silos. Dominic had been guiltlessly expelled from the monastery by the instigation of the devil (I.5.385–87, p. 220 — compare Adam guiltily expelled from paradise), but, reacting with humility (I.5.394, p. 222), Dominic worked the land (I.5.396, p. 222; cf. Adam in paradise: Genesis 2, 15 and 3, 17–19). Thus Dominic came to the 'mansioem sibi a deo preparatam, ipso gressus eius dirigente' (I.5.453–54, p. 236; the dwelling prepared for him by God, who guided his feet (cf. Psalm 84, 14)), so that the saint, undoing Satan's influence in the world, turned back Adam's expulsion from paradise by returning his own people to the promised *patria*. This is also made clear in the comparison of Dominic with Moses (I.2.164–69, p. 176).

Grimaldus draws a direct comparison with Saint Aemilianus. Dominic kept sheep as Aemilianus did; Grimaldus's thought that Dominic's shepherding was a foretaste of his later abbacy is an expansion of a phrase from Braulius, 'Futurus pastor hominum erat pastor ouium' (the future shepherd of men was a shepherd of sheep).¹²³ Dominic in the wilderness underwent similar temptations to Aemilianus; Dominic, in joining the monastery of San Millán, imitated Aemilianus fully (see above, pp. 33–34). Like Aemilianus, he was deposed from his position through envy of his virtues.¹²⁴ Both acted righteously: Aemilianus in giving away the church's wealth to the poor; Dominic in refusing to give it away to the king, since ecclesiastical resources could only be redirected to alleviating the misery of the poor and to the ransoming of captives.¹²⁵ Expelled from their ecclesiastical charge, they both took up residence in a hermitage.¹²⁶ Even when Dominic had abandoned San Millán, certain miracles show how he was similar to San Millán. A miracle concerning

the giving of clothes to beggars is narrated of both: Dominic gives fraudulent pilgrims their own clothes back; a beggar takes the sleeves of Aemilianus's tunic and is soundly beaten by his fellows for his impudence.¹²⁷ Both required assistance in the provision of food: Dominic received grain from Fernando I; Aemilianus from the senator Honorius.¹²⁸ Thieves were struck down: Garsia Munnioz for stealing the monastery of Silos's crops; Simpronianus and Turibius for stealing Aemilianus's horse. Not one of them was cured, for their own spiritual benefit.¹²⁹ Aemilianus's horse was sold and the proceeds given to the poor;¹³⁰ Dominic offered a horse to relatives of a captive so that it might be sold for his ransom. Both were aware of their approaching deaths.¹³¹ Grimaldus thus presents Dominic as a new Aemilianus, and Silos as a new San Millán, with a holy abbot, not one overcome with envy for another's holiness. The desire to link Dominic with Aemilianus may well lie behind the later inclusion of the story of the dedication of the church of Cañas in Book I: Aemilianus, in his declining years, lived with holy virgins who looked after his daily needs and was criticised for this reason by the devil;¹³² the presence of Dominic's mother and sister, at the monastery to cook for the bishop, provoke the prelate to utter an angry rebuke. Thus the comparison of Dominic with Aemilianus was not simply the idiosyncrasy of Grimaldus — who, as we have said, may well have been a monk at San Millán — but was a continuing ideological element in Dominic's cult.

In Grimaldus's estimation, complete imitation raised the saint to be the equal of those he imitated (I.5.172–74, p. 204).¹³³ Much of Dominic's life could be claimed to have been imitative of previous models of sanctity. The saint's childhood is similar to that of Jacob and Antony the Great. His leaving for the eremitical wilderness without informing his parents (I.3.91, p. 188) follows in the footsteps of one of the most celebrated of medieval saints, Alexis, and one of the most celebrated abbots, Benedict.¹³⁴ His refusal to visit his mother on her deathbed but then offering the eucharist for the repose of her soul is probably modelled on an account given by Gregory the Great of his own actions when Justus, a monk in Gregory's monastery, was discovered during his final illness to have secretly held private property. This was completely against the custom of the monastery, and to dissuade the other monks from following such a path Gregory ordered that Justus should be cut off from the company of others and, when he died, buried ignominiously. After the unfortunate's death, Gregory ordered that thirty days of masses should be said for his soul.¹³⁵ Dominic's mother had not joined a monastery, so that his choice of action was distinctly questionable. But this inhuman behaviour is of a piece with his flight into the *eremus* without informing his parents.¹³⁶ Both actions suggest a certain immaturity, and his escape to be a hermit in his late adolescence may be a case of rebellion against parents by 'internalizing their [...] beliefs, but then acting on them in a more radical way', a perduring characteristic of teenage years identified by sociologists of religion.¹³⁷ The

first words of the first chapter of the *Vita Dominici* stress the nobility and religiosity of Dominic's father (I.1.1, p. 162, 'patre nobili ac religioso, nomine Iohannes'). Iohannes is later described as 'bone religionis virum' (I.5.194, p. 206; a man of deep piety). Dominic's speedy descent from the wilderness to become a monk at San Millán suggests that he had not properly thought through what he was doing — but this vacillation Grimaldus tries to excuse as the imitation of Saint Aemilianus (I.4.52–55).

Dominic's decision to work with his hands was modelled upon the lives of the Desert Fathers, and it is possible that, in resisting King García's predations, he saw himself as imitating Saint Laurence, who had refused to hand over the riches of the Roman Church to a rapacious emperor and suffered martyrdom as a result, although in Dominic's case the motif of giving the riches desired by the monarch to the poor is absent.¹³⁸ We are on firmer ground with Dominic's vision, which was, perhaps unwittingly, patterned on Sunniulf's. Yet the unconscious element shows how deeply the importance of imitation had taken root in the man's mind. Grimaldus compares Dominic's vision to Martin's, and Martin was a saint who received, thanks to Dominic, a special cult in Silos (see below, p. 71): Grimaldus's comparison no doubt had its origins in Dominic's own understanding of the matter. Martin has been described as representing 'a rough-hewn asceticism, relying on charismatic displays of miraculous power'.¹³⁹ Martin's example influenced Dominic's own actions in his abbacy, which drew its legitimacy from the miracles which were used to bolster his authority. Grimaldus's single-minded concentration upon wonders, prophecies and miracles associated with Dominic's time at Silos, emphasising above all the comeuppance of those who doubted the abbot's authority, serves to reinforce this uncompromising stance towards opposition and the belief in a divinely inspired mission that underlay the saint's actions.

Benedict, too, was an important model. Benedict used the spirit of prophecy to inform his monks of what was happening at a distance.¹⁴⁰ He saw through a trick which supplicants tried to play upon him, although with Benedict it was a king who had sent a servant dressed in his clothes, with Dominic pilgrims who came without clothes.¹⁴¹ When Benedict became abbot of a decidedly unruly monastery, he prevented his monks from deviating either to the right or the left of their monastic round, just as Dominic instructed his to behave on his return from Arlanza.¹⁴² (Perhaps ironically: Benedict's monks tried to poison him, and he abandoned them). Benedict healed a leper, as did Dominic. Benedict relieved his monastery of famine, but more miraculously than Dominic: bags of wheat were anonymously left at the monastery's gates.¹⁴³ Benedict also foretold his death precisely at a week's distance.¹⁴⁴ And Benedict's monks had a vision of the saint's beatitude after his death: they saw, stretching up from their monastery, a royal road into heaven which was lit by the light of many lamps; the child-oblates, in turn, saw crowns carrying Dominic's soul to the celestial realms.¹⁴⁵

Dominic explicitly follows Christ's command to fast and pray in order to cast out a demon from Garsia Munionis, although even Grimaldus had some doubts as to whether it was actually a demon. And his freeing of a man from Muslim captivity through the offering of the eucharist was directly modelled upon a miracle related by Gregory the Great.¹⁴⁶ Such conscious and unconscious imitation of earlier models was a feature of late Mozarabic claims to sanctity, as can be seen in the visions experienced by Oria, an anchoress at San Millán during the last days of the Mozarabic rite, whose supernatural experiences were modelled on those visions of martyrs, recluses, male clerics, and the Apocalypse which she had assimilated through her reading.¹⁴⁷ In this context, it is worthy of note that Dominic's imitation of Abraham and the Desert Fathers during his early days at San Millán (I.5.70–77, p. 198), caused his brethren in the monastery to wonder whether he was play-acting: 'statuerunt inter se obedientiam beati uiri utrum uera an falsa foret probare' (I.5.148–49, p. 202; decided amongst themselves to test whether the blessed man's obedience was true or false), the question being whether the models of holiness had been thoroughly internalised or had remained but external show.

THE HISTORICAL ABBOT

Other than the *Vita Dominici*, the historical record is meagre for the abbot: five documents,¹⁴⁸ several manuscripts, a chalice, archeological excavations of his building work. Yet this scarce evidence may be used to confirm some of the interpretations given above. Of course, not all the elements in the *Vita* will find their match in what has otherwise survived. But certain key pointers will show that the *Vita* can often be trusted to show historical reality.

Dominic's anxiety over the success of his reform was no doubt warranted. We have discussed above (pp. 41–42) the archeological evidence for the destruction of material fabric of the monastery. Dominic's reform was slow, no doubt hindered by the poverty of the foundation and by the recalcitrance of some of the monks. It was not until fifteen years of Dominic's abbacy had elapsed that the monastery of San Miguel y Santa María was transferred to Silos by the abbot Nunno and the presbyter Munio.¹⁴⁹ The incorporation of this local monastery into Silos is the first indication of the success of Dominic's reform, but it took almost half of Dominic's abbacy for it to happen. But the reform was a success, and Dominic succeeded in attracting recruits from an extremely wide area. From the evidence of the scriptorium that existed at Silos during the period of his abbacy, it would seem that monks from nearby monasteries and even as far as Al-Andalus came to take part in Dominic's project.¹⁵⁰ As such, Silos benefited from the Europe-wide enthusiasm for religious houses during the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁵¹ This group of recruits were those who rebelled against him when famine threatened, provoking a crisis in Dominic's abbacy since it was they who could assist Dominic in his reform of the monastery.

The absorption of the monastery of San Miguel y Santa María had immediate consequences for Dominic's rebuilding of the monastery. He seized upon their relics to partially replace those of the first foundation of Silos. The original church of Saint Sebastian at Silos had altars dedicated to Sebastian and companions, to Peter and Paul, and, thirdly, Aemilianus.¹⁵² Dominic maintained the altar dedicated to Sebastian and companions, but installed relics of the Blessed Virgin and Martin of Tours in the other two.¹⁵³ This change occurred immediately, since a Silos manuscript containing para-liturgical pieces for the Virgin's feasts, an office for St Michael, an office and mass for St Martin, Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* and one of his letters concerning Martin, *Ad Basulam*, was completed in 1056, the year in which San Miguel y Santa María was placed in Dominic's hands.¹⁵⁴ The manuscript, in fact, was probably written for the hand-over ceremony, since that took place on 20 December, too late in the year for the manuscript to have been written afterwards. We have seen ample evidence for Dominic's devotion to the Virgin. Dominic's attachment to Saint Martin is quite apparent, too, from his choice of Martin's church as the place to say mass for the leper of Monterrubio when the latter was brought to him to be cured (I.21.6–9, p. 292). Dominic's omission of Aemilianus is striking, and supports the view expressed above that Dominic thought he had been let down by Aemilianus (p. 51). The type of Church represented by devotion to Aemilianus may have been too tied to the Mozarabic way of doing things, a way which had by then begun to look decidedly sloppy, if not sinfully simoniac.¹⁵⁵ Aemilianus's cult would be significantly diminished with the arrival of the Roman rite, and it was from San Millán that opposition to that rite's introduction was expressed.¹⁵⁶ Saint Martin was a much more fitting role-model, as we have seen.

Certain characteristics of the saint emerge in the hagiographer's account in the first book of the *Vita*: his constancy and unbending toughness, witnessed in his confrontation with King García of Pamplona; his humility and obedience in accepting the to-ing and fro-ing imposed upon him by his superiors at San Millán; his compassion towards the suffering (cf. I.10.10, p. 258; I.11.21–23, p. 262; I.12.20, p. 266; I.14.24–26, p. 274; I.17.21–23, p. 288); and his good humour, a characteristic infrequently commented upon, but vital for any understanding of the man. Regarding this, when narrating the escape of the Saracens held captive in the monastery, Grimaldus observes:

Itaque de tam maximo dampno quod contigerat monasterio omnibus contristatis, uir beatus nullo modo est mutatus a solito usu sue sobrie alacritatis, sed omnes benigna allocutione paternaue pietate consolatur atque eos sollicitè ortatur ut comuni et fideli oratione Dominum precarentur, quatinus sua magna clementia malum quod euenerat in bonum uertere dignaretur. (I.16.22–28, pp. 292–84)

And so, although all were saddened by such a great harm which had befallen the monastery, the blessed man did not change in any way from his accustomed sober

cheerfulness, but consoled them all through kind words and fatherly kindness and exhorted them insistently that they should offer together a faithful prayer to the Lord, begging him that through his great mercy he might deign to turn the evil which had occurred into good.

Grimaldus was not exaggerating when he spoke of 'maximo dampno' that the loss of the captives entailed: Simon Barton notes that slaves were rarely granted to the Church or monasteries not only because of the high prices they fetched, but because were also an essential component of an economy based upon landed estates demanding manpower which was often in short supply.¹⁵⁷ Dominic's cheerfulness is again seen in his humorous treatment of the fraudulent pilgrims (I.20, p. 292), and in what amounts to a joke played upon the *praepositus* and the *dispensator* of his monastery before his death. Yet the joke had an absolutely serious point: to show who was abbot and that the abbot was a saint. Dominic left his monks in no doubt as to how they should consider his life, death and continuing presence amongst them. But, both before and after Dominic's death, the judgement of his sanctity depended upon others. With the saint's death and burial, we move from the account of his actions to the actions of Dominic's monks and devotees who remembered his holiness and, consequently, constructed his sanctity from their memories. This was not a static process, but was guided in a large part by the saint's own miraculous interventions to alleviate the suffering of others. Dominic may have died, but his *praesentia* could still influence the direction of his cult, mainly through those ever-present channels of communication with the holy, visions and dreams, but also in the type of afflicted that he chose to heal and who chose to seek out his healing *virtus*.

The type of sanctity represented by Dominic is a mix of two worlds. It exhibits Mozarabic ideals: the imitation of previous models of holiness and the affirmation of sanctity through the retelling of visionary experiences. The saint acted out in his own life stories he had read about, and communicated his saintliness to others through accounts of his contact with the supernatural. Yet the *Vita*'s presentation of Dominic also bears the marks of eleventh-century reform in its emphasis on the restoration of the monastery and the amelioration of monastic life within it. Yet Dominic's miracles escape from anything that could be classed as stereotypical; in these, his holiness is quite different to examples which could be found on the other side of the Pyrenees. This original ingredient must come from the man himself, his sanctity showing forth a highly individual fragment of the goodness of God.

In the following analysis of Dominic's cult, we shall see how Mozarabic conceptions of what saints might do had a strong hold over the evolution of the shrine, although these conceptions, like the liturgy they depended upon, were eventually replaced. Just as the evocations of the liturgy pass from Mozarabic to Roman in Books I and II of the *Vita Dominici*, so there was a slow change between what was the past and what was to be an increasingly

Roman future. Old-fashioned and newfangled conceptions of sanctity outside the monastery are mirrored by resistance and enthusiasm for the cult of the holy abbot within the coenobium, and it is this dispute that we shall discuss before looking in more detail at the varied elements of the laity's devotion.

NOTES

1. Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes', pp. 177–78
2. Rafael Alcocer, OSB, *Santo Domingo de Silos* (1st edn, Valladolid, 1925; 2nd edn, Burgos: Aldecoa, 1974), p. 47, suggests that Dominic abandoned his shepherding between the ages of 14 and 16, and, at p. 56, notes that Dominic almost certainly was not old enough, under canon law, to be ordained a priest, and so was probably ordained at around the age of eighteen or twenty. We may extrapolate from this to suggest that he would have joined San Millán at the age of between twenty-one and twenty-three and have been between twenty-seven and thirty when he became abbot of Silos in 1041 (see p. 40). Canon 2 of the council of Toulouse (1056) set a lower age-limit for an abbot at thirty (Bede K. Lackner, O CIST, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, Cistercian Studies, 8 (Washington DC: Cistercian Publications, 1972), p. 120), a sure sign that numerous abbots were under thirty at their consecration. On the reckoning made above, then, Dominic would have been in his early to mid-sixties when he died and would therefore have been born around AD 1010.
3. Genesis 25, 27; Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Vita Antonii*, §1, *PL* 73, 125–68, at col. 127A1–17.
4. Braulius Caesaraugustanus, *Vita Aemiliani*, §8, ed. by Luis Vázquez de Parga (Madrid: CSIC, 1943), p. 14, ll. 8–12; tr. A. T. Fear, 'The Life of St Aemilian the Confessor, called the Hooded', in his *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, Translated Texts for Historians, 26 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), pp. 15–43, at p. 21. The traditional date of Aemilianus's death is AD 574; Braulius's *Vita* was not written until AD 631–45 (see Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, p. xxvi and p. 40, n. 110).
5. Luigi Canetti, 'Domini custos': contributi alla storia di san Domenico nelle fonti agiografiche del XIII secolo (Sala Baganza: Tipolitotecnica, 1994), p. 74 n. 72; see also his *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori*, Biblioteca di 'Medioevo Latino', 19 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996), pp. 181–82; Simon Tugwell, OP, 'Notes on the life of Saint Dominic', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 67 (1997), 27–59, at p. 36 n. 16.
6. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §9, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 14, l. 21 – p. 15, l. 11; trans. Fear, pp. 21–22. On Aemilianus as a holy man, see Santiago Castellanos, *Poder social, aristocracias y 'hombre santo' en la Hispania Visigoda: la 'Vita Aemiliani' de Braulio de Zaragoza*, Biblioteca de Investigación, 20 (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 1998), pp. 101–32.
7. *Vita Fructuosi*, §§4–6, ed. by Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga. Estudio y edición crítica* (Braga: Diário do Minho, 1974), pp. 86–88, and trans. by A. T. Fear, 'The Life of St Fructuosus of Braga', *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, pp. 123–44, at pp. 126–28. An earlier edition and translation of this text — missing some crucial sections — was provided by Frances Clare Nock, SCN, *The Vita Sancti Fructuosi. Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History New Series, 7 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), pp. 91, 95–100 (*Vita Fructuosi*, §§3, 6–8).
8. *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, 1.3–5, ed. by Salvatore Pricocco, *La Regola di San Benedetto e le regole dei padri* (Milan: Lorenzo Valla, 1995), pp. 118–273, at p. 134, ll. 3–10; see also below, Chapter Ten, n. 7 at p. 410. On Mozarabic monasticism, see the monumental work by Antonio Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la península ibérica*, 3 vols (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro – CSIC, 1973); and also José Mattoso, *La Monachisme ibérique et Cluny: les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an*

- mille à 1200* (Louvain: Université Catholique, 1968); Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La vida eremítica en el reino visigodo', in *España eremítica. Actas de la VI Semana de Estudios Monásticos, Abadía de San Salvador de Leyre, 15-20 de septiembre de 1963*, Analecta Legerensia, 1 (Pamplona: San Salvador de Leyre, 1970), pp. 49-62; *idem*, 'Sobre la compilación hagiográfica de Valerio de Bierzo', *Hispania Sacra*, 4 (1951), 3-23.
9. See most recently Walker, *Views of Transition*, pp. 21-34.
 10. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 215-16. Cowdrey treats the influence of Cluny on eleventh-century Navarre at pp. 215-17, but on the contested donation of Santa María de Nájera to the Cluniacs, see Pablo Díaz Bodegas, 'La disputa cluniacense - obispado de Calahorra por la posesión de Santa María de Nájera (1079-1224). Más de cien años de conflicto jurisdiccional en al Diócesis de Calahorra por una disposición real', *Berceo*, 126 (1994), 89-119, at pp. 91-92, where it is shown that the donation of Santa María was effected by Alfonso VI in 1079, not García III in 1052 (cf. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 217-18).
 11. On the importance of spiritual warfare, see André Vauchez, *La Spiritualité du Moyen Age occidental, VIII^e-XII^e siècles*, Collection SUP, L'Historien, 19 (Vendôme: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), pp. 58-62.
 12. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §§14 and 24, p. 20, l. 13 - p. 21, l. 7 and p. 24, l. 15 - p. 26, l. 6; tr. Fear, pp. 27, 31-32. Further exorcisms are narrated by Braulius at §19, p. 22, l. 17 - p. 23, l. 2 (a former deacon); §20, p. 23, ll. 3-11 (a servant possessed by fifteen demons); §21, p. 23, ll. 11-14 (the servant of a *comes*); §22, p. 23, l. 15 - p. 24, l. 8 (a married couple, Nepotianus and Proseria, *senatores*, who were possessed by the same demon); §23, p. 24, ll. 8-15 (Columba, daughter of the *curialis* Maximus).
 13. 'Quas uero temptationes uel indeficientes conflictus ab infestissimo hoste humani generis pertulerit uel quibus uirtutibus scilicet abstinentia, uigiliis continuis ac cotidianis ieiuniis et indeficientibus oracionibus claruerit non est nostre sciencie uel possibilitatis euoluere' (I.3.96-99, p. 188; indeed what temptations or unceasing struggles he underwent at the hands of the most implacable enemy of the human race, or by what virtues he shone — namely abstinence, continual vigils, daily fastings and unending prayer — is not in our ability or knowledge to recount). Cp. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §11, ed. Vázquez Parga, p. 16, ll. 6-15, 'Quas ille ibi inuisibiles, quasque pugnas uisibiles, quas uario callidoque modo temptationes quasque nebulonis antiquissimi ludificationes fuerit expertus hi soli optime norunt qui ea in semetipsis experiri contendunt' (What invisible, what visible battles, what varied and cunning temptations, what mockeries of the Ancient Wretch, he experienced there, they alone best know who strive to test these things in their own persons). Grimaldus was familiar with the *Vita Aemiliani* and mentions Braulius's authorship of the text at I.4.48-51, p. 192.
 14. Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: a Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150*, New Studies in Medieval History (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 21.
 15. This should not be seen as any contradiction with Dominic's later stance when *prepositus* of San Millán: 'In general, the social and economic transactions associated with the reception of the religious habit were accepted without comment before the twelfth century. [...] In the eleventh century simony was a common topic for conciliar legislation and for pamphleteering, and to find no explicit statement about the simoniacal nature of many entry agreements creates a strong presumption that contemporaries did not draw a connection between entry gifts and simony', Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniaccal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: a Social and Economic Study* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), pp. 61 and 69. The first glimmer of disquiet with the practice can be found in canon 7 of the Council of Melfi (1089), which prohibited abbots from demanding gifts on entry: Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, p. 125.
 16. See I.19.6, p. 290, in which Dominic's mother and sister are cooking a feast in preparation for the arrival of the local bishop (for which, see above, pp. 16-17). The story is likely to be spurious. Yet the inclusion of a sister is not absolutely necessary to the story: the bishop was offended by the mere presence of women at the monastery (I.19.12, p. 290).

So there may be a basis for Dominic's having at least one sister. It may also be observed that, since Dominic was trained for the priesthood, it is unlikely that he was the eldest of the siblings.

17. On the canonical principle, see Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: the Canonistic Works of Anselm of Lucca*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 138.
18. See Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), who displays the wide variation in significance that donations to the monastery of Cluny could hold, esp. at p. 74: 'the give-and-take system suggests that donations in which the usufruct was explicitly reserved were not in any significant way different from other donations'. For a legal battle in 1093 over the right to usufruct of lands donated by a local potentate's ancestor to the Abbey of La Trinité in the Vendôme, see Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: the Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032–1187* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), p. 80.
19. Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 180.
20. The concept of *libertas ecclesiae* was championed by Cluny from at least the end of the tenth century (Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 69–70). A significant example of the transition from García's view to that of Dominic amongst the European aristocracy may be seen roughly a decade before the confrontation over San Millán's wealth in Viscount Aymeric III's worrying that his father was suffering 'in inferno' for having unjustly seized half of a church which he had previously given to a monastery. Aymeric III felt forced to make restitution: Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 188; but one should also note the 'numerous charters which record laymen trying to claw back some of an older kinsman's donations to a religious community' (*Ibid.*, p. 192). Some thirty years after Dominic's confrontation with García, the nunnery of Santa Cruz de la Serós received donations which stipulated that family members neither could nor should demand that the land be returned to them: *Cartulario de Santa Cruz de la Serós*, ed. by Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Textos Medievales*, 19 (Valencia: Zanubiar, 1966), doc. no. 4, p. 16 (AD 1070), 'Et si quis aliquis ex nostro genere filiis, neptis aut bisneptis venerit sub aliqua occasione hoc donativum auferre vel minuire, sit anathema marenata, et cum Dathan et Abiron et Iuda traditore abeat in perpetuum portionem, amen' (And if any of the children of our family, or grandchildren or great-grandchildren, should, under any pretext whatsoever, take away from or diminish this offering, may they be everlastingly damned, and may they share the eternal place of Dathan, Abiron and Judas, the traitor, amen); cf also doc. no. 6, p. 21 (AD 1076), 'Rogo etiam fratribus vel nepotibus sive posteritati mee quod istum meum privilegium quod ego feci cum consilio et volumptate rex Sancius frater meus quod confirment illum in perpetuum' (I beseech then my brothers, and grandchildren, and my descendants that they confirm in perpetuity this privilege of mine which I have made with the advice and agreement of my brother, King Sancho). Santa Cruz, even though a noble foundation, was a nunnery and its benefactors women; the bar on subsequent return was an attempt to protect a weak monastery from depredation. The same sentiments are not found in the cartularies of the larger, more important male monasteries.
21. For the king's *ira*, cf. the early thirteenth-century *Poema de Mio Cid*, ll. 27–28, ed. by Ian Michael, *Clásicos Castalia*, 75 (Madrid: Castalia, 1976), p. 79, 'que perderí los averes | e más los ojos de la cara/e aún demás | los cuerpos e las almas' (that they would lose their goods, and moreover the eyes from their faces, and furthermore, their bodies and their souls). It is possible that this type of threat was taken as characteristic of tyrants in medieval Spain.
22. *Historia Silensis*, §83, ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB, and Atiliano González Ruiz-Zorilla, *Historia Silense. Edición crítica e introducción*, CSIC Escuela de Estudios Medievales:

- Textos, 30 (Madrid: CSIC, 1959), p. 186, 'Porro Garsias rex, ferox et animosus, audita legatione, despecta fratris pietate, exire inperat, ac statim, subinferendo minas, eos cum sociis, qui pugne subierint triumphato domino, more pecudum se rapere in patriam dicit. Confidebat namque Garsias in viribus suis, eo quod tunc temporis, excepto regio inperio, pre omnibus militibus insignis miles habebatur. Siquidem in omni bello strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul peragere assueuerat' (trans. by Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 24–64, at pp. 46–47, 'King García, ferocious and rash, in contempt of his brother's [Fernando I's] restraint, heard the envoys out and ordered them to be expelled from his camp. And immediately adding threats, he said that when their lord had been defeated he would carry them off like cattle into his own country together with their conquered companions. For García trusted in his own might because at that time he was reputed an outstanding soldier, above any knight in all the royal empire. For indeed in every battle he had been accustomed to perform at once the duties of a valiant soldier and of a good general'). Not all religious houses were subject to his despoilation, since the *Historia Silensis*, §84, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz Zorilla, pp. 187–88, records, 'Corpus vero Garsie regis in ecclesia beate Marie Nazarenensis [*leg.* Naiarenensis] sepulture traditur, quam ipse a fundamento deuote construxerat, atque argento et auro sericisque indumentis pulcre ornauerat' (trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 47, 'King García's body was taken for burial to the church of Santa María de Nájara which he himself had devoutly raised from its foundations and had splendidly embellished with silver and gold and silken textiles'). Santa María de Nájara was founded in 1052, but two years before García's death.
23. Concern with monks who abandoned their monasteries without permission was a constant feature of eleventh-century synodal legislation, and is found in the canons of Bourges (1031), Reims (1049), Tours (1060), Caen (1061), Rouen (1072), and Melfi (1089), as reported in Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, pp. 118–25.
 24. Pelagius Ovetensis, *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. B. Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del Obispo don Pelayo*, Textos Latinos de la Edad Media Española, 3 (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1924), p. 60, l. 21 – p. 61, l. 5; trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, ed. pp. 75–76.
 25. The author of the *Historia Silensis* noted Fernando's piety in a fashion which directly contrasts with García's impiety as recorded in the *Vita Dominici*: Fernando, sitting at table in the monastery of Sahagún, carelessly took hold of a wine glass. It slipped from his fingers and shattered. Full of concern for what he had done ('axietate [...] percussus'), for he had deprived the monastery and, more importantly, its saints of a piece of precious glassware, he offered a golden goblet in recompense, saying, 'Pro confracto hoc beatis martyribus restituto vas' (§104, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorilla, p. 104; I give this vessel to the blessed martyrs, in place of the broken one).
 26. Antonio García Gallo, 'El Concilio de Coyanza: contribución al estudio del derecho canónico español en la Alta Edad Media', *Anuario de Historia de Derecho Español*, 20 (1950), 275–633, at p. 291, cited by Linehan, *History*, p. 186 at n. 55.
 27. According to post-medieval descriptions of the saint's journey, Dominic first took up residence in a hermitage outside Burgos, there to be visited by Fernando, who offered him a proper outlet for his talents: Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 37 n. 1. In this fiction the desire to link one of Silos's possessions in the provincial capital to the life of its holy abbot is combined with a certain unease over Dominic's direct approach to Fernando. Another fanciful version is provided by the San Millán Benedictine, Miño Cárcamo, in his *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* (Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 39), p. 18. Cárcamo claimed to have used a life of the saint by Alonso de Corral who, in turn, claimed to have used a life of Dominic written by a monk of Ripoll, Armegol Rugerio, who had travelled to be with Dominic when he was still at San Millán. The text originated in San Millán and therefore could dispense with Burgos altogether. Cárcamo accordingly has Dominic travel to León. He was miraculously announced by all the city's bells; the goodmen of León came out of the gates to find the saint; when Fernando heard that it was such a holy man, he came out and greeted him: see Isabel Uriá Maqua, 'Una nota sobre la vida de Santo Domingo de

- Silos', in *Medioevo hispano. Estudios in memoriam del Prof. Derek W. Lomax*, ed. Benito Eloy Ruano (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1995), pp. 385–90, at p. 388. Armengol Rugerio is a figment of someone's seventeenth-century imagination. Certainly the Latin that Cárcamo, p. 18, ascribes to him ('nandum adhuc prope civitatem Leoninam S. meus Dominicus properarat, quando ...'; reproduced by Uría Maqua, 'Una nota', p. 388) is anachronistic: the medieval way of referring to the city of León was as *civitas legionensis*. Alonso de Corral and the Reverend Cárcamo may also be the fictitious brethren of a Benedictine forger.
28. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 38.
 29. See Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 45.
 30. The house eventually passed to Silos through exchange in 1433: Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, p. lxiii and doc. no. 9, pp. 11–12 (29–XII–1041).
 31. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, pp. 77–78.
 32. *Historia Silensis*, §104, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorilla, pp. 205–06.
 33. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 62.
 34. Juan José García González, 'El dominio del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (914–1214)', in *El románico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988*, Studia Silensia, Series Maior, 1 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 31–67, at p. 40.
 35. John Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the years 1050–1150', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), pp. 269–304, at p. 291.
 36. For the donations, see García González, 'El dominio', p. 40.
 37. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. n° 16, pp. 18–19.
 38. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, pp. 104–06.
 39. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, III.3–5, in *Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Sources Chrétiennes, 133–135, 3 vols (Paris: Le Cerf, 1967), I, 258.
 40. Benedicta Ward, "'Signs and Wonders": miracles in the desert tradition', *Studia Patristica*, 18 (1982), 539–42; reprinted in *Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles and Prayers from the Fourth Century to the Fourteenth* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992); Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §8, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 14, ll. 13–20; *Vita Frioiani Legionis*, ed. by Antolin López Peláez, *San Froilán de Lugo (siglo IX)* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 219–224, at p. 220.
 41. See Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 25 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), pp. 118–19, where this period of psychological crisis followed by a sudden, almost miraculous release, is referred to as a 'creative illness'.
 42. A Jungian analysis of the vision — using, unscientifically, only Berceo's version — is provided by Hermina G. Cardenas, 'La visión onírica en *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* de Gonzalo de Berceo', unpublished PhD. thesis, University of California Irvine, 1987, pp. 84–99.
 43. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis*, §1, ed. by Carl Selmer (University of Notre Dame, 1959), p. 6, ll. 49–52.
 44. A copy of the *Vita Brendani* was produced in San Millán in the twelfth century, and is now Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Aemilianense 10, folios 1^v–6^v. This copy would seem to be from the same recension of the text as that in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2444, folios 51^r–67^r, which is itself a copy of an Albelda manuscript of AD 982 (see Selmer, ed., *Navigatio*, pp. 110, 113; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Biblioteca de Temas Riojanos, 28 (2nd edn; Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991), p. 85 n. 104). This recension of the text may also be contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript, Oxford, Laud. Misc. 315, folios 165^v–175^r (Selmer, ed., *Navigatio*, p. 111). It was perhaps from Albelda or San Millán that the *Vita sancti Brendani* mentioned in the thirteenth-century Silos catalogue of books was copied: see Anne Boylan, 'The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos and its Catalogues (Xth to XVIIIth centuries)', *Revue Mabillon*, nouvelle série, 3, vol. 64 (1992), 59–102, at pp. 79–87, no. 80. This manuscript is lost (Boylan identified it as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, N.a.l 235, folios 207^r–14^v, but this text is a version of the *Visio Dricelmi*, the account of a vision

- originally contained in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, v.12, but with some alteration and a different ending; see Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas*, p. 36 n. 9).
45. Howard Rollins Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 8. Zosimus, as a counter-example, crossed a river with the aid of two trees which passed him between themselves: 'The narrative of Zozimus concerning the life of the blessed', trans. by Andrew Rutherford, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9, ed. by A. Menzies (New York: T & T Clarke, 1912), pp. 220–24 at p. 220.
 46. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.37.10, in *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. by Adalbert de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes, 251, 260, 265, 3 vols (Paris: Le Cerf, 1978–79), III, 130; *The Dialogues of S. Gregorie, surnamed the Greate: Pope of Rome: and the First of the Name: Devided in fower Bookes. Wherein he intreateth of the liues, and miracles of the Saintes in Italie, and of the eternitie of mens soules [...]* Translated into our English tongue by P. W. (Paris: Ch. Bosccard, 1608), p. 449.
 47. Patch, *Other World*, pp. 92–93.
 48. *Visio Alberici*, §17, ed. by Francesco Cancellieri, *Osservazione intorno alla questione promossa dal vanozi dal mozzocchi dal bottare, specialmente dal P. Abate D. Giuseppe Giustino di Costanzo sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia di Dante, appoggiata alla Storia della Visione del monacho casinense, Alberico* (Rome: F. Bourlie, 1814), pp. 132–206, at p. 168.
 49. *Fis Adamnáin*, §22, ed. by Charles Stuart Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante: a Study of the vision of Heaven and Hell Ascribed to the Eighth-century Irish Saint Adamnán, with Translation of the Irish Text* (London: D. Nutt, 1908), pp. 28–47, at pp. 38–39.
 50. See Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, p. 136 n. 12, concerning Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 13. The San Millán anchoress, Oria, contemporary with Dominic, is recorded as receiving a vision which is much in debt to another vision recounted by Gregory of Tours: see Berceo's 'Vida de Santa Oria': *Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. by Anthony Lappin, *Legenda* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000), pp. 170–72.
 51. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, IV.33, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Libri Historiarum X*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, 1 (Hannover: Impensis Biblioplii Hahniani, 1884), p. 166, ll. 21–33.
 52. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. by O. M. Dalton, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), II, 142.
 53. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 37.
 54. Compare Whitley Stokes, 'The Voyage of Mael Duin', *Revue Celtique*, 9 (1888), 447–95, at pp. 488–89 (chapter 17); Iacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*, ed. T. Graesse (3rd edn; Bratislava: Koebner, 1890), p. 215 (Saint Patrick's Purgatory).
 55. García González, 'El dominio', p. 40.
 56. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 33.
 57. Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" reconsidered', pp. 280 and 286–90.
 58. Hellish: Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, tr. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 119, from the Carolingian vision of Charles the Fat. Purgatorial: the vision of the monk of Wenlock, according to Boniface's letter to Eadburga in 716, Epistola 10, in *Bonifatii et Lullii epistolae*, ed. Michael Tangl, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae, I (1st edn, 1916; 2nd edn, Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1955), pp. 7–15, at p. 11, l. 28 – p. 12, l. 8.
 59. 'The Vision of Paul', trans. by Andrew Rutherford, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9 (New York: T & T Clarke, 1912), pp. 149–66, at p. 155. Medieval exegetes at times described one of the rivers of paradise as a river of milk: cf. Honorius Augustudinis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL 172, 807–1108, at 833BC (cf. Genesis 1, 10–14).

60. Iulianus Toletanus, *Prognosticon Futuri Seculi*, III.33, ll. 4–10, ed. J. N. Hilgarth, *Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis episcopi opera*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 115 (Turhoud: Brepols, 1976), pp. 11–126, at p. 107, ‘Duae sunt enim differentiae uel ordines hominum in iudicio collectorum, hoc est electorum et reproborum, qui tamen in quattuor diuiduntur. Perfectorum ordo est unus, qui cum Domino iudicat, de quibus Dominus ait: *Sedebitis et uos super sedes duodecim*. Hi non iudicantur et regnant. Alios quoque ordo est electorum, quibus dicitur, *Esuriui et dedistis mihi manducare*. Hi iudicantur et regnant’ (There are two different groups or orders of men in the final judgement, namely that of the elect and that of the reprobate, which are divided into four. The first is the order of the perfect, who will judge with the Lord, of whom the Lord said: You will sit upon twelve seats (Matthew 9, 28). These are not judged and reign. The second is of the elect, of whom it is to be said, I thirsted and you gave me to eat. These will be judged and will reign). The others are the damned within the Church (who will be judged and be damned) and those outside the Church, who receive no judgement, but are immediately damned. The final group are not present in Dominic’s vision.
61. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, III.27.7, ll. 52–55, and III.26.9, ll. 71–75, ed. de Vogüé, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 260, pp. 370 and 372, and Valerius Bergidiensis, *De vana saeculi sapientia*, §7 (in his *Opuscula*, PL 87, 421B–458C) at 428A5–B4.
62. Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1987), p. 104.
63. See Joseph T. Snow, ‘San Ildefonso de Toledo a través de mil años de literatura española’, *Anales Toledanos*, 18 (1984), 19–43.
64. Alfred C. Rush, ‘Death as Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology’, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 26 (1972), 81–101.
65. See Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 50–53.
66. *Verba seniorum*, PL 73, 903D3–9. See *Les Sentences des pères du désert: série des anonymes*, tr. Lucien Renault, OSB (Sable-sur-Sarthe: Abbé de Solesmes, 1985), pp. 81–82, no. 1211 (Nau 211); recorded as being included in Paschasius’s translation (72, 8) in *idem*, *Les Sentences des pères du désert: troisième recueil et tables* (Sable-sur-Sarthe: Abbé de Solesmes, 1976), p. 258.
67. ‘De patientia seu fortitudo’, PL 73, 893–905. The injunction to persevere until the end is found at Matthew 10, 22 and 24, 13; it is used by Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §32, ed. Vázquez Parga, p. 34, ll. 2–3, to express the sanctity of Aemilianus’s last days.
68. Berceo claims that Dominic, on his way into exile, ‘de passar ovo | de Ortoya las rades’ (*Vida de Santo Domingo*, 223d; had to pass the headwaters of Ortoya) *Rad* is a word found in medieval Riojan documentation, meaning the source of a river, as shown by Claudio and Javier García Turza, *Una nueva visión de la lengua de Berceo a la luz de la documentación emilianense del siglo XIII* (Logroño: Universidad de la Rioja, 1996), pp. 186–88. The name of the Río Ortoya has not survived, although any journey from San Millán into Castile would take one past numerous headwaters.
69. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Obras completas*, ed. Dutton, IV, 164–65. Ruffinatto (in his edition of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, p. 316), unfairly dismissed Dutton’s conjecture: ‘Esto supone darle demasiado crédito a las pías leyendas de los monjes del lugar’ (This means giving too much credit to the pious legends of the monks of Silos). There is no evidence of which I am aware to suggest that Dutton was influenced by monkish devotion at this point. I have only ever seen the rivers in flood, and so both were a muddy-brown colour, like unto the colour of mud.
70. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 1, p. 3 (3–VI–954).
71. *Oracional visigótico*, ed. José Vives, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica, 1 (Barcelona: CSIC, 1946), p. 18, ll. 3–6 (13 Kalendas Decembris), ‘Domine Deus fortis, qui de patrio secreto egredieris, et ut vir preliatus gentes tibi credituras adquisis: suscita in nobis zelum beneplacitum tibi; ut qui te venisse iam credimus, ardentius te iterum venturum innocui prestolemur’ (Mighty Lord God, who have come out of the secret places of your Father, and as a man of battle you acquired people who would have faith in you; arouse in us the zeal that is pleasing to you, so that we who already believe that you have come,

- should, free from sin, more ardently speed your coming again). For further characterizations of Christ as a powerful war-leader, see Giles Constable, *Three Studies on Medieval Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 160–62.
72. On the primary responsibility of Benedictines as intercessors, see Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered', pp. 293–94; on the widespread view of monasticism as offering salvation to all, see Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under St Hugh, 1049–1109* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967), pp. 85–86, 132.
 73. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiarum*, III.6.8, PL 83, 537–738, at col. 669.
 74. Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis*, I.3.8–10, in *Opera*, ed. Franciscus Eyssenhardt (Leipzig: Teubner, 1868), pp. 465–652 at p. 475.
 75. Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 14 (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 39. See also Martine Dulaey, *Le Rêve dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1973).
 76. Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XII.18, ed. Iosephus Zycha, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 28 (Prague-Bonn-Leipzig: Tempsky-Freytag, 1894), p. 406, ll. 15–19.
 77. Near Silos, in a semi-circle bounded by Oña at its northernmost extent, there were the monasteries of Covarrubias, Arlanza, Mambias, Quintanilla de la Viñas, Cardeña, Valeránica, Baños, Pedroso, La Cogolla, Albelda, Cerezo, Amaya, and, by the eleventh century, smaller foundations such as Valvanera: see Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia de España, 1966), pl. II, 'El Valle del Duero en el siglo X', between pp. 252 and 253. García González, 'El dominio', p. 41, notes that, after Dominic, the monastery could truly compete on an equal footing with other monasteries which had received either greater patronage (such as San Pedro de Arlanza), a richer foundation (Covarrubias) or better lands (San Pedro de Cardeña). During Dominic's rule, however, the haul of benefactions was meagre, compared to the numerous and populous monasteries annexed to San Pedro de Cardeña in the eleventh century: see Salustiano Moreta Velayo, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña. Historia de un dominio castellano (902–1338)*, Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras, 63 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971), pp. 129–35.
 78. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 55 n. 171.
 79. *Ibid.*, p. 55–56.
 80. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 17, p. 21 (21–VII–1073).
 81. The monks' 'spiritual eyes' are those which the two disciples had opened in Emmaus, after an appearance of the risen Christ (Luke 24, 31).
 82. See Rush, 'Death as Spiritual Marriage', pp. 82–84, 'The thought of a "Bride Community" does not exclude but includes the idea of individuals as spouses. [...] The sacramental, baptismal character of individual bridal spirituality is the overflow of the collective mystery of the marriage of Christ and the Church. [...] The sacred marriage of baptism finds its complementary in death as a spiritual marriage, as the eternal working out of the spiritual marriage that was initiated in baptism.'
 83. 'Expensas autem quas tam providenter iubeat preparare, preuidebat sui sepulture necessarias esse' (I.23.44–45 [304]; the expenditure which he so providently ordered to be prepared, he foresaw would be necessary for his burial). There is perhaps a reminiscence intended of John 12, 4–7, 'Dixit ergo unus ex discipulis eius, Iudas Iscariotes, qui erat eum traditurus: Quare hoc unguentum non veniit trecentis denariis, et datum est egenis? [...] Dixit ergo Iesus: Sinite illam ut in diem sepulturae meae servet illud' (So one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot who was to betray him, said to him, 'Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the needy? [...] Jesus said, 'Leave her be, for that will serve for my burial'), and of John 6, 12, 'Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant' (Gather up the bits that remain so that they may not be lost).
 84. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ia 2ae I.8, ed. English Dominican Fathers, 61 vols (London: Blackfriars, 1964–1980), XVI, 28.
 85. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 15, p. 17 (16 April 1067).

86. Valcárcel, p. 308.
87. See, for example, Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.12.3–5, ll. 20–35, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes, 265, p. 54. It makes more sense that Grimaldus should have felt a profession of belief was necessary if the number of crowns in the two visions did not tally.
88. Ordonius, *Vita Rudesindi*, §40, ed. by M. C. Díaz y Díaz, Maria V. Pardo Gómez, D. Vilarinho Pintos, *Ordoño de Celanova: Vida y milagros de San Rosendo*, Galicia Histórica, 11 (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1990), pp. 156–58, ll. 389–96. Compare Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 284, noting that the most frequent form of 'hallucinations auditives sous formes de voix' was 'l'audition de chœurs supposés être des chœurs célestes'. One should note, however, that what concerns the narrator here is not that celestial choirs are heard but the synchronicity of this event with the saint's death.
89. Gerhardus, *Vita Stephanis Grandimontensis*, PL 204, 1005–1072, at 1026D–27B, and especially at 1027B, 'O felix visio! et quis congruentius virgini testimonium debuit perhibere, quam virgo?' (Oh, happy vision! and who more fitting than a virgin should give witness to a virgin?).
90. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.7.1, ll. 4–6, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes, 265, p. 40; *Dialogues* (1608), p. 373.
91. On the reliquary, see Julie Ann Harris, 'The Arca of San Millán de la Cogolla and its ivories', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1989; the ivory plaques are reproduced in Joaquín Peña, OSAR, *Los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Logroño: Ochoa, 1978), where the *transitus* is pictured at p. 25.
92. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 42 n. 1. Dominic's staff is preserved as a relic in the monastery; an image is available at <http://www.silos.arrakis.es/>.
93. Cf. I.8.44–45, p. 248, cited above, p. 54.
94. See, for example, Pierre Deloof, 'Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church', in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 189–216, at p. 194.
95. The obligation of the abbot to 'provide their subjects with all the necessities in food and clothing, as called for by the Rule of Saint Benedict' was emphasised in Canon 6 of the Council of Toulouse (1056) — an example of how central the this duty was for the abbot (Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, p. 120). On apostasy (more precisely called *apostasia irregularitatis*) in the later Middle Ages, see F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 32 (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); the difficulties at Silos call to mind Logan's description of 'William de Somerton, prior of Binham (Norfolk) a dependency of Saint Albans, [... who] was said to have fled, being unable to take care of the needs of his monks and satisfy the demands of the abbot, who had provided large sums of money towards a Franciscan friar's experiments in alchemy' (p. 77). For canonical regulations, see Raymundus de Penyafort, *Summa aurea*, I.7.1–3, ed. Honoratus Vincen-tius, OP (Verona: Augustus Carattonius, 1744), pp. 47–50.
96. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 77, citing the *Liber miraculorum Sancti Cornelii*, §11, ed. W. Rockwell (Göttingen, 1914), p. 66.
97. *Vita Stephani Obazinensis*, III.25, ed. M. Aubrun, *La Vie de saint Etienne d'Obazine* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1970), p. 234, cited by Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 77.
98. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 287.
99. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 25.
100. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 25.
101. Rose Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 219. An illustration of the chalice can be found in M. Palacio, J. Yarza Luaces and R. Torres, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos* (León: Everest, 1981), pl. 48, or on the monastery's web pages, <http://www.silos.arrakis.es/> (as at 1 August 2001). For the form *Dominico*, cf. similar forms in the *Vita Dominici*: 'Petro Pelagii' (I.13.1, p. 272), and 'Deo dignus [...] Simeno episcopus' (I.23.116, p. 310).
102. See Jean de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Béranger: la controverse eucharistique du XI^e siècle*, Études et Documents, 37 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971); H. E. J.

- Cowdrey, 'The Papacy and the Berengarian Controversy', in *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. Peter Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and Friedrich Niewöhner, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), pp. 109–38.
103. For the elaboration of eucharistic miracles at the end of the eleventh century until the beginning of the thirteenth, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: a Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 91–93.
 104. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 268–269.
 105. For this view of the eucharistic liturgy, see Robert F. Taft, 'What does Liturgy do? Towards a Soteriology of Liturgical Celebration: Some Theses', in his *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (2nd edn, Rome: Orientalia Christiana, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1997), pp. 239–58, esp. 254–55.
 106. Luigi Tarcisio Colombotti, *L'Eucaristia al centro di ogni istituzione: teologia dell'Istituzione nell'eucologia eucaristica del Rito Ispano*, Studia Anselmiana, 86 (Analecta Liturgica, 6) (Roma: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1983), p. 248.
 107. Colombotti, *L'Eucaristia*, pp. 258, 350.
 108. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 18.
 109. The second half of the eleventh-century saw a growth in the number of itinerant preachers, who often had episcopal encouragement: Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, pp. 148–50.
 110. Perhaps a remembrance of Benedict's disciple Theoprobos, a nobleman who enjoyed a very close intimacy with him (Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.17.1, II. 1–4, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes, 206, p. 192).
 111. See Pelagius Oventensis, *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, pp. 62–63; trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 76–77. Petro came from a religious family: his father was ordained as a deacon and was probably destined for high office in the Church until the obligation of procreating intervened; his sister Tarasia founded the monastery of San Zoilo de Carrión and proved a highly unsuitable match for the Muslim king of Toledo, to whom she was married 'pro pace' (for the cause of peace) by her brother, but to whom, for the cause of religion, she brought only domestic woe. She was rapidly dispatched home and retired to a convent (*Chronicon*, pp. 62–63). It is perhaps Petro's grandson, Pedro Peláez, that we find becoming involved in various property deals between 1105 and 1127, fighting a lawsuit against the bishop of León in 1117, and rebelling against Alfonso VII in 1130 (Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 73–80, 82.
 112. Valcárcel, p. 275, n. 1, suggests that he came from either Gumiel de Hizán or Gumiel de Mercado, which are both in the district of Aranda de Duero, in the province of Burgos, roughly forty or fifty kilometres from Silos respectively.
 113. Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: a History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (2nd edn, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 99–100.
 114. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, IV.12, ed. Krusch and Levinson, p. 148, II. 13–15.
 115. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, p. 97.
 116. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, p. 89 n. 21.
 117. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, p. 107. Constantinus was a major translator of Arabic medical works into Latin at Salerno; Arab physicians were also aware of the two possible causes of the sickness: Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, p. 106.
 118. See Mark S. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and its Interpretations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 62.
 119. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, pp. 114–17.
 120. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 71.
 121. Cushing, *Papacy and Law*, p. 14. See also Karl Leyser, 'On the Eve of the First European Revolution', in his *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: the Gregorian*

- Revolution and Beyond*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 1–19, esp. pp. 2–9.
122. On the imitation of Christ being expressed as obedience in the Benedictine Rule, see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought*, p. 177.
 123. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §8, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 14, l. 8; trans. Fear, p. 21.
 124. For the envy of Dominic's abbot, see below, p. 248; Aemilianus was removed from his position of priest at Berceo by the fury of the bishop, whose 'facibus irae accenditur et invidia ob eius uirtutes tenebratur' (Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §13, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 19, ll. 16–17; face was lit by anger and darkened through envy of his virtues).
 125. In 508, Caesarius of Arles denuded his churches of plate and consecrated ornaments to ransom large numbers of Franks and Burgundians held prisoner in Arles: Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 87–88. In 1082, Gregory VII requested council he had convened at Rome in 1082 to alienate ecclesiastical property in order that he might defend the city against Henry IV, but his request was rejected as uncanonical: Cushing, *Papacy and Law*, p. 138.
 126. Dominic was sent to the hermitage of Tres Cellulas, higher up the mountains from San Millán; Aemilianus went from the church of Berceo up the mountain and 'ubi nunc uocatur eius oratorium reliquum uitae tempus peregit innoxium' (Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §13, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 20, ll. 1–2; tr. Fear, p. 26: he passed the rest of his life beyond reproach in the place which is now called his oratory), that is, the site of San Millán de Suso, where the Mozarabic monastery was constructed in the tenth century.
 127. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §27, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 28, ll. 1–17; trans. Fear, p. 34.
 128. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §29, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 29, ll. 2–16; trans. Fear, p. 35.
 129. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §31, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 32, l. 6 – p. 33, l. 16; trans. Fear, pp. 37–38.
 130. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §31, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 33, ll. 2–4; trans. Fear, pp. 37–38.
 131. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §32, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 33, l. 16 – p. 34, l. 2; trans. Fear, p. 38. See also above, n. 67 at p. 79, for the possibility that Dominic's angelic instructions to persevere in his vision were sparked partly by a reminiscence of the *Vita Aemiliani* — and therefore that the idea that he was in some way replacing Aemilianus was his own and not an invention by Grimaldus.
 132. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §30, ed. Vázquez de Parga, p. 30, l. 9 – p. 31, l. 4; trans. Fear, p. 36.
 133. The underlying thought in this is perhaps the early Christian belief that imitation of Christ would lead to salvation, which was understood in terms of deification or divinisation: see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought*, pp. 152–57. On the importance of imitation for the Christian life, see *ibid.*, pp. 145–47.
 134. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.1.3, ll. 29–30, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 260, p. 130. Benedict flees from his wetnurse, Alexis from his bride and parents: Baudouin de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, "Intactam sponsam reliquens": à propos de la *Vie de Saint Alexis*, *BHL* 289, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65 (1947), 157–95. The story of Alexis was known at least from the tenth century, since his life appears in a passionary of San Pedro de Cardeña, and is present in a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript from San Millán (Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 13), which also contains the *Vita Sancti Martialis*, a sign of Gallo-Roman influence: see Maurizio Perugi, ed., *La Vie de saint Alexis* (Geneva: Droz, 2000), pp. 15–16.
 135. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.57, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 265, pp. 184–94.
 136. Both are examples of the monastic *contemptus mundi*, for which see Francesco Lazzari, *Monachesimo e valori umani tra XI e XII secolo* (Milan-Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1969).
 137. Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi and Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour, Belief and Experience* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 106.
 138. Aurelius Prudentius, *Liber peristephanon*, II.45–309, in *PL* 60, 275–560, at 293–316.
 139. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 41. Imitation of Martin was precisely what his hagiographer encouraged: Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, I.5–6, ed. Fontaine, I, 252.

140. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.12.1–2, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes, 206, pp. 174–76; II.13.3, p. 78; II.18, p. 194; II.19, pp. 194–96.
141. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.14, pp. 180–82.
142. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.3.3, II. 12–15, p. 140.
143. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.21.1–2, II. 1–16, p. 198.
144. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.37.2, II. 7–11, p. 244.
145. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.37.3, II. 15–26, p. 244.
146. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.58, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 265, p. 196. The gift of the horse itself was stunningly generous: ‘the elevated prices fetched by livestock in this period are reflected by the fact that many noblemen were able to acquire estates in exchange for oxen, horses, mules and even rams. [...] So it is to be supposed that Queen Urraca was delighted with the horse that was reputedly worth an astonishing 5000 solidi, which she received from Count Froila Díaz in 1112’, according to Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, p. 82.
147. Discussed more fully in Lappin, ed., *Berceo’s ‘Vida de Santa Oria’*, pp. 32–35.
148. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 11, pp. 13–14 (20–XII–1056), and docs 14–17, pp. 15–21 (24–XI–1059; 16–V–1067; 1067; 21–VII–1073).
149. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 11, pp. 13–14 (20–XII–1056), and docs 4–7, 10, pp. 8–9, 12 (AD 1023, 1054–57).
150. Walker, *Views of Transition*, pp. 57 and 119.
151. Van Engen, ‘The “Crisis of Cenobitism” Reconsidered’, pp. 265–67.
152. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 2, p. 6 (6–IV–979); the foundation document, doc. no. 1, p. 3 (3 June 954), contains the same order of saints in its initial dedication. The latter’s authenticity has been attacked by Manuel Zabalza Duque, ‘Escrituras de fundación de los monasterios de Arlanza y Silos. Problemas sobre su autenticidad’, *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González*, 74 (1995), 333–61, but the authenticity of the dedication to the saints has recently (and rightly to my mind) been defended by Vivancos Gómez. See Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, OSB, and Fernando Vilches Vivancos, eds, *La Regla de San Benito. Traducción castellana del siglo XV para uso de los monasterios de San Millán y Silos* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2001), pp. 13–14.
153. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 11, p. 13 (20 December 1056); see García González, ‘El dominio’, p. 57 at note 41. The monastery of San Miguel y Santa María possessed the relics of Michael, Jerome, the Blessed Virgin and Martin of Tours.
154. Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas*, p. 65; it was dated to 1059 by Marius Férotin, OSB, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, 6 (Paris, 1912), col. 803; to 1009 by Pérez de Urbel and Whitehill, ‘Los manuscritos’, p. 530. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 96 n. 3, rules out Díaz y Díaz’s dating of 1094 (*Códices visigóticos en la Monarquía Leonesa* (León: CSIC, 1983), pp. 473–75), since it is after the date of the liturgical change. For the presence of the Virgin in the later sculptural programme of the cloister, see Walker, *Views of Transition*, pp. 77–78.
155. On simony, see now H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 543–46.
156. Walker, *Views of Transition*, pp. 31, 226–27, and p. 80 for the absence of offices for Aemilianus in Silos’s Roman missals and antiphonaries.
157. Barton, *The Aristocracy of Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, p. 82. Of course monasteries were also part of the ‘aristocratic estate economy’ and desperately needed manpower, whether servile or not.

CHAPTER 3

SANCTUS DOMINICUS THE CULT OF THE SAINT

The process by which the veneration of Dominic was fixed in rituals or preserved in images and texts is a complex one. In this chapter we shall consider first the role which was initially taken on by the monks in Dominic's cult and then pass on to the laity's frequentation of the shrine, enquiring into the types of illnesses presented for cure and how supplicants sought healing. The cult expanded through the rituals which evolved around the shrine itself, through the increasing geographic and social diversity of its devotees, through the expansion of the saint's power beyond the immediate confines of the shrine and through an increase in the varied species of miracle that took place there.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SILOS AFTER DOMINIC'S DEATH

The stereotypical development of a saint's cult has been claimed to have been identified by Paul Antony Hayward in a recent article. After an active life, a powerful abbot dies; his monks, deprived of his protection, decide in council to create his cult to further the interests of themselves and their monastery.¹ If this sequence of events was what was meant to happen, then the behaviour of Silos monks was far from the norm. But this I doubt: the expression of unanimity which Hayward takes as historical truth is much more likely, as it is with Grimaldus, a literary device, a *topos* of hagiography. Grimaldus, however, since he was writing for a bishop intimately connected to the saint and the monastery, was unable to make his pious fiction completely coherent. What follows, therefore, is a trustworthy picture of the genesis of a saint's cult.

The monks take what can only be described as a back seat in the early propagation of the cult. It was the laity who came to his tomb: his first miracle was the cure of a child from blindness brought on by a near-fatal illness. His parents brought him to the saint's tomb and remained there for three days, at which point the cure was effected (II.1.1–13, p. 322). A few other cures followed, and the number of pilgrims attending the saint's grave caused the bishop of Burgos, Simeno, to instigate the investigation into

Dominic's sanctity. This was the same bishop who had requested that Dominic intercede for him as he died (I.23.116, p. 310). The drive to canonize Dominic, then, did not come from the abbot or the monks, but from outside the monastery. The monks' tardiness in adopting Dominic's cult contrasts strongly with those monks described by Sigal who were the main propagators in the start of saints' cults.² Again, however, proponents of the cult were unlikely to record opposition or indifference amongst their own circle, since that would undo the very work of propaganda to which they had dedicated themselves.

No monks from Silos were cured by their patron. The only monk to be healed, a young man from the monastery of Ribarredonda in La Rioja, was only cured from his inability to speak as he travelled back to his own monastery (II.45, p. 434). The monks of Silos had remained as fractious, disrespectful and disputatious as they had been when Dominic was alive. Grimaldus reveals that he was subjected to a barrage of criticism from his brethren over his writing of Dominic's *Vita*, criticism aimed, no doubt, at his presentation of their abbot (and themselves) as well as more recondite stylistic concerns:

Moti igitur, fratres, uera et non ficta caritate, mecum Spiritum Sanctum ipsius habitatorem, inuocante, ut, ipso inspirante, dignetur os meum aperire et suo grauito dono ad scribenda ea que proposui absolvere. Obsecro itque omnes hec lecturos ut, pro dei amore et predicti confessoris ipsius deuotione, cessent huic opusculo detrahare uel irridere et, pro fraterna caritate, que a me minus idonee uel indocte dicta sunt corrigere. (*Prologus in Vita Beati Dominici*, ll. 115–21, p. 154)

Moved, therefore, brethren, by true and unfeigned charity, calling with me upon the Holy Spirit who dwells in Dominic that through the inspiration of the same, he may deign to open my mouth and loosen it with his freely-given gift so that I may write what I have proposed. I therefore ask all those who will read this work that, for the love of God and through devotion to the aforementioned confessor, they cease to criticize and mock this little work and, through fraternal charity, to correct what I have said less than ideally or with a lack of learning.

Dominic — even merely of holy memory — is not mentioned by Rodrigo Díaz in a donation made on 12 May 1076 in the near-by monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña.³ The Cid's invocation of the saints of the monastery and church has an archaic feel to it, harking back to the earlier times of the monastery in his list of the saints whose relics Silos venerated, and with a telling reference to Aemilianus:

Rodric Didaz et uxor mea Scemena [...] offerimus [...] in domum Sanctorum Sebastiani et comitum eius et Sancte Marie Virginis et Sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Sancti Andree apostoli et Sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris Christi necnon Sancti Emiliani presbyteri et Sancti Filippi apostoli.⁴

Rodrigo Díaz and my wife, Xemena, offer in the church of Saints Sebastian and his companions and of the Holy Virgin Mary and the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and Saint Andrew Apostle and Saint Martin, bishop and confessor of Christ, and Saint Aemilianus, priest, and Saint Phillip, apostle.

Rodrigo's omission is nuanced three months later by Alfonso VI's fulsome praise of the saint, the first-named in his list of patrons of the monastery. The other saints mentioned are those whose altars Dominic had either created or left in place. Aemilianus was passed over in silence.

Dominis, videlicet, atque gloriosis post deum nobis fortissimis patronis Sancto Dominico confessori Christi et abbati et Sancto Martino episcopo necnon venerandis martiribus Sebastiano atque Fabiano, quorum reliquie condite requiescunt in predicto loco Sancti Dominici, quod situm est in valle quod dicitur Tablatellum [...] ⁵

To the lords, namely, and our patrons, glorious after God, and most powerful, Saint Dominic, confessor of Christ and abbot, and Saint Martin, bishop, and the venerable martyrs Sebastian and Fabian, whose relics lay in the aforesaid place of Santo Domingo, which is placed in the valley which is called Tabladiello [...]

Dominic had laid the grounds for success, and his successor as abbot, Fortunius, was able to double the church in size.⁶ Yet the plan of the church was not designed to place Dominic's relics in a more central position; they were left in the centre of the old church, in spite of the fashion for placing important relics within central ambulatories — as at Santiago, for example — and the possibilities offered by the intense building work that Fortunius carried out.⁷ There was no second translation of Dominic to occupy a position of honour in the new section of the church.

The monks were divided over the importance of the cult of the saint, with Dominic's successor as abbot being the crucial figure. Fortunius reaped the good that Dominic sowed; it was to him that Grimaldus dedicated his account of Dominic's virtues. Yet it was also he who did not translate Dominic's relics for a second time, even though translations were often used to advertise and rekindle devotion to a saint. Fortunius used the consecration of the new church for other ends. When his extension to the church was consecrated in 1088, the altars of Dominic's preferred saints were preserved:

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo D CCC [LXXX] VIII, regnante rege Adefonso in Toletis et in regnis suis, B[ernardo] Tholeti archiepiscopo dedicata est ecclesia. Altari Sancti Sebastiani et Sancti Petri et Sancti Andre a domno Petro aquensi archiepiscopo; et in dextera techa, Sancte Marie, Sancti Michaelis archangeli et Sancti Iohannis evangeliste, a domno Gomessano burgensi episcopo; et in sinistra theca, Sancti Martini et Sancti Benedicti et Sancti Nicholai et Sancti Dominici, a domno Raimundo rodense episcopo, consecrata sunt, in presentia domni Ricardi, cardinalis romani, regente abba Fortunio, era T C XXVI^a.⁸

In AD 10[8]8, King Alfonso reigning in Toledo and his kingdoms, the church was dedicated by B[ernard], archbishop of Toledo. The altar of Saint Sebastian and Saint Peter and Saint Andrew was consecrated by Lord Petrus archbishop of Aix-en-Provence;⁹ and in the right reliquary, [that] of Saint Mary, Saint Michael archangel and Saint John the Evangelist by Lord Gomessanus bishop of Burgos; and in the left reliquary, [that] of Saint Martin and Saint Benedict and Saint Nicholas and Saint Dominic, by Lord Raimundus bishop of Roda,¹⁰ in the presence of Lord Ricardus, Roman Cardinal, during the abbacy of Fortunius, in the *era* of 1126.

The three altars remained those of Saint Sebastian (and Peter and Andrew); the Blessed Virgin (and Michael and John); Saint Martin (and Benedict, Nicholas, Dominic). Although Peter was demoted from a main altar in Dominic's restructuring, he reappeared in 1088 to share an altar with the titular saint. In contrast, Aemilianus and Paul did not return.

The co-dedication of Martin's altar to Benedict, Nicholas and Dominic is particularly interesting. Martin was an addition to Silos's devotions during Dominic's abbacy; Benedict was the author of the rule which the monastery had always followed.¹¹ A small fraction of Dominic's relics were also placed in the altar. Yet the dedication of the same altar to Nicholas was in response to the translation of his relics from Myra, conquered by the Seljuk Turks in 1071, to Bari in 1087.¹² Although the other two altars in the church had three saints as co-dedicatees (Sebastian, Peter and Andrew; Mary, Michael and John), this altar had four, which makes the inclusion of Nicholas look, if not simply an afterthought, then a development to the original plan. Silos was at the forefront of innovations in piety.

Nicholas's translation from a Muslim-held town to a Christian one no doubt had a resonance for a country which had, only three years earlier, seen the liberation of the ancient capital of the Visigothic kingdom from nearly four hundred years of Muslim domination. But Nicholas had another, more resounding resonance for the clerics gathered at the consecration of church and cloister. The translation of Nicholas to Bari was strongly linked to the reforming popes, since it occurred on the very day that Gregory VII's successor, Victor III, was consecrated. In turn, Victor's successor, Urban II, emphasised his links with these reforming popes, and made a point at his accession to stress Victor's place as connecting Urban himself to Gregory VII.¹³ Furthermore, 'in October 1089, Pope Urban II fully harnessed the cult of Saint Nicholas to the Gregorian cause by personally consecrating his shrine at Bari and by departing from custom and ordaining Archbishop Elia of Bari bishop in his own local cathedral.'¹⁴ Silos had its altar consecrated in the presence of Urban II's legate a year earlier.¹⁵ The co-dedication of the altar to Nicholas at Silos was motivated by enthusiasm for reform and a desire to connect Dominic to that reform.¹⁶

Cardinal Richard of Saint Victor could be persuaded to preside over the consecration of church and cloister; Bernard of Sédillac, archbishop of

Toledo, not only attended this ceremony but also consecrated a dependency of Silos in 1100.¹⁷ All was well at Silos from the reformers' point of view. And the abbey continued its pro-papal reforming stance, as can be seen from the description of a pilgrim who had come from Rome, 'a Sancto Petro, Romane ecclesie principe et omnium Christi fidelium custode' (III.31.1–2, p. 506; from Saint Peter, leader of the Roman Church and keeper of all the faithful of Christ), echoing the papacy's own view of itself.¹⁸ For the monastery's promotion of the Roman liturgy, see above, p. 22.

The failure to translate Dominic again may have been because Dominic's cult had entered the doldrums.¹⁹ There were at most six miracles in the two or two and a half years before his mortal remains were translated. In the following dozen years there were fourteen miracles. It would be unlikely for these to be spread out evenly over that period; they followed on quickly from the translation. If Dominic's tomb had become quiescent in the years before the consecration, then the obligation upon the monks was that he be honoured politely. But, to all intents and purposes, his cult was not the monastery's prime concern. His translation, too, under the discredited Mozarabic liturgy may well have led to a certain suspicion about his credentials. Yet after the consecration of the church, and more specifically the very public miracle that occurred at the ceremony (see below, pp. 171–74), he could not be ignored.

The shrine attracted numerous pilgrims, and many came seeking a return to health. Yet other factors might attract them. Ideological elements played an important part, and benefits of a spiritual nature may have attracted more pilgrims and devotees than the reparation of physical ills. The shrine of Santiago had relatively few miracles attached to it, yet it was far more important to the faithful than any shrine in the West other than those in Rome.²⁰ Grimaldus sought to link the physical benefits bestowed at the tomb to the spiritual gains which Dominic's intercession could provide: 'Et hoc audenter et absque aliqua trepidatione dicimus, uisibilia enim beneficia fidem dant beneficiis inuisibilibus' (I.7.105–06, p. 244; And we say this boldly and without any fear at all, for visible benefits witness to the invisible).

Although the account of the miracles necessarily focuses upon the curative aspect of the shrine, these miracles were taken as signs of Dominic's power as an intercessor, one who could provide the spiritual benefits of divine forgiveness as well as the material benefits of bodily health and liberty. The status of the saint — what we might call the ideological aspect of his cult — can be glimpsed in the visions that occasionally accompanied the cures or miraculous liberations. This ideological aspect combined with the physical setting of the shrine and the liturgical and para-liturgical rituals that accompanied the cult of the saint to provide devotees with a shared mental picture of the shrine's spiritual potential. The aim of the present chapter and the following will be to elucidate this mental picture through analysis of the behaviour of devotees and the nature of their cures, as well as an analysis of the visions recorded in the *Vita Dominici*.

LITURGICAL TIME AND RITUALIZATION

The shrine grew and developed in a number of ways. Miracles occurred at the saint's tomb until at most forty years after his death. Within this period, it is possible to establish an initial stage, before the translation of the saint's relics, when the cult centred upon his grave in the cloister. This was followed by a more substantial stage after the translation of the relics to the monastic church where the shrine, consisting of raised sepulchre and altar, had been officially sanctioned.

Both II.4.7 (p. 328) and II.5.4 (p. 328), make reference to large numbers of pilgrims who came to Silos. Grimaldus notes that the increase in miracles and the consequent influx in devotees arriving at Silos prompted Bishop Simeno to begin the process which would lead to Dominic's translation (I.23.112–16, p. 310). During the initial period, devotion to the saint and the search for cures through his intercession might be thought of as the spontaneous product of unbidden piety. The translation provided a more impressive focus for devotion, bolstering the faithful's relationship with the saint through imposing architecture and the reinforcement of liturgy. The driving force behind the translation was popular piety; the translation itself saw the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the person of the bishop verifying the claim to sanctity and raising the relics to a position of honour in the church, thereby giving official approval to the cult and returning it reinforced to the popular piety which gave it birth. Ecclesiastical approval strengthened the shrine not only by providing an institutional framework for the maintenance and preservation of the cult and so allowing it to overcome periods of quiescence. The supernatural possibilities inherent in the institutional and sacramental Church could be harnessed to the shrine, allowing supplicants an emotional concentration, at times through specific liturgies and rituals, on the channel of thaumaturgic power at its centre.²¹

The presence of the saint's *virtus*, the possibility that the miraculous or supernatural might occur within the shrine or beyond, created an area in which it was obligatory for supplicants to maintain specific behavioural patterns of respect, enforced by the threat of supernatural vengeance for those who failed to observe a fitting decorum.

Le sacré qui est en rapport avec le culte des saints apparaît souvent sous une forme élémentaire: une force incontrôlée, spontanée, dangereuse pour celui qui entre en contact avec elle sans la préparation nécessaire. Autour de la châsse contenant les reliques, autour du tombeau contenant le corps d'un saint, s'étend un espace sacré dont la violation, même involontaire, provoque la colère du saint.²²

The comportment expected around the tomb was one of incessant prayer until a cure was achieved (II.1.11–13, p. 322; II.3.11–14, p. 326). Certain ritualized forms of action were adopted because they had proved successful in the past

as a means of propitiating miraculous cures. The sick would prostrate themselves or be laid face down on the ground by their relatives or servants, actions which mirrored the behaviour of supplicants who came to the saint during his life.²³

It is clear, even from the earliest miracles (II.1–20), that certain times were particularly propitious for the granting of cures. A cure might be effected — if it were to be effected at all — immediately upon the presentation of the sick person before the tomb, or upon the completion of a prayer at the tomb.²⁴ Alternatively, a cure might be delayed for a day, a night, three days, a week, or twelve days; these periods represent a pattern of significant numbers.²⁵ Longer times of waiting before a cure are only witnessed later in the collection. Almost half of the first twenty miracles occur immediately, and virtually all within the space of a week.²⁶ Such immediacy in the beginning of the cult is no surprise, and mirrors Dominic's thaumaturgic power during his lifetime where all cures bar one (I.14) were effected immediately. The consistent recording of the duration of the suppliants' wait for a cure at the shrine demonstrates that these time-periods were seen as significant to the recorder, and, we may assume, to the faithful who congregated around the shrine.

In total, twenty-one immediate cures are reported in the whole collection; nineteen occurred after a night's vigil and two occurred after the space of twenty-four hours. Cures within twenty-four hours of the supplicant's arrival at Silos, therefore, make roughly forty percent of the collection's cures.²⁷ Cures that are recorded as taking place between three and twelve days represent ten percent of the collection. The times for a further ten percent are not recorded, and roughly twenty-five percent take place after a period of some days spent at the shrine. Less than ten percent of cures took place after a stay of between two weeks and four months; this small minority of cures would have involved some form of continued assistance on the part of the monks. The high frequency of cures which occurred either immediately or after a night's vigil created a pattern of expectation which, as we shall see, affected the length of pilgrim's stays at the monastery.

When cures were not immediate, the most likely times of day for their occurrence were during early morning mass at the tomb or during the Sunday mass.²⁸ The most important aspect of the ritualization of the shrine, then, was a connection of miracles to the liturgy as it was celebrated in the monastic church and to which the faithful had access. The third miracle of Book II is particularly precise:

Finitis itaque diebus septimane atque superueniente dominico die, in quo, dum hora competenti a deuoto deoque digno conuentu congregationis officium diuini misterii celebraretur ac lectio sancti Euangelii a diacono more ecclesiastico recitaretur, omni populi presente et de tam inuiso miraculo mirante, miseranda mulier et solitum usum loquendi et audiendi recepit. (II.3.13–18, p. 326)

The days of the week being over and the Lord's Day having arrived, in which, whilst the gathering of the brethren, devout and worthy of God, celebrated the office of the divine mystery at the suitable hour and the holy gospel was being read according to the custom of the Church by the deacon, with all the people present and astonished at such an extraordinary miracle, the unhappy woman received her previous capacity of both speaking and hearing.

The precise moment of cure was often significant enough to be recorded, and these instances intersect either with the time spent at the shrine or with the liturgy. Such patterns, established in the first phase of the cult, remain throughout the subsequent miracles.

A statistically significant number of cures are connected to the time of the dawn or morning mass, which took place at Dominic's tomb. Thirteen miracles occur during or just after the mass, of which seven refer explicitly to the mass taking place at Dominic's shrine.²⁹ Three of these miracles further specify that the cure took place during the reading of the gospel (II.38; III.1; III.29), a theological pointer to the source of Dominic's power, Christ himself.³⁰ It was also a moment of particular concentration, since one miracle describes the moment, 'cum ergo Euangelii lectio legeretur et consuetum silentium ab omnes teneretur' (II.44.6–7, p. 432; whilst the Gospel was being read and the usual silence was being observed by all), indicating that most of the mass was obscured by the hubbub of individual devotion.³¹ The silence would also make the miracle all the more noticeable for the monks in the choir. That the mass was held by both faithful and monks as an important means of seeking for a miracle can best be seen by an episode in which Abbot Fortunius himself conducted the dawn mass on behalf of Martino, head of the household of Bremundus Rodric, a *princeps* in Alfonso VI's court (II.42.30–34, p. 428–30).

The mass was not the only liturgical aspect of the shrine's thaumaturgy. Particular pilgrims would be the beneficiaries of a *generalis acclamatio*, which comprised intercession on their behalf by monks and laity gathered together in the church. This process was perceived as a powerful curative tool, as can be seen in the cure of the same Bremundus Rodric, whose companions asked the abbot for such prayers when they brought him to the shrine (II.42.27–30, p. 428). The *generalis acclamatio* was said just after the mass (II.31.22–24, p. 402; III.15.6–7, p. 484) or even during it (III.24.8–9, p. 496). This prayer could be offered solely by the monks (II.48.14–15, p. 438), and, in the case of one *demoniaca*, was repeated every few days (III.48.14, p. 544). Regarding the *generalis acclamatio*, Sigal writes,

L'idée sous-jacente dans cette multiplication de prières est que plus les prières seront nombreuses, plus elles auront de la chance d'avoir un résultat. Les prières constituaient donc un moyen de pression sur le saint et sur la divinité. Elles étaient d'ailleurs parfois accompagnés de pratiques pénitentielles.³²

Not only was the liturgical time of day important, but also the moment in the liturgical year. Pilgrims would time their arrival for major feasts: Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, Ash Wednesday, the feast days of Saints Stephen, John, Peter and Paul.³³ Escape miracles indicate that these major feasts were seen as being particularly fertile ground for the seed of faith to grow: captives chose them as the most propitious moment to attempt an escape:

Vir quidam, nomine Semen-us, de uico Clunia uulgariter dicto oriundus, a Sarracenis fortuitu captus, usque ad castrum que Sancti Iusti uocatur fuerat ab illis perductus, ibique in domo cuiusdam principis Hysmahelitarum cum quodam alio captiuo in cipo artissimo, ferreis nexibus astricto, positus, pedes etiam utriusque singulis coercerantur conpedibus. Hic igitur miraculorum sanctissimi confessoris Dominici que iam longe lateque claruerunt, recordatus, socium qui cum eo uinctus erat exortatur quatinus Dei famulum ut eis subueniret deprecarentur. Facta igitur oratione ac die festo sancti Iohannis Baptiste superueniente, Domini nostri Iesu Christi inuocato nomine atque Dominico suo glorioso confessore, ferri ligamina quibus cipo stringebatur abrumpens, homo ille se suumque socium extraxit propere. Venientes autem cum festinatione ad portam, uiderunt eminens domum a quo tenebantur sedentem et cum aliis ludentem, nec ulterius ire ausi, redierunt retro tremebundi. Transactis uero quinque diebus atque Apostolorum Petri et Pauli superuenientibus natalibus, noctis silentio aliis in lecto suo quiescentibus, deputati sunt eis custodiendis IV milites bini, ad capita illorum atque ad pedes residentes. Qui nimio somni pondere pregrauati, ab illis putabantur pene mortui. Quod duo captiui uidentes, quibus tenebantur, ferrea uincula confringentes atque hinc egredientes portam urbis apertam reperiunt. Et liberi deum, qui eos liberauerat per intercessionem serui sui, Dominici, glorificantes, ad propria sunt reuersi gaudentes. (III.20.1–23, p.490)

A certain man, Semen-us by name, who came from the village generally known as Clunia [now Coruña del Conde, some thirty kilometres south of Silos], captured, as chance would have it, by the Saracens, was taken by them to the castle known as Santiuste [roughly twenty kilometres west of Sigüenza], and there, in the residence of one of the leaders of the Ishmaelites, was placed with another captive in the strongest stocks which were attached to iron chains, and each man's feet were shackled. Then Semen-us, remembering the miracles of the most holy confessor, Dominic, which by now had shone far and wide, exhorted the man who was chained with him that they should pray to the servant of God that he might come to their aid. Then, having prayed, on the feastday of Saint John the Baptist, having invoked the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and that of Dominic, his glorious confessor, Xemen-o broke the chain which held the stocks and extracted both himself and his companion in haste. Hurrying to the door, they saw the master who held them sitting at a distance and playing a board-game with others, and not daring to go any further, they went back full of fear. Five days passed,³⁴ and, on the feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, in the silence of the night, whilst the others slept in their beds, four soldiers were assigned to watch them, two each, placed at

their heads and feet. Weighed down with a deep sleep, they seemed to them to be almost dead. When the two captives saw this, they broke the iron chains by which they were held and, going out from there, found the gate of the city open. Once free, they glorified God who had rescued them through the intercession of his servant, Dominic, and returned home rejoicing.

The key role played by liturgical feasts in this account is confirmed by another episode (III.36.28–43, p. 518), in which Avitus and Oliverius chose to escape on the morning of Easter Sunday.

Just as supplicants timed their arrival at the shrine for major feasts, so some remained at the shrine beyond the feast, should the cure not occur at that point, to be cured on another feast. Momalega arrived on the feast of Saint Martin of Tours (11 November), but it was nearly a month and a half before she was released from her demonic possession on Christmas Day (II.27.26, p. 380); the blind Evelasius arrived a few days before Christmas Day and was cured on the feast of St Stephen (III.1.8–11, p. 466). Apart from feasts, Sunday was the day which was considered most propitious, and five accounts describe lay people arriving at the shrine on Saturday evening to remain until the morrow.³⁵ One woman was brought on a Sunday itself and received her cure on the following Sunday (II.3.11, p. 326).

The importance of Sunday is found not only in its being a favourable moment for the miraculous to occur. Illnesses or deformities visited as a punishment upon those who transgress certain religious or cultural precepts are generally referred to as 'vengeance miracles'. Sunday was seen as the sacred day *par excellence*, and most of the vengeance miracles whose effects are undone by Dominic's intercession are attributed to the ignoring of the obligation on all Christians to attend the Sunday liturgies. The day was woven into the structure of the divinely-ruled universe.³⁶ Twelve vengeance miracles are recorded in Books II and III; four, relatively early in the collection, describe the punishment as having fallen upon the unfortunate due to his or her failure to attend Saturday vespers, that is, the first vespers of Sunday; four due to the transgressing of the injunction not to work on the Sunday.³⁷ One explains that a girl's arm had withered because she gathered fruit on the feast of the Assumption (15 August, III.33.1–6, p. 510).³⁸ Another account indicates that such explanations were not the product of the monastic author's ratiocination *post factum*:

Quedam mulier aduena, regionis autem Aragonensis indigena, concepit et filium peperit et in baptismo Gomersano nominavit. Hic autem, occulto Dei iudicio, est natus cum monstrosa manu, digitis omnino defixis in palma, quos nemo ualebat inde euellere, etiam fortiter uiribus adibitis. Hec miserabilis genitrix accipiens et ad cenobium Exiliense deferens, ad sepulcrum corporis uiri Dei Dominici proiecit et se cum suspiriis ac lacrimis in orationem prostravit. Surgens autem ab oratione, confessa est omnibus adstantibus publice quia ideo iusto Dei iudicio acciderat illi

miserrimo puerulo tanta deformitas manus, eo quod concepisset eum nocte diei sabbati succedente in crastinum festiuo die dominico Ramorum Palmarum. Per totam ergo noctem illa, misericordiam Domini et auxilium sancti uiri expectans, ante altare peruigil et continua stetit; quam misericors pater Dominicus exaudiuit et puerulum a deformi contractione manus absoluit. Et que uenerat mesta, ad sua est regressa iocunda. (II.37.1-16, p. 416)

A certain foreign woman, a native of the province of Aragón, conceived and gave birth to a boy and named him in baptism Gomersano. He, however, by the hidden judgement of God, was born with a monstrous hand, the fingers being wholly clenched into the palm so that no one could pull them out, even using all of their strength. This unhappy mother, taking up the child and bringing him to the monastery of Silos, laid him prostrate before the grave of the body of the man of God, Dominic, and with sighs and tears prostrated herself in prayer. Then, rising from prayer, she publicly confessed to all those standing near that it was through the just judgement of God that her most unfortunate little boy had received such a great deformity to his hand, since she conceived him on the Saturday night when the following day was the feast of Palm Sunday. Through the whole night, therefore, she waited for the mercy of the Lord and the help of the holy man, standing unceasingly awake before the altar; the merciful father, Dominic, heard her and absolved the little child from the deformed contraction of his hand. And she who had come in misery returned to her home in joy.

The importance given to Sundays and feast days, then, was not a monastic imposition on the behaviour of the populace. Rather, since miracles associated with Sundays (in both cures and curses) occur throughout the collection, it is safe to say that Sunday observance and its liturgical obligations — from attending vespers and mass to abstaining from copulation on the eve of major feasts — were fixed elements of lay piety.³⁹ Nodding respect for liturgical rituals and the Church's calendar was a product of the laity's own patterns of devotion, and not something explicitly instigated by the monks.

The celebration of the liturgy at the shrine increased its thaumaturgic power. Paralysis, blindness, deafness, dumbness and fever are described as being healed at a time connected to the celebration of the eucharist. Cures connected to the mass account for a statistically constant proportion of cures (there are nine such cures of paralysis, six of the blind, two of the deaf and the dumb, a third of the total in each case). Once a miracle had been worked during the liturgy, it was much more likely that another would follow. We may say that there was a tendency for liturgical miracles to sharpen the expectation of a cure: seventy-two per cent of miracles associated with the mass are immediately followed by another cure which also takes place during the liturgy (II.3/4; II.7/8; II.12/13; II.30/31; II.60/III.1; III.14/15) and another three are separated by one miracle (II.38/40/42). These chains of what we may call 'liturgical miracles' do not continue beyond two or three, showing the initial liturgical miracle to have a key importance.

The shrine developed its own rituals beyond the establishment of a connection between the liturgical moment and the likelihood of the miraculous. Non-liturgical actions could be turned into established ritual, becoming absorbed into the organization of the shrine. Bremundus Rodric came to the monastery to be cured from dumbness. The abbot, as mentioned above, celebrated mass;

quo expleto, ipse cum sociis suis ecclesiam exiuit et ante fores ecclesie paululum residit. Diuina autem pietate, ut credimus, inspirante, sociis innuit ut surgerent et secum ad ecclesiam redirent. Socii autem, eum sequentes, ecclesiam intrauerunt; ipse autem ad tumultum sancti se proiecit, intimo cordis affectu orauit et ab oratione surgens, soluto uinculo lingue sue, clamauit: 'gratias refero omnipotenti deo, qui me per intercessionem beati Dominici sanum fecit et officium lingue mee, quod pro peccatis meis perdideram, restituit'. (II.42.34-41, p. 430)

when [the mass] was over, Bremundus left the church with his companions and sat down for a little while just outside. Inspired, as we believe, by God's mercy, he signed to his companions that they should get up and go back with him into the church. His companions, following him, entered the church; he threw himself before the tomb of the saint and prayed silently in his heart. Then, rising from his prayer, the chain on his tongue was loosed and he shouted out, 'Thanks be to almighty God, who has made me well through the intercession of the blessed Dominic and returned to me the use of my tongue, which through my sins I had lost'.

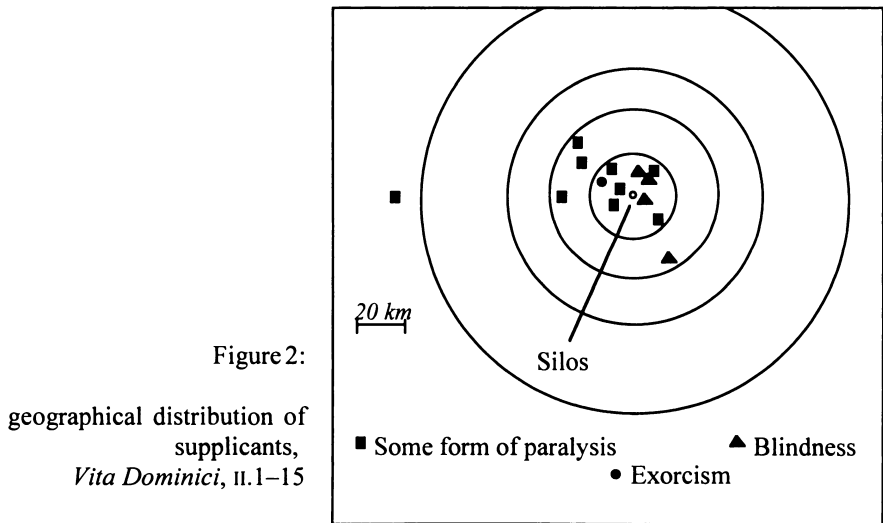
The narrator's gloss, 'Diuina autem pietate, ut credimus, inspirante' (I. 35) indicates that Bremundus's return to the church for private prayer after the mass was not a practice established at the monastery. After the miracle, however, it became a recognized procedure. A final return to the shrine to bid farewell to the saint is found in three subsequent miracles (II.52.8, p. 446; II. 15.9, p. 484; III.38.21, p. 522). A representative example is the account of a woman who, having suffered from being paralysed for a whole year, had been brought by her husband upon a mule and left overnight before the tomb from Saturday vespers until Sunday morning. She spent the time in prayer. When mass was being celebrated, all were invited to pray for her. After the morning office she was taken away to the hospital to have breakfast. 'Et post prandium ad propria reuertura, ad ecclesiam reuertitur, beatissimo confessori uale dictura. Statimque in premeditata sanitate a sancto Dominico ditata, incolumis rediit ad propria' (III.15.8-10, p. 484; And after eating, when she was due to return home, she went back to the church, to take her leave of the most blessed confessor. And immediately she was enriched with her previous health by Saint Dominic and returned home safe and sound). Pilgrims would have been fed by the monks, and the cost of this considerable burden would no doubt have been an incentive to allow them to remain no more than twenty-four hours at the shrine. Yet from the devotees' point of view, the high likelihood of cures occurring within twelve hours at the shrine — were they to occur at all — may well have been another incentive to stay only overnight.

The shrine, therefore, had a rhythm imposed upon it by the liturgical prayer of the monks and the festivals of the Church's calendar, a rhythm in which the laity naturally partook. Rituals around the shrine could be established through the imitation of the behaviour of a supplicant who had been successful in their request for health.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE CULT

The distance from which pilgrims might travel to the shrine increased dramatically over time.⁴⁰ The initial miracles at Silos indicate a cult almost exclusively limited to the immediate locality of Silos. Devotees recorded in these initial miracles could comfortably travel to the shrine in a day (see figure 2, below). Over time — and still within the second book of the *Vita Dominici* — there was a steady increase in the numbers who would come from further afield to the shrine. In the first fifteen miracles, devotees were limited to a radius of forty kilometres from Silos (with one exception: a deaf and dumb woman from Palencia, II.3, p. 326). By II.35, longer journeys were not uncommon and the normal catchment area of the saint's devotees had expanded to sixty kilometres; by the end of the Book II, the catchment area had expanded to a hundred kilometres (see figure 3). Book III (c. 1095–c. 1120), shows a relatively even distribution of supplicants (figure 4).

Even though Dominic's relics had been translated in 1076, the event did not significantly widen the hinterland of potential pilgrims for the shrine. The translation was of only local importance. And even though the 1088 consecration was a spectacular and widely attended event, there was no sudden increase in the catchment area of the shrine, but only a slow, progressive



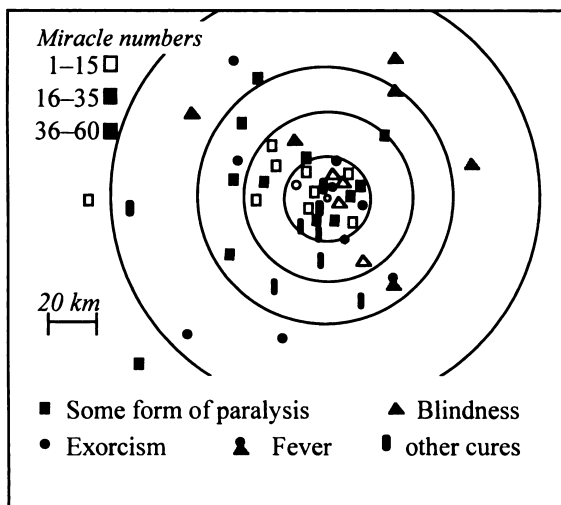


Figure 3:

geographical distribution of supplicants,
Vita Dominici, II.1-60

expansion. The increasing number of miracles encouraged pilgrims from further afield. The growing reputation of the shrine, spread by word-of-mouth accounts of cures, led to the massive influx of pilgrims for which the collection of posthumous miracles in the *Vita Dominici* provides evidence.

The scarcity of devotees from east of Silos is worthy of note: pilgrims from the immediate zone of influence of Dominic's former monastery, San Millán, are found only at II.27, III.5 and III.18 (see figures 3 and 4) — and all three were liberations from demonic possession. The rigours of the Montes de Oca may well have dissuaded potential pilgrims from setting out on the route to Silos unless driven by desperation. It is also true that tales of miracles received

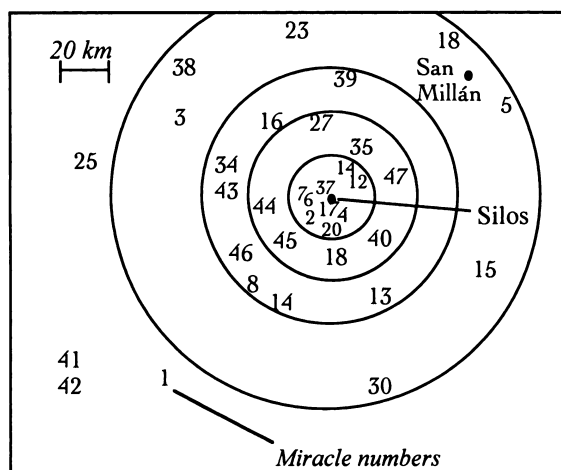


Figure 4:

geographical distribution of supplicants,
Vita Dominici, III.1-48

would be diffused along the route of beneficiaries returning home, thus increasing the likelihood that more pilgrims would come from areas which had already seen devotees travelling back with tales of their answered prayers.⁴¹

To the west the cult witnessed a steady increase in pilgrims from beyond sixty kilometres. Over Book II, the first twenty miracles see only one tenth of supplicants from beyond the immediate locality; this rises to one fifth in the subsequent twenty and to just under a third by the final twenty accounts; in Book III, a little under half of all supplicants travelled more than sixty kilometres to the shrine.⁴² The end of Book III is further marked by a significant decrease in pilgrims from the immediate locality of Silos: between III.29 and III.48, only one person whose origins were within twenty kilometres of Silos is recorded as receiving a cure (III.37). During the same period, ten supplicants travelled from between twenty and sixty kilometres, nine from further afield.

Pilgrims, then, would journey significant distances to the shrine in order to seek healing. Initially revered in the locality of his monastery, Dominic's thaumaturgic fame increased to the extent that, at the very end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, devotion to Dominic was not centred upon the his monastery's immediate zone of influence and pilgrims were likelier to come from far afield as from the immediate vicinity. The shrine had been transformed from a curative centre of merely local importance into one of national significance. However, despite its position close to the Camino de Santiago, it did not attract a clientele of pilgrims from outside Spain, as far as the miracle accounts inform us — in contrast to some French shrines.⁴³

Over the whole collection, thirty-seven supplicants came from within a twenty-kilometre radius of the shrine, thirty-three from between twenty and sixty, and twenty-eight from over sixty kilometres.⁴⁴ Yet, perhaps because of the increasing popularity of the shrine amongst non-locals, in the final stages of the recording of miracles in the *Vita Dominici*, the shrine ceased to draw pilgrims from its immediate locality. The saint, having gained an national relevance, had ceased to be a fitting intercessor for those who inhabited the towns and hamlets scattered within the immediate vicinity of Silos. In parallel to the decrease in supplicants from nearby, no pilgrims from beyond sixty kilometres are found to be cured after III.37. Other shrines must have become more attractive; the cures at Silos may have become relatively infrequent, thus dissuading potential pilgrims from travelling to the monastery. The spread of devotion to Dominic led the construction of churches dedicated to the saint (see figure 5).⁴⁵ These new daughter shrines consequently created other options besides a journey to Silos for those who were particularly devoted to him; by the thirteenth century, they offered significant competition with the mother shrine (see below, pp. 286–87). The mobility which allowed pilgrims to come from far afield could also be used by locals near to Silos to travel to more distant shrines, an ease of movement itself a foretaste of the international pilgrimages of the late twelfth century and beyond.⁴⁶

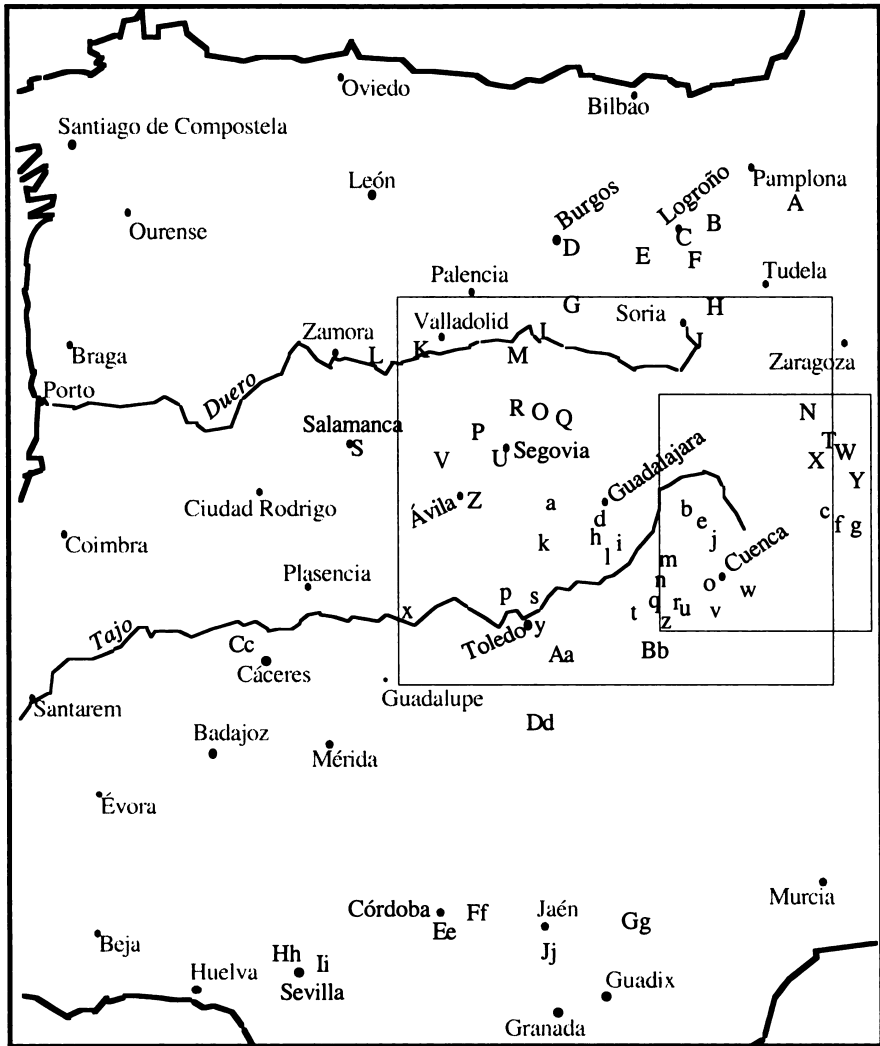


Figure 5: churches dedicated to Dominic.

The places are signalled from north–south and west–east. References are given to the *España & Portugal: Michelin Atlas de carreteras y turístico/Atlas rodoviário e turístico* (Madrid: Michelin, 2000); numbers in parentheses following the grid reference refer to a decimal subdivision of the rectangles and should be read from the right of the letter reference and down from the number reference. A: Sangüesa (p. 11, E(1) 26(2)); B: Falces (p. 11, E(6) 24(8)); ‘la ermita o cueva de Santo Domingo de Silos existió hasta 1980, fecha en que se derribó el templo que había sobre ella dedicado a San Salvador, para construir un nuevo edificio’ (José María Sanz

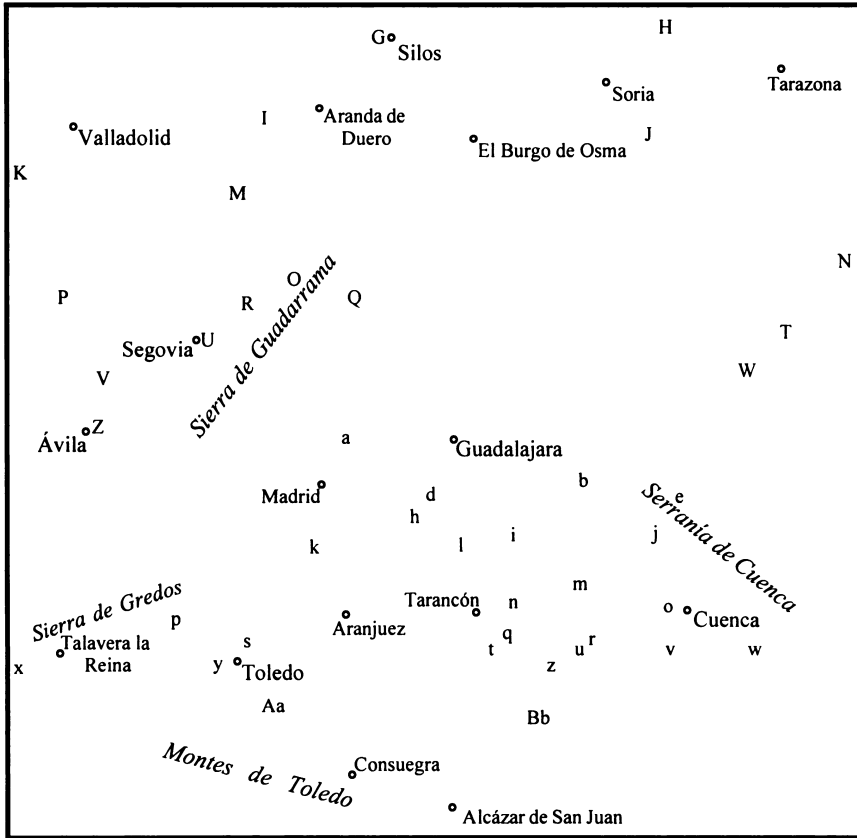


Figure 6: central area of figure 5

Suescan, personal communication, 9–IX–2001)); *C*: Torremontalbo (p. 10, E(5) 21(9)); *D*: Burgos (p. 10, E(9) 18(9); the chapel was destroyed by the French during the Napoleonic wars); *E*: Cañas (p. 10, E(4) 21(8)); *F*: Laguna de Cameros (p. 11, F(3) 22(6); the church was begun in the late thirteenth century, but it is unclear whether it still exists); *G*: Santo Domingo de Silos (p. 18, G(7) 19(1)); *H*: Matasejún (p. 19, G(3) 23(0)); *I*: La Cueva de Roa (p. 18, G(2) 18(9)); *J*: Torralba (p. 19, H(2) 23(1); not recorded by Férotin); *K*: Tordesillas (p. 17, H(0) 15(5)); *L*: Toro (p. 17, H(8) 13(5)); *M*: Fuentesauco de Fuentidueña (p. 18, H(8) 17(7)); *N*: Daroca (p. 26, I(9) 25(6)); *O*: Pedraza (p. 25, I(6) 18(6); the parish of Santo Domingo was suppressed in the nineteenth century, but the romanesque church is still extant; the columns of the hermitage of El Arenal (Orejana) (p. 18, I(6) 18(4)), some ten kilometres north-west of Pedraza, show the clear influence of the Silos cloister); *P*: Arévalo (p. 24, I(8) 15(8); the church is now dedicated to Santo Domingo de Silos y San Juan Bautista); *Q*: Prádena del Rincón (p. 25, I(4) 19(8)); *R*: Santo Domingo de Pirón (p. 18, I(0) 18(8)); *S*: Salamanca (p. 24, J(0) 13(1)); *T*: Ermita de Santo Domingo (p. 26, J(9) 24(1)); *U*:

Segovia (p. 24, J(6) 17(2); *V*: Santo Domingo de las Posadas (p. 24, J(1) 16(5); Férotin claimed that there was a church dedicated to Santo Domingo de Silos, although the only church now present in the village is that of San Martín Obispo); *W*: Lechago (p. 26, J(1) 2(1)); *X*: Pardos (p. 26, J(2) 24(1); Férotin did not list this church); *Y*: Valdeconejos (p. 26, J(4) 27(6); Férotin was unaware of the existence of this parish); *Z*: Ávila (p. 24, K(9) 15(0); a church dedicated to Santo Domingo de Silos was claimed to have been dedicated there in 1202); *a*: Villanueva de Jarama ('Villanueva de Xarama' was mentioned in a bull of Pope Martin IV in 1281; it is most likely to be placed upon the Río Jarama, and perhaps is to be identified with Ciudad Santo Domingo (p. 25, K(3) 19(1)); the church may have spawned its own cult, for the village of Fuente el Fresno (*Dd*) had a chapel dedicated to Santo Domingo de Jarama); *b*: Millana (p. 25, K(3) 22(5), which is a romanesque church); *c*: Celadas (p. 26, K(5) 26(6); Férotin was unaware of this church); *d*: Corpa (p. 25, K(2) 20(7); the church was built in the mid-twelfth century, but its interior destroyed in the twentieth-century civil war); *e*: Zaorejas (p. 26, J(3) 23(7); Férotin did not include this church in his list of dedications); *f*: Rillo (p. 26, J(0) 27(8); Férotin was unaware of this parish); *g*: Teruel (p. 26, K(7) 27(9)); *h*: Pozuelo del Rey (p. 25, K(1) 20(8)); *i*: Almonacid de Zorita (p. 32, L(4) 21(0); the church belonged to the order of Calatrava); *j*: Pajares (p. 26, L(4) 23(1); this dedication escaped Férotin); *k*: Pinto (p. 25, L(9) 18(3)); *l*: Mazuecos (p. 25, L(9) 20(3)); *m*: Caracenilla (p. 32, L(2) 22(6); the church is dedicated to San José y Santo Domingo de Silos); *n*: Alcázar del Rey (p. 32, L(6) 21(8)); *o*: Cuenca (p. 32, L(6) 23(8)); *p*: Val de Santo Domingo–Caudilla (p. 31, L(0) 17(9); unknown to Férotin); *q*: Tribaldos (p. 32, M(2) 21(0)); *r*: Villar del Águila (p. 32 M(4) 22(1); Férotin was not informed of this church); *s*: Olías del Rey (p. 31, M(0) 18(2)); *t*: El Acebrón (p. 32, M(0) 21(2)); *u*: Palomares del Campo (p. 32, M(2) 22(2)); *v*: Valdeganga de Cuenca (p. 32, M(5) 23(2); a dedication unknown to

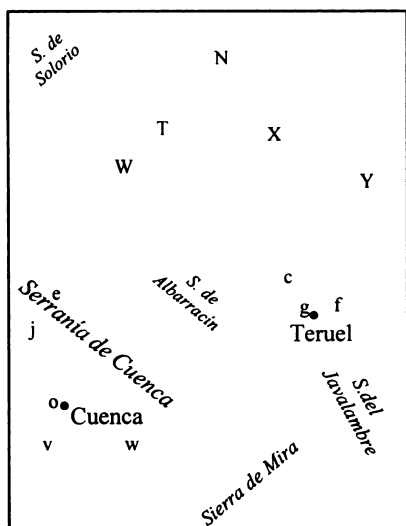


Fig. 7: eastern area of figure 5

Férotin); *w*: Carboneras de Guadazaón (p. 32 M(5) 24(3)); *x*: Villanueva de Horcajo (this village was abandoned by the end of the nineteenth century; Férotin identified it as being close to Talavera de la Reyna, where there is still the Dehesa del Horcajo (p. 30, M(6) 14(2)); however, Horcajo is an extremely common name in the area and beyond);⁴⁷ *y*: Toledo (p. 31, M(9) 17(4); this is the nunnery, Santo Domingo el Antiguo); *z*: Montalbo (p. 32, M(9) 21(4)); *Aa*: Villaminaya (p. 31, M(3) 18(8); unknown to Férotin); *Bb*: Tresjuncos (p. 32, M(7) 21(9)); *Cc*: Ermita de Santo Domingo, in the Sierra de Santo Domingo, c.15 kilometres from Brozas and 40 kilometres from Cáceres (p. 29, N(7) 9(2)); *Dd*: Fuente el Fresno, the chapel of Santo Domingo de Jarama (p. 37, O(6) 18(3)); *Ee*: Córdoba (p. 45, S(6) 15(1); the church is now known as San Salvador y Santo Domingo); *Ff*: Ermita de Santo Domingo, some five kilometres outside Córdoba, whither there is a *romería* in April; *Gg*: La Iruela (p. 46, S(0) 21(3)); *Hh*: Seville (p. 44, T(0) 12(8); the church was established in the thirteenth century); *Ii*: Santo Domingo de Río Pudio (this shrine is perhaps to be identified with the Santo Domingo on a river tributary to the Arroyo del Salado, ten kilometres south of Carmona, at pp. 44/50, T(1) 13(7)); *Jj*: Alcalá la Real (p. 45, T(2) 18(9); the church was ordered to be built by Alfonso XI over a mosque after the town fell to Christian forces on the saint's feast day in 1341, and the minaret is now the church tower).⁴⁸

Churches dedicated to Dominic generally fall into distinct groups, the first of which represents the heartland of the cult, whence most of the pilgrims were drawn (*A–M*); subsequent groups represent the waves of settlement following the *reconquista*. The largest number of churches are found between the Duero and either sides of the Tagus (*a–Bb*; see figures 6–7), the period of whose settlement corresponds to a period of widespread and popular devotion to Saint Dominic.

Gender influenced the geographical zone from which pilgrims were likely to come: there was a predominance of men from within twenty kilometres of the shrine, although from the second zone (between twenty and sixty kilometres), there was a predominance of young and older women; the numbers are equal for further afield.⁴⁹ There was, however, a sharp decrease in the number of females, young, old or children, who attended the shrine from the immediate locality throughout Book III, a decline which may have been due to the local perception of the shrine as one which was predominantly for men, since local men were more often cured than local women and, furthermore, the saint had gained a reputation for sponsoring escapes whose beneficiaries were exclusively male. A similar decrease is not felt in female pilgrims coming from beyond twenty kilometres, indicating that the perception was connected to the functioning of the shrine specifically within the locality. And according to the evidence provided by Book III, women were as prepared as men to travel long distances to the shrine. There was also a marked increase in the number of infants who were brought to the shrine from beyond twenty kilometres during Book III, no doubt due to the widespread recognition of the saint's *virtus*. The

expectation that a cure for the child was distinctly possible, in the minds of the parents, made the journey worthwhile.⁵⁰

The time that pilgrims would spend at a shrine before a cure was closely linked to their geographic origin. Devotees who came from the area immediately around Silos (a third of those cured), made up half the number of those who received immediate cures and of those who received cures in twenty-four hours; those from the wider circle, within sixty kilometres, again comprising a third of pilgrims, also made up a third of those cured within twenty-four hours. Yet those from beyond sixty kilometres comprised less than twenty percent of those cured within a day and a night.⁵¹ Conversely, no supplicant from the vicinity of Silos is recorded as waiting more than nine days for a cure.⁵² The shortness of time locals spent at the monastery contrasts with the experience of devotees from further afield. A third of pilgrims who travelled more than sixty kilometres to the shrine waited more than two weeks for their cures, as did a fourth of those within sixty kilometres of the shrine.⁵³

A pilgrim's social class is at times mentioned within the accounts; in other cases it is possible to deduce their prestige from the fact, for example, that the sick person had servants. Although most supplicants are referred to without specific mention of their wealth or position, some conclusions can be drawn from those whose position is distinguished by being towards the top or bottom of society. The shrine of Saint Dominic attracted roughly three times the number of rich pilgrims as poor. The final miracles of the shrine show a tendency to concentrate upon the upper class, since between III.42 and III.48, four out of seven pilgrims are from this group. The proportion of women to men in this class is 1:2, that is, below the average for the shrine. In comparison, the poor are equally divided between men and women. No poor from the immediate vicinity of the shrine were cured. Poor pilgrims came, throughout the majority of Book II, from within sixty kilometres of the shrine; after II.49 they come from beyond sixty kilometres. The arrival at the shrine of the poor from further afield lags behind the expansion of the shrine's pull upon pilgrims from an ever wider area. It was perhaps only with the increasing fame of the saint's power that the very poor would undertake a difficult and possibly expensive journey to seek a cure.⁵⁴ There is a distinct falling off in the numbers of the poor cured in Book III, which may be linked to the shrine's increasing popularity amongst the rich and their servants.

The increase in the distance which supplicants travel was not the only development of the shrine in terms of its reach. Posthumous appearances by the saint away from the shrine could also serve to characterize the zone of the shrine's influence. In the present chapter, I will not consider the individual details of the visions — this task will be undertaken in the following chapters — but will discuss their cumulative effect upon the development of the cult.

The first appearance of Dominic was in 1088 to a Christian captive in Medinaceli, freeing him from his dungeon and his chains so that he might give

thanks for his liberation at Dominic's tomb (II.21.23–70, p. 356–60). A second captive was freed in a similar way from the castle of Aledo in Murcia after the appearance of Dominic (II.25.9–67, p. 370–74). These appearances in areas under Muslim domination expressed a radically larger radius of the saint's activity than that of the shrine or the immediate locality of the monastery, and although Dominic did not subsequently appear to liberate captives after these two miracles, he did appear to instruct other devotees to visit his shrine. Since these visions occur either late in Book II or in Book III (II.50.5–13, p. 442; III.25.6–19; III.39.1–19, p. 524), we may conclude that the fame of Dominic's shrine already predisposed the supplicant to undertake the journey. In the latter two, the visionary expected opposition to his or her carrying out of the saint's instructions, opposition which was voiced once the contents of the vision were revealed to those who would have been expected to share the journey to the shrine.

The liberation of captives was the first indication that the saint's *virtus* has expanded from the physical presence of his relics. The expansion was reinforced by those cures that were worked outside the shrine itself. The first example occurs at II.40. A man mute from birth was cured at the church door as he left the shrine:

Cumque uterque egrederentur porticum ecclesie, contigit collegam eius eum paululum precessisse et corrigiam calceamenti subsequenter muti solutam esse. Itaque cum ad illam constringendam esset intentus et socium non sequeretur ocius, exclamat ille socius: 'O Iohannes, cur cessas et quare quantocius ab hoc loco discedere non festinas?' Ad hanc uocem solutum est uinculum illius lingue ac respondit socio uocanti se clara et aperta uoce: 'Paululum sustine, sodes dilecte, donec constringam solutam calciamenti mei corrigiam.' (II.40.35–43, p. 424)

And as they were both going out of the porch of the church, it happened that his colleague went on a little way ahead of him and that the lace of the mute man, who was behind, came loose. And so, as he was busy tying it and did not follow his companion quickly, his companion shouted, 'John, why do you dawdle and why don't you hurry to leave this place?' At these words, the chain on his tongue was loosened and he replied to his companion who was calling him with a clear and distinct voice: 'Hold on a moment, dear companion, while I tie the loose lace on my shoe.'

As we have seen, II.40 marks one of the continuations to the text of the *Vita Dominici* by a successor of Grimaldus as recorder of the saint's miracles.⁵⁵ It also marks a departure in the thaumaturgic potentiality of the shrine. Shortly after this cure, a monk from a monastery affiliated to San Millán de la Cogolla, Santa María de Ribarredonda near Pancorvo, was cured from his dumbness 'in itinere' when one of his companions told him to buck up and eat some bread. 'Qui statim respondit, perfecte recepto loquendi officio: "Comedo". Cui respondit socius, nimium miratus: "Iam loqueris? Video quia loquela est tibi

reddita” (II.45.17–19, p. 434; to which he immediately replied, having completely recovered the use of speech, ‘I am eating’. To which his companion replied, not a little astonished, ‘Can you now talk? I see that speech has been given back to you’). The crashing inconsequentiality of both these conversations says much for the verisimilitude of the occurrences. Both tales indicate an expansion of the *virtus* of the shrine, first to take in the porch of the church and then to the route away from the shrine.

Other miracles that occurred outside the shrine after the afflicted had visited it are marked by being linked to a geographical feature. A hunchbacked woman from Riofrancos, formerly a village near Lerma, spent the whole night in vigil and prayer but remained without a cure. After bidding farewell to the saint, she set off on her way home: ‘Cumque uenisset ad quemdam locum ubi discurrit paruulus riuus, non longe a monasterio, uisitata a Domino et adiuta a sancto Dominico, repente os renum ipsius sonuit et pristina sanitati reddita, se erexit’ (II.52.9–12, p. 446; And as she came to a certain place where there flows a little stream,⁵⁶ not far from the monastery, visited by the Lord and aided by Saint Dominic, suddenly her spine gave out a crack and, having been returned to full health, she held herself straight). It was at the chapel of Santiago, placed at a short distance from the monastery, perhaps by Dominic himself, where another hunchbacked woman was cured (III.3.4–10, p. 470).

The church porch in the dumb Iohannes’s cure was the threshold to the church itself, an immediately recognisable architectural feature which divided the sacred space of the shrine from the world beyond. The stream — which we have seen had its own importance in Dominic’s vision — flows around the monastery and marks a barrier which the pilgrim must cross both to reach and leave the shrine. The chapel, in the cure of the second hunchback, marked a stage on the route out of Silos and was perhaps connected to the saint himself. Each of these geographical or architectural features marks a *limen*, an identifiable stage on the journey away from the shrine, at which point the miraculous *virtus* of the saint may act. The cure of the dumb monk is not set at the specific location of a *limen*, but is marked by the prompting of an impatient companion at a break in the journey. The cure of Iohannes (II. 40) combines both the motifs of *limen* and impatience.⁵⁷

Although the position of III.32 (the cure of a woman freed from a serpent) makes the miracle seemingly the latest of the cures from a distance, this cure probably occurred during the writing of Book II (see above, pp. 18–21). The text merits citation in full:

Quedam mulier galleciana, nomine Gotina, a confinio Compostellane ciuitatis orta, laboribus quamplurimis fessa, oculos clausit membraque sopori dedit. Interim serpens eius os introiuit ac, quia pre magnitudine leuiter ingredi non ualuit, feminam excitauit, quem cum ambobus manibus cepit, sed eum extrahere nequiuit, quia eam in gula momordit. Sicque elapsus, in uentrem decidit, ubi per nouem menses mansionem habuit. Quidquid igitur femina manducabat, totum serpens suscipiebat;

ipsaque fame peribat. Quo circa pro medicinis ad ipsum expellendum de suis multa deuastabat; at illa misere nichil proficiebat. Inuocans itaque dei clemenciam atque lacrimosa sancti Dominici nomen reclamans, in uisione ammonita beati Dominici uisitare limina: iter arripuit et ad suam domum sana remeavit. Dum ergo terminos sancti Dominici ambulans appropinquaret ac montem Ceruere pedibus calcaret, socios exorauit quatinus eam parum quiescere permitterent ac leuem somnum capere sinerent. Ipsi uero socii consenserunt domientique mentes tenuerunt. At ubi ipsa sopori fuit dedita, mox serpens magnus, a corpore illius egressus, carnes gule dirupit atque, sanguinolentus super erbam prosiliens, ipsam semiuiuam reliquit. Cetus igitur sociorum qui commitabantur ipsam monstrum illud ligauerunt et ante sepulcrum beati Dominici una cum muliere omnibus monstraerunt ac qualiter in uia eis accidisset serio extricare curauerunt. (III.32.1-21, p. 508)

A certain Galician woman, Gotina by name, born near to the city of Compostela, exhausted by many labours, closed her eyes and gave over her limbs to sleep. Meanwhile a serpent entered her mouth but, since it was too big to slide in smoothly, it woke the woman up. She seized it with both her hands, but was unable to pull it out, since it was biting her by the throat. So it slithered down into her stomach, where it dwelt for nine months. Hence whatever the woman ate, the serpent stole it all and she began to die of hunger. So she wasted much of her wealth on medicines to expel it, but the unhappy woman had no success. Invoking the mercy of God, therefore, and calling tearfully on the name of Dominic, she was admonished in a vision to visit the tomb of Dominic. She set out and returned healed to her home. It happened like this: while walking near to the limits of Saint Dominic's lands and crossing the *sierra* of Cervera on foot, she asked her companions to let her rest for a little while and have a short nap. To this her companions agreed, and while she slept they kept watch. And as soon as she was deeply asleep, a large snake came out of her body, bursting through the flesh of her throat, and sprang out bloody onto the grass, leaving her half-dead. The crowd of her companions who were watching her tied that monster up and showed it to everyone together with the woman before the grave of the blessed Dominic and took care to narrate in order what had befallen them on the way.

The account has numerous folkloric motifs: the serpent that enters through the throat; the nine-month pseudo-pregnancy that the animal remains in her stomach; and the admonition to attend the shrine through a vision which is never retold.⁵⁸ The designation that the *mons Ceruere* were the 'terminos Sancti Dominici' is not without interest, since the Montes de Cervera are only a few kilometres to the west and south of Silos, marking a natural *limen* of Silos's strict geographical influence.⁵⁹

A further stage is reached during Book III. Rather than cures being effected after supplicants had visited the shrine and were returning home, cures were effected before the devotees had even reached the shrine. At first these miracles at a distance are strongly linked to the aristocracy. The first three concern two *principes* and a *miles* (III.21, 22, 30), three men of the highest

social order; the fourth was perhaps the same, since he was returning from a pilgrimage to Rome (III.31.1, p. 506).⁶⁰ The first, 'princeps quidam, nomine Didacus', had suffered from fever for six days; he was cured during the preparations for the pilgrimage to the shrine (III.21.10–15, p. 492), and subsequently visited the shrine. 'Alius uero princeps, nomine Rudericus' was suffering from tertian fever. Since he was on campaign, rather than promising to visit the shrine,

in uase quodam aquam iussit afferit et in aqua, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi et predicti confessoris, tres offas fecit. Quibus factis, sic ait: 'Serue dei, Dominice, michi in hoc grauissimo infirmitatis genere constituto, in presenti hora digneris obsecro succurrere.' Cuius uota uir Domini respexit atque petitioni illius, reddita sibi continuo sanitate, obsecundauit. (III.22.5–10, p. 494)

ordered that water should be brought to him in a vessel, and in the water, in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the aforesaid confessor [i.e., Dominic], made three pellets of flour.⁶¹ Having made these, he said, 'Servant of God, Dominic, having contracted this most serious form of illness, I beseech you that in this present hour you deign to succour me.' The man of the Lord looked upon his vows and complied with his request, giving him back his health at once.

Rudericus's turning towards Dominic in prayer shows how far he had become the saint of choice amongst the nobility. Furthermore, the conception of how his thaumaturgic *virtus* might be invoked had changed rapidly. It would not be fanciful to suppose that this was due to the attribution of various miraculous liberations of captives that had occurred along the central and eastern frontier with the Moors.⁶² Dominic's miraculous power was no longer solely linked to the shrine or the pilgrimage to his relics. He could be invoked by soldiers on campaign. Rudericus is not recorded as having visited the shrine to give thanks, although it was recorded that he was troubled no more by fever (III.22.11–12, p. 494). Three of the four cures at a distance are from fevers, and all the cured, except Rudericus, are recorded as having visited the shrine (III.21.15–17, p. 492; III. 30.12–15, p. 504; 21.6–12, p. 506; cp. II.22. 11–12, p. 494).

The power of the saint had expanded to cure those on the way to his shrine or those who had promised to visit his tomb. Yet this expansion also signalled a change in attitude, for pilgrims might wait until a cure had been granted before beginning their route to Silos. Since the cures which occurred before the supplicant visited the shrine concern mainly figures from the nobility, then there may have been a conscious selection at Silos in the recording of such miracles, and only those granted to persons whose position rendered them trustworthy were recorded. The exception to this is the deliverance of Gotina from the snake swallowed during her sleep, although, with this miracle, her companions provided another form of proof, in that they displayed the snake itself.

The move from supplicatory pilgrimage to thanksgiving pilgrimage may have caused the definitive end of the collection, since cures ceased to be witnessed at the shrine and those worked from afar were not deemed suitable for inclusion, perhaps due to the lower class of the pilgrims who came to give thanks and recount their miracle.⁶³ Further, there may have been a falling away even of thanksgiving pilgrimages for cures already achieved. Dominic was not recorded as performing any posthumous vengeance miracles.⁶⁴ In contrast, he specialized in undoing vengeance miracles visited upon the careless, the dishonest or the irreligious. The absence of this element of psycho-sacral insistence on attendance at the shrine to thank one's deliverer from illness, given the innate tendency to ingratitude of the human race, may well have also contributed to the decrease in pilgrimage to the shrine.

The rapid expansion of the cult of Dominic had resulted in an explosion of churches dedicated to the saint in the newly reconquered territories (see above, figures 5–7). Devotees need not have travelled to Silos to thank their intercessor; devotion to the saint could be, and indeed probably was, expressed locally.⁶⁵ There was no necessary connection between the cult of the saint and the journey to his monastery. The existence of a chapel in Fuente el Fresno dedicated to Santo Domingo de Jarama, named after the church of Saint Dominic in Villanueva de Jarama, indicates that other cult-centres dedicated to Saint Dominic could exist and have a certain following. The shrine of Dominic at Silos, we might conclude, became the victim of its saint's success.

THE THERAPEUTIC EXTENSION OF THE CULT

During the heyday of the shrine's activity, the range of infirmities which were cured at the shrine expanded, an expansion marked by a steady rhythm. The first three cures (II.1–3) are from, respectively, blindness, a form of paralysis and deafness. These continue to be the only cures witnessed until II.14, which is the first narration of an exorcism at the shrine; seven narrations later, at II.21, the first escape miracle is recorded; at II.30, a recovery from fever, possibly malaria, is added to the list of miraculous cures, and at II.36, a deformity is cured.⁶⁶ At II.51, a man is cured of dysentery, a cure not repeated in the collection. The shrine thus expanded its curative power to take in a different illness on average every seven or eight miracles during this period (1073–early 1090s). Book III witnesses to a pause in this expansion, until III.27, when a cure from *inflacio*, or dropsy, is witnessed.

The various deprivations resolved at the shrine, the lack of health or of physical or psychological liberty, are not equally represented in the accounts of miracles reported in the *Vita Dominici's* Books II and III. A break-down of the cures as they occur in the *Vita Dominici* is shown in table 3, below. Resolutions of varied forms of paralysis, from comas to withered arms, are the most frequent miracles, closely shadowed by exorcisms (twenty-eight and

twenty-six, respectively). Eighteen blind people received their sight. Some way behind these in frequency come the healing of deformities, miraculous escapes, the return of hearing or speech, and the cure of fever/malaria (ten, eight, seven and seven examples, respectively). There were only two cures from dropsy, and they appear late in the collection.

Table 3: Distribution and Frequency of Cures in the *Vita Dominici*

	II, 1–12	II, 13–24	II, 25–36	II, 37–48	II, 49–60	III, 1–12	III, 13–24	III, 25–36	III, 37–48	Total
Paralysis	7	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	28
Exorcism	–	6	2	3	4	3	2	2	4	26
Blindness	5	2	3	1	1	2	3	–	2	18
Deformity	–	–	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	10
Deaf/dumb	1	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	1	7
Fever	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	–	6

Slightly over a half of cured supplicants were male (fifty-six to forty-four females). This average proportion is reflected in cures from blindness (seven males to seven females) and from paralysis (sixteen to thirteen),⁶⁷ but not in others: nineteen females were cured of demonic possession against seven men; nine males were relieved of deformities of various sorts, against one woman; and six males were cured of fevers against, again, one woman. No women were cured from dropsy. Gender was therefore significant, with the shrine being predominantly male-biased in the cures of dropsy, malaria and deformities, whereas women far outnumbered men in relation to exorcisms performed at the shrine. The seven escapes, which all concerned men, are not taken into account in these figures, since they were not properly cures performed at the shrine. Also not taken into account is the restitution of a horse to its owner after it had been stolen by a local rascal while the former was praying for a cure at the shrine (II.44).⁶⁸ It is not recorded whether the man also received a cure for his undisclosed malady.

Upperclass pilgrims benefited from most of the curative possibilities of the shrine and some miracles had a particular connection to the rich: half of the cures from fever were on behalf of this group and four of the seven escapes involved the nobility. Amongst the poor, those suffering various forms of paralysis predominate (four from seven). Only one exorcism is represented for the poorest pilgrims, just as there is also one cure from fever and one from blindness.

Most pilgrims were adult. Men comprised nearly forty percent of supplicants, women thirty percent. Children comprised twenty-five percent, with only a few more boys than girls being represented. Young people (*iuvēnes*) were the most scarcely represented group of all, due, no doubt, to the good health that the young usually enjoy. Young women were only represented as

victims of demonic possession and, late in the collection, deafness and paralysis; young men, dumbness and fever. Women were significantly more likely to be cured within twenty-four hours of their arrival at the shrine than were men, who, although a third less likely than women to be cured quickly, were much more likely to be cured during a medium-length or a long stay.⁶⁹ Of the twenty-four cures of females that took place within twenty-four hours, cures from paralysis were most numerous, much more than the number of exorcisms or cures of blindness.⁷⁰

It is noteworthy that certain sexes predominated during various phases of the cult; females between II.12 and II.27, between III.12 and III.18, and the final miracles, III.42–48, which we have mentioned before regarding the domination of the rich in them; males between II.28 and II.45, and III.34 and III.40. The initial periods of domination by either sex (females, II.12–27; males II.28–45) may be explained as, on the one hand, the effect of the female-dominated exorcisms encouraging more women to attend the shrine, and, on the other, the identification of the shrine as a ‘male shrine’ following the three escapes from captivity recorded in II.21, 26 and 27. The other periods of domination are much less easily explicable, other than to suggest that a supplicant’s identification with those recently cured at the shrine was an important mechanism in the search for a cure. A initial miracle could act as a trigger for others, as was recognized by at least one French shrine recorder:

l’auteur des *Miracles* de saint Angilbert met l’accent sur le déclenchement d’une série de miracles au tombeau du saint, au début du XIII^e siècle, en indiquant que le miracle raconté en premier fut le début d’une série de faits miraculeux.⁷¹

The thesis that identification had an important role is strengthened by the tendency, contrary to statistical expectation, for miracles of one type to be followed immediately or in the space of only one or two miracles by another of the same type. Again, contrary to statistical expectation, cures of diseases of the one type followed immediately by one of the same type are more common than those which are followed in the space of one or two miracles. Furthermore, the length of time that a supplicant who received the second miracle in a contiguous pair waited for a cure was generally shorter than usual: twelve were cured within twenty-four hours, seven within twelve days.⁷²

The most common ailment presented at the shrine was paralysis, which has a majority of contiguous cures.⁷³ A similar result is obtained with cures from blindness.⁷⁴ Of the ten cures from deformity, two are contiguous (II.36–37) and five are separated by one or two different cures (II.52, 54, 57; III.37, 40). Of seven cures from fever, two are contiguous, three separated by two miracles (II.21–22, 25; III.31, 34). Although the latter cases do not occur at the shrine, both are nobles, and word-of-mouth may explain the connexion. Exorcisms are statistically less significant, but the results still evince a similar

trend (II.14, followed by four in a row, II.17–20; II.46–47).⁷⁵ Similarly, cures of vengeance miracles tend to form sequences (II.22–23; II.31, 33–34, 36–38; III.30, 33). Cures of vengeance miracles outside these groups are only three: II.42, III.30 and III.33, but the latter is not in its chronological position and the cure probably occurred during the composition of Book II, perhaps between II.40–45 (see above, pp. 18–21).

The evidence assembled here but confirms Sigal's anecdotal opinion:

La venue de nouveaux pèlerins était aussi influencée par les types de miracles colportés: les *Miracles* de St Thierry nous apprennent, par exemple, que, lorsque le renouveau des miracles, au X^e siècle, à la source Saint-Thierry, commença à être connu, un aveugle de la région se mit à demander à tous ceux qui revenait de ce pèlerinage s'il y avait eu des miracles récents et si des aveugles avaient été guéris. Sur leur réponse affirmative, il vint à la source et y trouva sa propre guérison.⁷⁶

A suppliant's faith in the efficacy of the shrine was no doubt strengthened by recent examples of similar faith rewarded and by the precedent of successful prayer.

The identification with earlier success could be reinforced by the power of para-liturgical ritual (see above, p. 96) or the liturgy itself. To take the example of cures from paralysis, for example, seven (out of nine) of the sequences of cures contain a miracle which occurred during a liturgy. This frequency is echoed in cures from blindness (three out of five). Miracles that coincide with the liturgy could initiate a sequence of cures from similar infirmities, although a slightly higher number followed miracles of the same type.

For contiguous miracles, we may claim that there was an identification with the previous recipient based strongly on age and sex: adults follow adults (fifteen occurrences); children follow children (twice) or adults (twice); adults follow children only three times; a youth follows an adult only once; males follow males (ten), females females (seven), and females males (six). There is only one example of a male following a female.⁷⁷

Most cures of vengeance miracles occurred within twenty-four hours or three days; a majority of such penitential pilgrims came from the locality of the monastery, although some did come from beyond sixty kilometres.⁷⁸ Seven of these undoings of vengeance miracles occur within the space of twelve accounts (II.31–42). The shrine, at least for the few years between 1088 and 1092 or 1093, specialized in the cures of those considered to have been punished by God for their failure to observe religious decorum.⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that such cures were prevalent immediately after the definitive abolition of the Mozarabic liturgy. The period may have witnessed an increased concern over religious taboos, and a heightened consciousness on the part of the laity that such matters required careful attention. The choice of Silos as a shrine for the undoing of illnesses due to infringements of religious observances may have been prompted by the connection of the shrine to

exorcisms, since possession by demons was seen as a divine punishment for transgressions against the law of the Church.⁸⁰ The period dominated by cures of vengeance miracles is followed by a corresponding increase in the number of exorcisms (II.46–III.13).

VISIONS AND CURES

Having established the overall nature of the cures witnessed at Silos, I will consider the curative function of visions, which occur in a small number of accounts of cures. The first aspect of this curative function is the vision which instructs the recipient to attend the shrine; the second aspect is the vision which accompanies the cure. A related set of visions are those connected to escapes, and these will be considered in the relevant chapter. Visions are, to a certain extent, an imagistic expression of the *virtus* of the saint, either in its geographical extent or the power's curative force.

Four visions instruct the sick to make their way to the shrine. Two of these are concerned with demonic possession and are dealt with below, at pp. 141–43, 161–62. In the other two cases which will occupy us here, the visionary command to attend the shrine was dismissed out of hand by those who would have been expected to assist the sick person in finding a cure.

A Basque woman of limited means, Maria, who suffered from incurable 'fevers', was returning from an unsuccessful pilgrimage to Compostela, when Dominic appeared to her in a dream after she, her husband and young child had stopped for the night at Carrión de los Condes (III.25.6, p. 498). The vision instructed her to travel to Silos to receive a cure (III.25.5–19, p. 498). Her husband refused to believe her and went as far as to deny the existence of both saint and monastery (III.25.19–22, p. 498). His ignorant stubbornness no doubt caused much mirth amongst the monks of Silos. The final vision of the collection was reported of a boy, Iustus, who saw Dominic appearing in a dream and promising him health if he hurried to the shrine (III.39.7–14, p. 524). 'Die uero exorta, quod in somnis uiderat suis hominibus enarrabit. Illi autem hoc ut audierunt, quod in uisione uiderat, fantasma esse ei dixerunt' (II. 14–16, p. 524; At daybreak the following day, he told what he had seen in dreams to his men. When they heard this though, they said to him that what he had seen in the vision was just imagined).

The refusal to believe the vision's message would seem to have been due to different reasons in each case, above and beyond the general disbelief that dreams evoked during the Middle Ages (see above, pp. 52–53). Since the visions were not accompanied by an immediate, miraculous cure to vouch for their truthfulness, but rather promised a miracle only after an arduous journey, doubt would be the likely response, until the miracle was worked. Iustus had dropsy, and was, in the opinion of his neighbours, a hopeless case for whom nothing could be done, not even pilgrimage: 'uelut uter inflatus per multum tempus in lectulo decubuit longoque tempore ab hac infirmitate laborabat. [...]

iam ab omnibus uicinis suis de eius salute desperaretur et ex hac inflacione eum mori omnimodis expectaretur' (III.39.2–6, p. 524; he lay in his bed for much time, swollen like a bladder, and for a long time suffered from this malady. [...] all of his neighbours had already despaired of his health and all expected him to die from this swelling). There had, furthermore, been only one cure from dropsy before Iustus's vision (III.27, p. 500).

The rejection of Maria's vision by her husband was perhaps provoked by exasperation at the failure of their pilgrimage to Santiago and an unwillingness to begin a long detour. Yet his denial of the existence of the saint and shrine leads one to the conclusion that, being Basque, he spoke no Romance. Silos was at the height of its fame, so that some barrier must have existed for him to be ignorant of the monastery's existence. Maria, however, since she could communicate with the monks after arriving at the monastery, had at least a smattering of vulgar Latin and had probably heard about Dominic's miracles upon the route. News of the two cures 'a febribus' that had occurred distant from the tomb to two leading nobles (III.21–22, pp. 492–94) may well have reached Maria on the *camino francés* or when she arrived in Carrión.

Downright disbelief posed a serious problem for both visionaries, and for both, as often occurred in other accounts, the uncertainty was quelled by a second and then a third vision that repeated the message of the first. Iustus received two subsequent visions. Maria was visited on the night following her first vision by the saint who encouraged her again to go to his monastery. But on the third night, he lost patience and said to her: 'Quare, mulier miserrima, ad Exiliensem ecclesiam pergere non festinas? Aliter enim nullatenus ab hac fueris infirmitate liberata' (III.25.25–27, p. 498; Why, most unhappy woman, do you not rush to the church? Otherwise, in no manner will you be freed from this malady). Belief in the veracity of repeated visions can be seen many times throughout the hagiography of this period.⁸¹ The threefold appearance of Dominic provides a psychological force well expressed by Gregory of Tours: 'Facilis autem prima visio fuit, nec secunda commonitio valuit; tertia autem terribiliter monachum quatit' (the first vision was easy [to dismiss], nor did the second merit attention; the third, however, shook the monk terribly).⁸²

Maria and Iustus, following their third visionary admonition, travelled alone to the shrine. Maria set out on the morning following her third vision, asking pilgrims the way (III.25.29–30, p. 498). Dominic's tomb, as one would by now expect, was famous enough on the pilgrimage route for anyone who was not from the most remote of rural backwaters to know where it was. Iustus similarly began a journey to the monastery which for a healthy man would have taken two days but which for him lasted over a week. After a short while at the tomb, he was cured (III.39.20–26, p. 524).

In contrast, visions that accompanied cures were immediately acceptable. In the *Vita Dominici*, visions at the shrine either prepare the way for a cure or take place as the cure is effected. The first form of vision occurred when a man mute from birth vigilled before the tomb and, at dawn on the Sunday,

illoque deuote ante sepulcrum uenerabile stante, subleuatis oculis, ut post ipse retulit nobis, uidit ad se uenire duas colombas candidas ad instar niuis, quarum una super dextrum humerum eius resedit; altera uero super caput ascendit. Que per mediam fere horam super eum steterunt et postea, eo uidente, celos penetrauerunt. (II.40.27–31, pp. 422–24)

and, standing devoutly before the grave, his eyes raised, as he told us later, he saw coming towards him two doves, white as snow, one of which sat upon his shoulder, and the other climbed up upon his head. They remained upon him for nearly half an hour, and afterwards, as he watched, flew up into the heavens.

He remained at the tomb for matins and mass, and spoke to his companion only when he had stopped just outside the church door. It was at that moment that 'solutum est uinculum illius lingue' (II.40.40–41, p. 424; the fetter on his tongue was undone), not before. For the author, the miracle is a truly spectacular cure, which requires an unusual assertion of veracity, indicating that witnesses were on hand and providing a theological justification for the miracle itself (II.40.57–68, pp. 424–26).

In his account of the cure, the author weaves together biblical allusions to point in one direction: the working of miracles is God's right alone. The biblical allusions centre upon Jesus' cure of the man born blind. Jesus gave the man sight on the Sabbath (John 9, 14), and Iohannes was cured on the new sabbath, the 'die Resurrectionis' (I. 27, p. 422; the day of [Christ's] Resurrection [i.e., Sunday]). Jesus' actions in curing pointed back to the very creation of man: Jesus cured the man born blind by spitting on the ground, making clay from the spittle and rubbing the blind man's eyes with it, before telling him to wash in the pool of Siloe: 'expuuit in terram, et fecit lutum ex sputo, et linivit lutum super oculos eius, et dixit ei: Vade, lava in natatoria Siloe (quod interpretatur Missus).' (John 9, 6–7; and he spat on the ground, and made mud from the spittle, and spread the mud upon his eyes, and said to him, 'Go, wash in the pool of Siloe' (which means Sent)).⁸³ The mud used to heal the deficient eyes look back to the creation of Adam: 'Formauit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspirauit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae; et factus est homo in animam viventem' (Genesis 2, 7; Therefore the Lord God formed man from the clay of the ground, and breathed into his face the breath of life; and man became a living being). Jesus continued the work of Creation, and so Dominic, as a servant of Christ, could do the same with the latter's power.

Three visions effect cures. One features the appearance of the saint; another, an animal; and the other, both combined. A boy had been struck dumb after his father and brothers had left him at home whilst they attended a funeral; when they returned and found him without the power of speech, they brought him to Silos and placed him before the saint's altar where he fell asleep. An old man appeared to him and struck him. The boy awoke and could again speak. It is unlikely that the boy's silence had been directly caused by

grief, since the hagiographer writes that the father and brothers went ‘ad quendam mortuum sepeliendum’ (III.4.4–5, p. 472; to attend the burial of someone who had died). This ‘someone’ was probably not a family member. One notes, however, that no mother is mentioned and that he was probably the youngest child. Was he sulking?

The only other pilgrim recorded sleeping before the tomb also had a vision. It is of course most probable that even the most devout of pilgrims might occasionally nod off while before the tomb, but the authors of the miracle accounts, in line with ecclesiastical practice, insist on the importance of wakeful prayer: Sigal stresses that incubation was never officially encouraged at shrines in the West, and that the Church attempted to stress the need for penance and prayer in the search for a cure.⁸⁴ A Sorian called Salvator had been struck down by a dreadful disease and reduced to his bed. After six months, he had recovered enough to be back on his feet. He was already a devotee of Dominic, and this gradual recovery was attributed to the saint (III.40.6, p. 526), although the cure was only partial and he was left with a ‘torcio oris’, a twisted mouth, which probably describes the aftermath of a stroke.

Ergo post dimidium anni spacium, ueniens ad strenuum medicum, scilicet, ad sanctum Dominicum, et ante sepulcrum eius aliquantisper uigilando et orando perstitit, quousque eum sopor somni arripuit et paululum quieuit. In quo somno apparuit ei quedam uestiola candida et paruissima, que in sinu illius ingrediebatur; statimque expergefactus, sensit os suum ad pristinum statum decoremque reductum. Laudibus itaque deo persolutis, qui ei, per beatum et egregium patronum nostrum sanctissimumque Dominicum, os suum reddere est dignatus et intercessori suo, Dominico confessori, immensas gratiarum actiones reddens, ad propria rediit felix et gaudens. (II. 8–17, p. 526)

So, after the space of half a year, coming to the busy physician, that is, to Saint Dominic, and remaining for some time in vigil and prayer, until the weariness of sleep took hold of him and he rested for a short time. In this sleep there appeared to him a little animal, white and very small, which came up onto his lap. Waking at that instant, he felt his mouth restored to its previous handsome state. And so, giving praise to God who, through the blessed and illustrious and most holy *patronus* of ours, Dominic, deigned to return his mouth [to its place], and giving innumerable thanks to his intercessor, the confessor Dominic, returned to his home happy and rejoicing.

The meaning of *uestiola* (i.e., *bestiola*) is the key to the understanding of the miracle’s symbolism. Whilst *bestiola* may signify an animal as large as a deer or a bird as small as a quail, it is generally equated with animals such as mice.⁸⁵ In Spain, the first vernacular use of the word is found in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (from the last quarter of the thirteenth century), where the ‘bestiola’ mentioned is a weasel.⁸⁶ That the ‘uestiola’ in the *Vita Dominici* is

‘candida’ would seem to indicate that it was an ermine. The description indicates the qualities of compassion that its diminutive size arouses, together with its tame, even childlike, behaviour in climbing upon Salvator’s lap, just as the doves perched on Iohannes’ lap and shoulder.

If the animal were a stoat, on the other hand, its symbolic charge would be one of ferocity. William of Malmesbury wrote, ‘Hec bestiola [i.e., mustela] plus cordis habens quam corporis’ (this little beast, having more heart [i.e., courage] than body [i.e., physical strength]).⁸⁷ It makes an appearance amongst the unclean animals in Leviticus 11, 29–30. After this bad start, the stoat’s reputation was more or less ruined, and it came to represent evil men. As Hrabanus Maurus commented in his *De universo*, ‘Mustela vero eos per figuram demonstrat, qui ingenium naturale sub dolo malitiae polluunt et totam vitam suam in insidiis et fraudibus ducunt’ (The stoat points figuratively to those who pollute their natural wit by the intent of working evil and lead all of their lives in cunning and fraud).⁸⁸ His other references to the stoat are no less damning.⁸⁹ The disfigurement of the ‘tortio oris’ was generally associated with divine punishment for wrongdoing in the *Vita Dominici*.⁹⁰ In both the miracle under consideration and III.37, where there is no obvious cause, the condition is described as being ‘diuino iudicio’ (III.37.2, p. 520, and III.40.2, p. 526; by the judgement of God). In the late thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa María*, it is meted out as a punishment for disbelief in a relic of the Virgin held at Soissons, and another miracle attributed to the shrine of Puerto de Santa María explains the disfigurement as punishment for sin:

*Como torç o dem' nenbros | do ome per seus pecados,
assi os correj' a Virgen | pois los á maenfestados.
E desto fez un miragre | a que é chamado orto
dos viços do parayso, | na sa ygreja do Porto,
en hũa moller coitada | que o rostro todo torto
muit' avia [...]
| E pois compriu sas noveas,
soltó-a a Virgen santa, | como soltan de cadeas
os reys aos seus presos | que non sejam justiçados.⁹¹*

As the devil twists the limbs of man for his sins so the Virgin corrects them after he has confessed them. And regarding this, she performed a miracle, she who is called the garden of the pleasures of paradise, in her church in Porto, for a troubled woman whose face was twisted very much [...] And after she completed her novena, the holy Virgin released her, just as kings release their prisoners from chains so that they may not be punished.

The final lines quoted indicate that a parallel was drawn between the *tortio oris* and damnation; the disfigurement was a foretaste of the reward of sin. It would seem to be a popular belief — and the miracles of Santa María del Puerto in the *Cantigas* are popular indeed —⁹² which also underlies Salvator’s

account. *Tortio oris* was seen as a punishment and therefore could be connected to the devil.

Although the weasel was a symbol of the devil and the wicked, those who were fitting targets for the twisting of the mouth, the whiteness of the 'uestiola' links it to those heavenly appearances of doves and the blessed that signify the power and presence of God. And the stoat had some redeeming qualities. Not only 'Serpentes etiam, ac mures persequitur' (it pursues mice and serpents),⁹³ but it could also kill the all-killing basilisc, 'Basiliscus autem [...] mortiferum quadrupes animal legitur [...]. Hic pestifer, cum omnia mortificet, a mustela superatus morte tabescet' (And the basilisc [...] is written of as a deadly four-footed animal [...]. This pestiferous beast, although it kills all things, when conquered by the stoat, suffers death).⁹⁴ The basilic, in its reptilian dissemination of death, could be equated with the devil. The little beast, then, white in its heavenly incarnation, could undo the damage done by the devil to Salvator.

The final miracle to be considered concerns Martinus, 'facultatibus huius caduce uite pauperrimus' (II.29.1–2, p. 394; most poor in the goods of this passing life), who suffered from gout. So severe was his affliction that it took him six weeks to walk roughly sixty kilometres from his home in Hormaza to Silos, a distance that a healthy man could walk in one day.⁹⁵ Martinus went very slowly indeed. Descriptions of the arduous length of journeys for those cripples without family groups or kindly pilgrims to assist them are found in French sources:

Les *Miracles* de saint Girard nous montrent ainsi un infirme rampant sur les mains et les genoux: il arrive à Angers après avoir fait en seize étapes un trajet qui en demandait ordinairement trois. Un autre mit sept jours pour aller de Beauvais à Pontoise, trajet que l'on accomplissait ordinairement en un jour.⁹⁶

The distance between Beauvais and Pontoise is roughly fifty kilometres. Martinus travelled at less than one and a half kilometres per day; the pilgrim from Beauvais at just over seven kilometres per day. When Martinus eventually reached Silos, and while lying before the saint's tomb,

obdormiuit atque in sompnis uidit quod nigerrimus canis mire magnitudinis contra eum impetum faciebat et extrema uestimentorum eius dentibus arripiebat et eum uiolenter de ecclesia extrahere laborabat. Apparuit autem illi quidam senex decorus, ueneranda facie, canicie atque caluicie, fulgens preclarissimo lumine, ferens manu baculum; quo baculo illum rabidum canem percussit et, fugientem insequens, ab omni ecclesia expulit. (II. 18–24, p. 394)

he fell asleep, and in dreams saw that a very black dog of marvellous size ran against him and seized the ends of his clothes with its teeth and strove violently to remove him from the church. A certain old man appeared to him, venerable through face, tonsure and white hairs, shining with a most brilliant light, carrying a staff in

his hand; with which staff he struck the mad dog and, following as it fled, ejected it from the church.

The man awoke, and told those around him that he had been cured, but not fully. He then undertook a journey to San Millán, so that he might receive a full cure there. His attempt failed, but on his way home, still limping,

opprimitur somno in ipso itinere, cogente merore et fatigatione uiditque eundem senem in eodem ipso habitu fulgentem quem uiderat in monasterio Exiliensi se a feroci cane eripientem et ipsum canem percussione baculi ab omni ecclesia expellentem et sibi hec pauca uerba dicentem, 'Illud non accepisti, etenim non meruisti'. (ll. 38–43, p. 396)

he was overcome, due to pain and exhaustion, by sleep on that same journey, and he saw the same old man in the very same brilliant clothes that he had seen in the monastery of Silos freeing him from the ferocious dog and completely expelling the same dog from the church with blows of his staff, and saying these few words to him, 'You did not receive it, for you did not deserve it.'

The man returned to Silos, and was wholly cured some time later. The hagiographer has an interpretation for all this toing and froing: Dominic had difficulty in curing him because of his lack of faith. This may be the gloss which is to be put upon the 'mad dog' that attempts to draw the poor man out of the church; it was his own lack of faith which drew him away from the curative power of the shrine, even as he had drawn near to it. Lack of faith is the cause for which some of those who come to the shrine are not healed, and faith is the prerequisite for any achievement in the spiritual life: 'Igitur qui in fide orat, ut fidelis orat et laudatur; qui uero cum dubitatione orat, ut infidelis uituperatur' (I.6.28–29, p. 230; therefore, those who pray in faith are praised as believers; those who pray with doubt are censured like infidels). On another level, the dog must be thought of as a representation of the devil, since that is one mode of the multiform manners in which demons may appear.⁹⁷ The second vision does not work a cure, but merely explains why Martinus was not cured, and precedes his eventual cure at Silos, where he presumably remained in the care of the monastic community. Salvator's and Martinus's visions are further discussed in relation to others in Chapter Six.

Lack of faith was what prevented Martinus from receiving a cure. The necessity of faith underlay the granting of miracles, is revealed in the patterns of the same that we have discerned and in the very longevity of the shrine. Faith underpinned everything in Dominic's cult. This was recognized by Grimaldus, and implicitly grasped by Martinus. And the analysis offered in this chapter has been necessarily naturalistic: 'by faith or suggestion we are invoking a natural function, rooted in our psychophysical organism, and not bringing into play miraculous or magical forces'.⁹⁸ Such an idea was not unknown to the Middle Ages:

mens humana rem aliquam, licet naturaliter non iuvantem, si prodesse certificat, ex sola mentis intentione corpus res illa iuvat. Verbi gratia: Si quis incantationem sibi prodesse confidat, qualiscunque sit, eum tamen adiuvat: Si enim, ut diximus, complexio corporis virtutem sequatur animae, necesse est taliter rem se habere.⁹⁹

if the human mind believes that a certain thing is beneficial to it although naturally it is not beneficial, from the pure intention of the mind that thing is beneficial to the body. Which is to say: if someone believes that a spell is beneficial to himself, of whatever type this may be, then it helps him for if as we said the make-up of the body is drawn behind the power of the soul then this thing must be necessarily so.

Faith is not a virtue which can exist abstractly; faith must be held in something. The length of time that the shrine was thaumaturgically active is evidence of the depth of belief which the populace of Castile had in Dominic's ability to heal and rescue them. His cult contrasts in numerous ways with those which developed at French shrines of the same period in several ways, but one of the most striking is the number of years that the Spanish saint's tomb coruscated with miracles. Some French shrines had a year or two of thaumaturgic life; few extended beyond a decade.¹⁰⁰ Two aspects of Dominic's *virtus* will presently concern us: his fame as an exorcist and as a liberator of captives. It was perhaps the latter which kept him in the minds of Castilians as a thaumaturge, and which encouraged the sick to travel to his tomb in search of healing.

NOTES

1. Paul Antony Hayward, 'Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom' in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 115–42, esp. pp. 135–37.
2. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 176–79.
3. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, p. lxxv, suggests that Dominic's translation occurred on 5 January 1076. Even if Rodrigo Díaz's donation had occurred just before the translation (which may have taken place in June–August), one would still expect a mention of the former abbot whose sanctity was visible, and for whose translation preparations must have been underway.
4. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 18, pp. 22–23, at p. 22.
5. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 29, pp. 24–25 (20–VIII), at p. 24.
6. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, 'La iglesia antigua de Silos: del prerrománico al románico pleno', in *El románico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988*, Studia Silensia, Series Maior, 1 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 317–376.
7. On French and Norman styles in church building, see John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300–c.1200*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); despite its title, the book does not concern itself with Spain, other than the obligatory mention of Santiago.
8. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 25, p. 30. The text, in Visigothic script, is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, N.a.l. 2169, fol. 37 bis v.
9. Archbishop Peter of Aix was, like the papal legate himself, formerly a monk of Saint-Victoire of Marseilles: Juan Javier Flores, OSB, 'La liturgia de la dedicación de iglesias según los manuscritos de Silos', in *El románico en Silos. IX centenario de la consagración*

de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988, Studia Silensia, Series Maior, 1 (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), pp. 69–77, at p. 72.

10. That is, Ramón Dalmacio, bishop of Roda de Isábena, from 1076/77 to 1094.
11. The monastery was founded by Fernán González under the rule of Benedict: 'Placenti abbati cum fratribus suis concedimus regere, tenere et monasticam vitam et secundum docet Sancti Benedicti regulam ibidem exercere', Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. no. 1, p. 4 (AD 954). See also above, Chapter Two, note 152, at p. 84.
12. Myra is now called Demre. On the fate of the relics and modern studies of them, see Enzo Varricchio, 'L'enigma dei due corpi de San Nicola', *Medioevo*, 9: 56 (September, 2001), pp. 62–66. I am not in a position to claim the Silos altar as the first dedication to the saint following his translation to Bari, but it is clearly one of the very earliest.
13. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 216.
14. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 212.
15. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 79, suggests that Nicholas was included in the altar dedications because of his patronage of pilgrims — but if Santiago-bound pilgrims really were the intended constituency motivating the co-dedication of an altar to him, then why did Fortunius not include Saint James himself? There was a wayside shrine dedicated to James on the outskirts of Silos, presumably containing relics of the saint, and it would seem, already in existence during Dominic's lifetime (cf. III.3.4–5, p. 470; Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 43). The Cathedral of Burgos had an altar dedicated to Nicholas, sharing a chapel with Saint James, by 1092: *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (804–1183)*, ed. by José Manuel Garrido Garrido, Fuentes Medievales Castellano-Leonesas, 13 (Burgos: Garrido Garrido, 1983), doc. no. 47, p. 102, and doc. no. 48, p. 103 (16–IX–1092).
16. Dominic gains only the briefest of mentions in Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien. Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Michael Lassleben Kallmünz, 1974); but Simeno, bishop of Burgos and friend of Dominic, patronised the Cluniacs with his gift of the monastery of San Juan de Hérmides de Cerrato, roughly sixty kilometres north-west of Valladolid (pp. 56–57) and witnessed the document that handed over San Zoilo of Carrión de los Condes to them (p. 130). Dominic clearly moved within reforming circles in Castile as well as having represented them at the monastery of San Millán. For evidence of the Gregorian reform in the Silos cartulary, see García González, 'El dominio', p. 38 n. 37.
17. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 218–19: the house of San Frutos (Sepúlveda) was given to Silos in 1076 by Alfonso VI; the church was consecrated by Bernard in 1100; permission was given by Alfonso VII to establish settlers there in 1126. Saint-Victor of Marseilles had been a key influence on monastic reform from the beginnings of the eleventh century: see Vauchez, *La Spiritualité du Moyen Age occidental*, p. 35.
18. Gregory VII referred to Peter's universal authority in letters to both Sancho Ramírez of Aragón (1063–94) and Alfonso VI of Castile-León in 1074 and 1079 respectively; see Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 469 n. 218.
19. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 79, comes to a similar conclusion on the basis of the manuscript evidence: 'So it seems that the cult of Santo Domingo grew only slowly'.
20. See *Los miraglos de Santiago (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS 10252)*, ed. by Jane E. Connolly, Textos Recuperados, 5 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), pp. 17–21; *Guida del pellegrino di Santiago: libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus, secolo XII*, trans. by Paolo Caucci von Saucken, Biblioteca di Cultura Medievale, 236 (Milan: Jaca Book, 1989), pp. 31–46; and the disparate articles on the *camino* written by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Santiago y los caminos de Santiago*, ed. by Manuela Domínguez García (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1997), pp. 225–60. On the importance of Rome versus Santiago, see Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 13 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1998), pp. 175–82.
21. David Morgan, *Visual Piety: a History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 182, 'The material culture of religion is widely understood to sacralize space, to delineate in spatial parameters the site or point

- at which the holy is manifested and made to communicate to believers the crucial signifiers of their identity as believers.'
22. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 278.
 23. Compare, for example, the *in vita* miracles at I.10.7-9, p. 258, 'et eum secum pedibus eius prostrauerunt et medicamentum diuinum ipsius cecitatis atque infirmitatis ab eodem beato uiro, humana sapientia uacui ac diuina fide pleni, impetrare ceperunt' (and they prostrated him before his feet and, empty of human wisdom yet full of divine faith, began to beg the same blessed man for the divine medicine for his blindness and illness); I.11.16-18, p. 262, 'continuo se inuicem cohortantur ut ipsam in lectulo ad eum referrent, pedibus eius exponerent et omnem illius sanitatis restitutione prouidentie et pietati eius committerent' (immediately they exhorted each other to carry her in a bed to him, place her at his feet, and commit her full restitution to health to his providence and mercy); and the *post mortem* miracle at II.3.8-10, p. 326, 'ad monasterium Exiliense eam deduxerunt et ad uenerabile sepulchrum eius non solum surdam ac mutam, sed etiam omni humano sensu carentem, proiecerunt' (they brought her to the monastery of Silos and laid her prostrate, not only deaf and dumb but lacking all of her human senses, before his venerable tomb). The lowering of the suppliant before the raised relics indicates not only a structural inversion of the usual relationship of the living to the dead (the latter are usually buried in the ground on which the living walk), but also the superiority of Dominic's *virtus* to those who were, in many cases, rendered as immobile as Dominic's own relics by their own illnesses: cf. II.7.7-8, p. 334; II.10.7-8, p. 336; II.11.10-12, p. 338; II.14.4-5, p. 342.
 24. II.2.14-17, p. 324; II.4.6-8, p. 328; II.5.7-8, p. 328; II.9.8-11, p. 336; II.14.5-9, p. 342; II.16.9-12, p. 246; II.17.18-22, p. 348; II.18.20-21, p. 350; II.19.16-19, p. 352.
 25. One night: II.7.8-12, p. 332; II.11.10-13, p. 338; one day: II.15.6-8, p. 344; three days: II.1.10-13, p. 322; II.4.7, p. 33; one week: II.3.13-18, p. 326; II.8.9-13, p. 334; II.12.7-10, p. 340; twelve days: II.13.5-8, p. 342. There is only one exception in the first twenty narrations: II.15.7-10, p. 336, in which, although the time is not recorded, it was certainly more than one day: 'Deductus itaque est ulnis sibi famulantium ad sanctissimi uiri uenerandum tumulum, ad quem insistsens peruigilibus orationibus et intimis cordis suspiriis atque singultibus, omni officio suorum pedum feliciter est redditus' (He was therefore carried in the arms of his servants to the tomb of the most holy man, at which he remained in vigils and prayer and with sighs and sobs deep from his heart, until he was happily given back the complete use of his feet).
 26. Immediate: forty-five percent; one night: ten percent; one day: five percent; three days: ten percent; a week: fifteen percent; twelve days: five percent.
 27. These figures are slightly lower than those provided by Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 69, for France: immediate cures represent forty percent of those that have an indication of the time that a devotee waited for a miracle, whilst cures the same day make up just below twenty percent. Correspondingly, therefore, cures that take longer loom much larger in the *Vita Dominici* than the average for French shrines of the period.
 28. For the earliest miracles, cures occur at mass at II.3.14-18, p. 326 (Sunday); II.8.9-13, p. 334 (possibly Sunday); cured on Sunday but not the mass: II.4.3-8, p. 328; morning: II.7.8, p. 332; II.11.12, p. 338. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 194-95, notes the importance of the Sunday vigil, the dawn mass and the night office. The latter is not mentioned as a thaumaturgic moment in the *Vita Dominici*.
 29. II.22.9-10, p. 362; II.23.12-14, p. 364; II.30.25-28, p. 398; II.31.20-25, p. 402; II.38.14-16, p. 418; II.40.27-43, p. 422-24; II.42.33-41, p. 428-30; II.50.9-13, p. 460; III.1.11-13, p. 466; III.15.5-9, p. 484; III.24.7-10, p. 496; III.29.3-7, p. 502; III.44.15-17, p. 536. Those that take place at Dominic's shrine are II.22, II.30-31, II.38, II.40, III.1, III.14. In II. 42 it is perhaps understood that it is Dominic's altar before which the mass is said by the abbot (cf. II. 30-34, p. 428-30). One miracle (III.14.3-5, p. 484) occurred just before the morning mass began.
 30. See also III.3.15-16 (p. 326) which likewise occurs at the reading of the Gospel. Cp. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 195, 'Plusieurs auteurs précisent même que la guérison a coïncidé avec l'une des parties de la messe, et surtout avec la lecture de l'Évangile'.

31. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 129, provides the following description of the noises to be heard at a shrine: 'à la psalmodie des prières, se mêlaient les invocations lacinantes des pèlerins, les chants profanes et, éventuellement, des compositions musicales jouées par des musiciens professionnels; le tout sur un fond de vociférations et de grincements de dents émanants des possédés et de gémissements poussés par d'autres malades.'
32. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 131.
33. Easter Sunday: II.40.26, p. 422; Easter Monday: II.36.5–6, p. 414; Pentecost: II.30.12–30, pp. 398–400; Christmas: II.27.26, p. 380; Ash Wednesday: II.33.14–16, p. 408; St. Stephen (26 Dec.): III.1.11, p. 466; St John Apostle and Evangelist (27 Dec.): III.13.6, p. 482; SS. Peter and Paul (29 June): III.20.16, p. 490. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 192–93, emphasises the importance of feast days in the occurrence of miracles.
34. There is some confusion in the text here, since the feast of SS. Peter and Paul is 29 June, whilst the feast of John the Baptist's birth is the 20 June (vigil) and 21 June (feast). Perhaps there was an early mistake in the resolution of 'IX.' into 'V.', since both manuscripts, *S* and *V*, read *quinque*.
35. II.24.21, p. 366; II.40.8, p. 460; III.15.4, p. 484; III.29.1–2, p. 502; III.45.4–5, p. 538.
36. For the resonance of Sunday within the Christian tradition, cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), art. 1166–67 at pp. 267–68. For the large number of vengeance miracles connected to transgressions of the liturgical calendar which were recorded at the shrine of Saint Martin at Tours, see Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 87–88.
37. *Vespers*: II.3.1–5, p. 326; II.22.1–5, p. 362; II.23.1–6, p. 364; II.31.1–7, p. 402; II.36.1–4, p. 414; II.42.14–21, p. 428; III.30.1–6, p. 504. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 279, observes, 'Le châtement de ceux qui travaillaient pendant un jour de fête — ou même la veille — est classique et les documents des XI^e et XII^e siècles nous en offrent une abondante moisson', although in contrast to the *Vita Dominici*, Sigal, p. 282, notes that for contemporary France few women were punished because of work on a feast-day.
38. Only two vengeance miracles are unconnected to holy days: II.34.16–20, p. 410, which describes the cure of a thief struck with blindness for lying under oath; and II.54.1–6, p. 450, which describes how a priest, sitting outside his church, 'oblitis religionis diuine, cepit inutilia, turpia, inania et ridiculosa uerba proferre et, impudice loquens, inconsideranter et inreligiose ridere, cunctos etiam presentes ad hanc insaniam prouocare. Sed repente diuina ultio os eius et oculos distorsit et turpissima deformitate damnauit' (forgetful of divine religion, began to speak useless, foul, vain and ridiculous words, and to talk lewdly, laughing thoughtlessly and irreligiously, and to encourage all those there to this madness. But suddenly the punishment of God twisted his mouth and eyes and cursed him with a most foul disfigurement).
39. Whilst abstinence from sex during Lent was strongly enjoined by the penitentials (up to the beginning of the eleventh century), by the time of Gratian (c. 1140) this strident insistence was notably toned down: see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 157, 243 and 285. Deformity in children was explained as being the result of intercourse taking place at a liturgically inappropriate time by Gregory of Tours: Gregorius Turonensis, *Libri de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi*, II.24, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, I (1885), pp. 584–661, at p. 603. Caesarius of Arles claimed that sexual intercourse on feast days produced children who were epileptic or leprous, especially amongst the peasantry: Caesarius Arletensis, *Sermones*, CXCXI.3, ed. G. Morin, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 103–04, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), II, 804. The awareness of the possibility of transgression amongst the laity goes against Sigal's contention that 'Ce sentiment de culpabilité devant la maladie paraît avoir été davantage suggéré par les hommes d'Église que ressenti spontanément par les fidèles' (*L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 132). Fear of transgression of ritual boundaries goes hand-in-hand with particular social structures: Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (3rd edn, London: Routledge, 1970), pp. 67–74.

40. For a discussion of the journeys of pilgrims and the length of time they spent at the shrine, see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: the Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 165–68.
41. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 184.
42. Ten devotees are the recipients of miracles after travelling less than twenty kilometres; fifteen less than sixty, but more than twenty; twenty-two more than sixty.
43. The otherwise resolutely local shrine of Saint Eutrope, because of its place on the Way of Saint James, recorded a fifth of all its cures in favour of pilgrims from beyond a hundred kilometres. The shrine of Saint Gilles on the Via Tolosana had a high proportion of Germans and one Pole amongst its cured: Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 198, 200, 207. The only possibly non-Iberian to be cured is Maria, a Basque woman (III.25, p. 498), who was instructed to visit Silos in a vision on her way back from Compostela.
44. These figures are roughly in line with those established by Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 196–207, for certain French shrines (*regional* in the context of France). Saint Vulfran (Rouen) and Saint Gibril (Rhêmes) attracted seventy percent of pilgrims from within sixty kilometres, as did Silos. Generally, however, French regional shrines attracted a higher number of locals: Saint Comeille witnessed ninety percent of pilgrims from within sixty kilometres, Saint Bernard le Pénitent eighty-two percent. (The shrine of Bernard the Penitent saw an increase, as at Silos, of pilgrims from far afield, but no decrease in local attendance. The French shrine in this case only saw miracles in one year, AD 1182.) Only international shrines such as Rocamadour could boast a higher number of pilgrims from beyond the locality. Rocamadour, which was thaumaturgically active over roughly twenty-four years (1148–1172), contains only slightly more miracle-accounts than Silos (126 against 108).
45. The list aims to be complete, although some of the following may also be dedicated (or have been dedicated) to Santo Domingo de Silos: Badajoz, 'Santo Domingo PP. Paules', c/. Gómez de Solís, 3, founded in 1556; Cádiz, 'Compás de Santo Domingo', in the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Merced; Campogrande de Aliste (fifty kilometres north-west of Zamora, *España & Portugal*, p. 16, G(4) 11(5)), which has a church dedicated to Santo Domingo (but it is by no means clear which), as does El Cubo de Tierra del Vino (twenty kilometres south of Zamora on the Camino de Santiago, at p. 17, I(9) 12(3)); the parish called 'Santo Domingo de Miranda' (Miranda, Avilés, at p. 4, B(2) 12(3)); the parish of San Domingos in Ferrol (p. 2, B(3) 5(5)); and that of Santo Domingo in Gaztelu (p. 6, C(9) 23(6)); the church of Santo Domingo in Pamplona (c/ Mercado, 3); the parish of Santo Domingo in Pío de Sajambre (see <http://www.montanario.com/f-pio.html>); the parish of San Domingo in San Domingo del Campo (Salamanca) and that in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (p. 53, V(9) 10(6)). There is an Ermita de Santo Domingo in Ourense and Cáceres, the latter dating from the fourteenth century (p. 29, N2) 10(2)), and a church dedicated to Sant Domingo in La Serra d'Alamos (p. 21, I(2) 32(7)), to Santo Domingo in Valencia (Pl. Tetuán, 21), in Vivinera (p. 16, G(0) 11(9) — near Campogrande de Aliste), and a church dedicated to Santo Dominguito de Val in Zaragoza (c/ Mariano Corderera, 1). It is, furthermore, not clear if the toponyms of Santo Domingo de Huebra (p. 23, K(3) 12(2)), Puerto de Santo Domingo (36 Q(6) 10(8) — ten kilometres south-west of Zafra, on the road to Jerez de los Caballeros), and Val de Santo Domingo (p. 31, L(0) 17(9) — on the Cañada de Segovia) have any connection to the saint. Some (particularly those in Ferrol, Gaztelu and Pamplona) may be connected to Saint Dominic of the Preachers; Santo Dominguito de Val may be another saint entirely.
46. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 223; Edmond-René Labande, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, X^e–XI^e siècles, 1 (1958), 159–69, 339–47.
47. The place-name 'Horcajo' is found at *España & Portugal*, p. 23 K(9) 10(8), 'Horcajo' in Las Hurdes, south-east of Ciudad Rodrigo; at p. 37, Q(6) 16(4), in the Sierra Morena on a tributary of the Río Guadalmeiz. Roughly seventy kilometres south of Salamanca there is a cluster of names: 'Horcajo de Montemayor', at p. 23, K(4) 12(7), fifteen kilometres

north-west of Béjar, 'Horcajo de la Ribera' at p. 24, K(9) 13(9) and 'Horcajo Medianero' at p. 24, K(8) 13(1), both east of Béjar (cf. La Horcajada, p. 24, K(6) 13(6)) — north of Béjar there is also Santo Domingo de Huebra (K(4) 12(2); 'Horcajo de las Torres', at p. 24, I(7) 14(8), twenty kilometres north-west of Peñaranda de Bracamonte, to the west of Salamanca; 'Horcajo de la Sierra', at p. 25, I(3) 19(7) and 'Horcajuelo de la Sierra' at p. 25, I(4) 19(7); 'Horcajo de los Montes' (de Toledo), at p. 31, O(0) 16(0); 'Horcajo de Santiago', at p. 32, M(0) 21(5), in an area with numerous churches dedicated to Saint Dominic. One village called 'El Horcajo' no longer exists (p. 51, T(5) 16(8)), but another, on the Río Horcajo — which becomes the Río Guadalmena — is at p. 38, P(6) 22(8). Another Río Horcajo is found at p. 50, V15; its headwaters are in the Sierra de las Nieves, and it is a tributary of the Río Grande, in turn a tributary of the Río Guadalhorce. Finally, there is an Arroyo del Valle del Horcajo, which feeds into the Guadiana, at p. 37, O15.

48. I have combined Férotin's list (*Histoire*, pp. 321–26) with my own researches that have enabled me to add to the number and remove some that were in fact dedicated to Santo Domingo 'de Guzmán'. The French Benedictine, of course, did not have the advantage of the internet. An alphabetic list of the place-names is as follows: Alcalá la Real: *Jj*; Alcázar del Rey: *n*; Almonacid de Zorita: *i*; Arévalo: *P*; Ávila: *Z*; Burgos: *D*; Cañas: *E*; Caraceniella: *m*; Carboneras de Guadazaón: *w*; Celadas: *c*; Córdoba: *Ee*; Corpa: *d*; Cuenca: *o*; Cueva de Roa, La: *i*; Daroca: *N*; El Acebrón: *t*; Ermita de Santo Domingo (Córdoba): *Ff*; Ermita de Santo Domingo, in the Sierra de Santo Domingo: *Cc*; Ermita de Santo Domingo: *T*; Falces: *B*; Fuente el Fresno, the chapel of Santo Domingo de Jarama: *Dd*; Fuentesauco de Fuentidueña: *M*; La Iruela: *Gg*; Laguna de Cameros: *F*; Lechago: *W*; Matasejún: *H*; Mazuecos: *l*; Millana: *b*; Montalbo: *z*; Olías del Rey: *s*; Pajares: *j*; Palomares del Campo: *u*; Pardos: *X*; Pedraza: *O*; Pinto: *k*; Pozuelo del Rey: *h*; Prádena del Rincón: *Q*; Rillo: *f*; Salamanca: *S*; Sangüesa: *A*; Santo Domingo de las Posadas: *V*; Santo Domingo de Pirón: *R*; Sto Domingo de Río Pudio: *Ii*; Santo Domingo de Silos: *G*; Segovia: *U*; Seville: *Hh*; Teruel: *g*; Toledo: *y*; Tordesillas: *K*; Toro: *L*; Torralba: *J*; Torremontalbo: *C*; Tresjuncos: *Bb*; Tribaldos: *q*; Val de Santo Domingo–Caudilla: *p*; Valdeconejos: *Y*; Valdeganga de Cuenca: *v*; Villaminaya: *Aa*; Villanueva de Horcajo: *x*; Villanueva de Jarama: *a*; Villar del Águila: *r*; Zaorejas: *e*.
49. *Iuuenes* (indicated by miracle-number in italics) and men from within twenty kilometres: Book II, 10 (II.2, 4, 9–10, 36, 40, 42, 49, 54); Book III, 4 (III.2, 21, 26, 37). Women: Book II, 9 (II.5–6, 12, 14, 19–20, 24, 47, 52); Book III, 2 (III.17, 24). ¶ *Iuuenes* (italics) and men originating beyond twenty but within sixty kilometres: Book II, 9 (II.8, 13, 17, 29–30, 35, 43, 45, 58); Book III, 4 (III.19, 27, 35, 40). Young (italics) and older women: Book II, 6 (II.7, 15, 27, 55, 59–60), Book III, 4 (13–14, 45–46). ¶ *Iuuenes* (italics) and adults from beyond sixty kilometres: Book II, 5 (II.33–34, 41, 48, 57); Book III, 6 (III.16, 20, 22, 30, 41–42). Younger (italics) and older women: Book II, 2/4 (II.46, 50; III.32–33 should also be included here — see above, pp. 18–22); Book III, 6 (III.3, 15, 18, 23, 25, 29).
50. Boys within twenty kilometres: Book II, 2 (II.1, 37); Book III, 2 (III.4, 28). Girls: Book II, 3 (II.32, 38, 56); Book III, 1 (III.6). ¶ Boys within sixty kilometres: Book II, 1 (II.31); Book III, 4 (III.8, 34, 39, 47); Girls: Book II, 0; Book III, 3 (III.43–44, 48). ¶ Boys beyond sixty kilometres: Book II, 0; Book III, 2 (III.7, 38). Girls: Book II, 1 (II.39); Book III, 1 (III.5). The proportions for attendance at the shrine by children as regards geographic extent are much the same as for adults.
51. Cures that occurred in less than twenty-four hours for those from the locality of Silos were: II.2, 4, 5, 9, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44; III.24, 37 (italics indicate females). Similar cures for those from within sixty kilometres of Silos were: II.7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 30, 59, 60; III.14, 44–46. For those from beyond sixty kilometres: II.3, 11, 48; III.15, 16, 25, 29.
52. Nine days: II.32, a cure from demonic possession, which may explain why, although the girl was a local, she was kept for that length of time at the monastery; three days: II.1, 6; one week: II.12; a few days: II.10, 47, 49; III.6, 12, 26. Italics again indicate that the recipient of the miracle was female.

53. Devotees within sixty kilometres of Silos were cured within one week at II.8, III.19 and 25; twelve days: II.13 and III.43; a few days: III.13, 27, 39, 40, 47; two weeks: II.45. Devotees that were cured after this time are represented at II.27, II.29, II.31, III.34, III.48. Pilgrims from beyond sixty kilometres were cured after three days at III.33 and 38; after a few days at II.34, II.47, III.5, III.18, III.41–42; two weeks at II.50. Those cured after that time are represented by II.33, II.39, II.41, II.46, III.1, III.7.
54. The rich are featured in miracles II.11, II.25, II.32, II.35, II.40, II.42, II.50, II.54, III.13, III.21–22, III.27, III.30–31, III.36–37, III.42, III.45–46, III.48. The poor in II.8, II.15, II.29, II.59, III.15, III.38. Ralph Glaber noted (IV.6) that the very poor were to last to pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as reported by Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 205.
55. See above, p. 12.
56. The place referred to is probably Santibáñez del Val, the first village on the road from Silos to Lerma, through which the Río Mataviejas flows. The road later crosses the river before coming to Quintanilla del Coco.
57. A similar combination of geographic *limen* and a prompting conversation is found in the following cure from the *Vita Odonis Urgellensis*, where a man born without a tongue was physically cured at the shrine, although he could still not speak; as he was returning to the shrine a second time to pray for a cure for his dumbness, he received a vision of the saint: ‘dum juxta stagnum Aquile transiret, aspexit B. Odonem mediante die sibi obviantem. [...] Qui statim a S. Odone pie salutatus animum assumpsit, et mutum Sancto Patri innuendo assignavit. Cum autem Beatissimus Odo eum tertio salutasset, eum loqui precepit qui mox a B. Odone salutatus illum resalutavit, et hoc sue vocis primordium fuit: quo facto B. Odo ex oculis eius evanuit’ (Jaime Villanueva, *Viage a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols (Madrid, 1803–1852), XI, 192–96, at p. 195; when he had crossed next to the pond of Aquila, he saw, in broad daylight, the blessed Odo on his path. [...] The man, when he received the greeting of Saint Odo, was encouraged and signed to the holy father that he was dumb. But when the most blessed Odo had greeted him for a third time, he began to speak and returned the blessed Odo’s greeting, and this was the first time that he had spoken; after which the blessed Odo disappeared from his sight).
58. Cf. the late twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Rudesindi* (written in Galicia), §7, ‘quidam puer, qui circa hoc monasterium (erat enim famulus) morabatur, cum pecora custodiret, fuste proiecto ut fit post pecudes cecidit inter uepres. Qui dum incaute nil suspicans ut stipitem acciperet se inclinasset, forte serpens non magnus per os eius saliens in uentrem descendit. Eius utique parentes hoc postquam uiderunt, ante tumban [sic] sancti Rudesindi eum presentauerunt et ut proprium famulum liberaret cum conuentu monachorum eum rogauerunt. Expulso itaque et per os iecto colubro, puer sanus redditur parentibus’ (ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilarinho Pintos, p. 168; a certain boy, who dwelt near to this monastery – he was a servant here –, whilst watching sheep, threw his crook, as is usual, after the flock and it fell into some brambles. As he carelessly, suspecting nothing, bent down to seize the stick, a small snake, jumping into his mouth, went down to his stomach. When his parents saw this, they presented him before the tomb of Saint Rudesindus and asked him accompanied by all the monks that he might, since he was his own servant, free him. And so, the serpent being expelled from his mouth, the healthy boy was returned to his parents). A less dramatic version is found in the *Miracula Zoyli*, §4, when a serpent enters a woman ‘incaute dormiens’ (*España Sagrada*, ed. H. Flórez and M. Risco, 52 vols (Madrid, 1754–1918), X, 496–507, at p. 498; carelessly sleeping).
59. Sigal, *L’Homme et le miracle*, p. 61, describes a series of points radiating from the relics at the centre of the shrine which formed zones of sacrality, at which the miraculous could occur; these are the territory of the saint (represented here by the ‘terminos Sancti Dominici’), the place where the sanctuary could first be seen (unrepresented in the *Vita Dominici*), the foot of the hill on which the sanctuary was built (unapplicable to Silos, but represented by the chapel of Saint James at the entrance to the town of Silos and the crossing of the stream before reaching the town), the church’s cemetery (unapplicable), the threshold of the church (the cure of Iohannes), the area of the church itself and the environs of the tomb or altar, at which most cures were performed. He further notes (at p.

- 122) that 'La dernière colline avant l'arrivée était l'objet d'une halte pour beaucoup de pèlerins; elle constituait, visuellement, l'une des limites de l'espace sacré', which explains Gotina's request to her companions to halt.
60. Although, according to Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 170–71, the eleventh and early twelfth centuries were the periods of the greatest popularity of the pilgrimage *ad limina Apostolorum* during the high middle ages.
 61. *Offa* is defined by William Smith and John Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary* (1st edn (as *Smaller Latin-English Dictionary*), 1933; 2nd edn, Edinburgh-London: Chambers-Murray, 1976), p. 488B, as 'a little ball or pellet made of flour' (i.e., a dumpling) and *offella*, 'a bit, morsel'; by Luigi Castiglioni and Scevola Mariotti, *Vocabolario della lingua latina* (Turin: Loescher, 1966), p. 993B, as 'boccone, focaccia, polpetta'; they further note its use by Cicero, '*offa pultis*' ('boccone di polenta') and the proverb, '*inter os et offam multa interveniunt*'; Valcárcel, p. 495, translates '*sopas*' (soups).
 62. The places captives were freed from were Medinaceli (II.21); a Moorish castle in Murcia (II.25); what was perhaps Hita (II.26); Atienza, in the province of Guadalajara (III.9); Zaragoza (III.10); Santiuste, part. jud. Molina, prov. Guadalajara (III.20); 'Alkaten', presumably close to Guadalajara (III.36).
 63. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 25, gives a figure of twenty percent of all cures being at a distance, '*hors de la présence de toute relique réelle ou représentative et en des lieux où les reliques n'étaient jamais passées*'. This percentage is far in excess of that which could be mustered for the *Vita Dominici*. Even taking into account escape-miracles, the Spanish life hardly passes ten percent.
 64. He did have an opportunity: II.44, p. 432, details how Semeno rode to the monastery, left his horse outside and went in to pray; whilst all were listening in silence to the Gospel, Stephanus, a local good-for-nothing youth from Peñacova (three kilometres from Silos), leapt on his horse and rode off. Those who were hanging around at the church door went to tell Semeno, who complained loudly to Dominic. His companions ran after the thief. But no vengeance miracle occurred; Stephanus was not struck down with a horrible skin disease, blindness, sudden madness or even just a nasty fall. The horse inexplicably stopped, refused to budge no matter the kicks and blows with sticks and stones it received from Stephanus, and thwarted thief slipped from the saddle and into the bush. Semeno came upon the horse, gave thanks to Dominic, mounted and rode home.
 65. This is a happier explanation than one which simply bases itself upon a shift in the attitude of devotees in preferring to offer only a thanksgiving pilgrimage after a cure had been received. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 65, fixes the change to the middle of the thirteenth century: '*L'attitude qui consistait à faire un vœu et à attendre sur place le résultat au lieu de se rendre au sanctuaire du saint invoqué était [...] peu fréquente aux XI^e et XII^e siècles.*' The few who did adopt that attitude were mainly from the aristocracy and the clergy: Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 65.
 66. For the equation of fevers with malaria, see Joan M. Petersen, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background*, Studies and Texts, 69 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), p. 126.
 67. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 228, records that the proportion of male to female in posthumous miracles at French shrines as roughly 7:6 for blindness but as 3:2 for paralysis and similar complaints. Women, therefore, are more represented at Dominic's shrine than the mean for France. Both Sigal's figures and those for Silos contrast with Finucane's for English shrines, in which women predominate over men in the categories of both blindness and paralysis. In England the ratio of blind or paralysed men to women was 3:4.
 68. See Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 271, for the protection of animals.
 69. Women, 24 hours: Book II, 16 (II.3, 5, 7, 14–16, 18–20, 22–24, 52, 59–60); Book III, 6 (III.14–15, 24–25, 29, 45); upto two weeks: Book II, 4 (II.6, 12, 46–47); Book III, 1 (III.12). ¶ Young women, 24 hours: III.46; upto two weeks: Book II, 1 (II.50); Book III, 3 (III.13, 18, 32); longer than two weeks: II.27. ¶ Girls, 24 hours: Book II, 2 (II.32, 38), Book III, 1 (III.44); upto two weeks: Book III, 4 (III.5–6, 43, 48). ¶¶ Men, 24 hours: Book II, 10 (II.2, 4, 9, 11, 17, 30, 36, 42, 48, 54); Book III, 4 (III.21–22, 30, 37); two weeks:

- Book II, 8 (II.8, 10, 13, 29, 33–34, 41, 49); Book III, 8 (III.1, 19, 26–27, 35, 40–42). ¶ Young men, 24 hours: Book II, 1 (II.40); Book III, 2 (III.16, 31); longer than two weeks: II.45. ¶ Boys, 24 hours: II.37; two weeks: Book II, 1 (II.1); Book III, 6 (III.7, 28, 34, 38–39, 47); longer: Book II, 2 (II.28, 31); Book III, 0.
70. Paralysis: ten (II.7, 15, 22–23, 38; III.15, 29, 44–46); exorcisms: six (II.14, 18–20, 24, 59); blindness: four (II.5, 16; III.14, 24); deaf- and dumb-ness: two (II.3, 60); fever and deformity, both one (III.24 and II.52, respectively).
71. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 166, citing *Miracula Sancti Angilberti*, I.1, ed. J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* (Paris: 1668–1701), IV: 1, pp. 130–45, at p. 131.
72. Within twelve hours: II.5, 9, 11, 18–20, 23, 37; III.22, 29, 45–46. Within twelve days: II.8, 10, 12, 42, 29; III.6, 43; those that required a longer period to be cured: II.29; III.48. Two similar miracles do not reveal how long they required to be effected: III.2, 8.
73. II.7–8, II.10–12, followed by II.15; II.22–23; II.28–29, followed by II.31; II.48–49; III.7–8; III.12, 15, 17; III.28–29; III.44–46.
74. II.4–6, II.13 followed by II.16; II.33–35; III.1–2; III.23–24.
75. Deaf- and dumb-ness generate only forty-three percent within a string (three out of seven: II.40, 42, 45) whilst exorcisms, more numerous, have a similar percentage, forty-two percent: II.14, 17–20; 46–47; 50, 53, 56, 59.
76. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 185
77. Female preceeding male: II.7–8. Male–male: II.9–11 (adult–adult), 25–26 (child–adult), II.34–35 (adult–adult), II.36–37 (adult–child), II.48–49 (adult–adult); III.1–2, III.7–8, III.20–21 (all three adult–adult). ¶ Female–female: II.5–6, 18–20, 21–22, 23–24, 46–47 (all adult–adult); III.5–6 (child–child), 44–46 (child–adult–youth). ¶ Male–female: II.4–5, 11–12 17–18 (all adult–adult); III.28–29 (child–adult), III.42–43 (adult–child), III.47–48 (child–child). ¶ The pattern is not reproduced in similar miracles separated by one or two different ones; for these, male/male (6): II.1/4 (child–adult), 29/31/33 (adult–child–adult), 40/42 (youth–adult), 54/57 (adult–adult), 38/41 (child–adult); III.31/34 (youth–child), 37/40 (adult–adult). Male–female (2): II.13/16 (adult–adult); III.11/13 (adult–youth). Female/ male (3): II.14/17 (adult–adult), 50/53 (youth–adult), 52/54 (adult–adult). Female/female (2): II.24/27 (adult–youth), 56/59 (child–adult). The process of identification and reinforcement based on gender and age is much weaker in the case of these non-contiguous miracles compared to contiguous, a feature which serves to underline the importance of these factors in the latter case.
78. Cured immediately: II.3, II.36, III.30. After a night's vigil: II.22–23, 37–38, 42, 54. After three days: III.33. Longer than this period: II.31, 33–34. Distance: within twenty kilometres of the shrine: II.23, 36–38, 42, 44. Within sixty kilometres: II.31. Beyond sixty kilometres: II.3, II.33–34, III.31, III.33. Italics indicate that the cured pilgrim was female.
79. As noted above (at p. 8), II.21 occurred in 1088 and II.42 occurred in 1091. These two events neatly define the period during which such cures were prevalent. For vengeance miracles, see Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 276–82, where he defines two basic types: punishment meted out for aggression against things or people under the saint's protection; and sacrilege, invasion of sacred space, transgression of religious norms.
80. Compare the punishment implied in the possession of Momalega after she attempted to tear her cheeks and hair in mourning (II.27.5–20, p. 380; see below, p. 134); on possession in the form of epilepsy as punishment for immorality, see above, p. 65.
81. *Indiculus fundationis monasterii Sancti Vincentii*, §8, ed. A. Herculano, *Portugalia Monumenta Historica, Scriptores*, I, (Lisbon, 1856), pp. 91–93, at p. 92A; *Historia Translationis Isidori*, §3–4, in *España Sagrada*, ed. H. Flórez and M. Risco, 52 vols (Madrid, 1754–1918), XIV, 406–12, at pp. 408–409; *Vita Frontoni*, §5, ed. Ramón Fernández Pousa, in his edition, *San Valerio: Obras* (Madrid: CSIC, 1942), pp. 56–64, at pp. 59–61.
82. Gregorius Turonensis, *De miraculis Sancti Martini*, III.45, PL 71, 913–1010, at col. 984A.
83. John 9, 1–7, esp. 6–7, 'expuit in terram, et fecit lutum ex sputo, et linivit lutum super oculos eius, et dixit ei: Vade, lava in natatoria Siloe (quod interpretatur Missus).'
84. Sigal *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 143 and 314.

85. Deer: Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi*, PL 20, 183–222, at col. 208A; quail: Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, PL 158, 49–118, at col. 113A; rodent: Hugo a Sancto Victore, *Questiones et decisiones in Epistolas Pauli*, II.103, PL 175, 431–634, at col. 532C.
86. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 354, l. 1, ed. Walter Mettmann, Clásicos Castalia, 134, 172 and 178, 3 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1986–89), III, 218.
87. Cited by R. E. Latham, *A Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: The British Academy, 1975—), fasc. I, 195C.
88. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, VII.2, PL 111, 9–614, at 226D.
89. Hrabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*, PL 112, 849–1088, at 1004A.
90. II.36.1–4, p. 414: working on a Sunday; II.54.1–6, p. 450: a priest who spoke foolishly in front of his own church; III.30.3–6, p. 504: cutting wood on a Sunday.
91. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 357, ll. 1–24, ed. Mettmann, III, 226–27. Soissons: *Cantigas*, 61, ll. 15–23, ed. Mettmann, I, 206.
92. Cf. Joseph T. Snow, 'A Chapter in Alfonso X's Personal Narrative: the Puerto de Santa María Poems in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', *La Corónica*, 8 (1979–80), 10–21; Jesús Montoya Martínez, 'La "carta fundacional" del Puerto de Santa María y las *Cantigas de Santa María*', *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 6 (1994), 99–115.
93. Hugo de Folieto, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, II.18, PL 177, 13–164, at 66B.
94. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL 172, 915AB.
95. II.29.12, p. 394, 'uiam unius diei per sex ebdomadas uix potuit complere.' Valcárcel, p. 395 n. 1.
96. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 121–22.
97. See Beryl Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces: a Guide to Animal Symbolism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), 58–66.
98. A. Graham Ikin, *The Background of Spiritual Healing, Psychological and Religious* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1937), p. 154.
99. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, 109 n. 129, citing Pseudo-Constantinus Africanus, *Letter to his Son on Incantations and Invocations*, in *Opera Constantini Africani*, 2 vols (Basel, 1536–39), I, 317.
100. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 196–207.

CHAPTER 4

QUARE ME DE PROPRIA DOMO EICIS? EXORCISMS

Whilst Grimaldus was struggling with his syntax and his brethren's barrage of criticism, his servant Galindus had a series of visions, the eventual purpose of which was to encourage the failing author in his task. It is only through this story that we can attribute authorship of Book I of the *Vita Dominici* to Grimaldus. He did not retell the tale, since it directly concerned him. Monastic decorum would have demanded that the vision was recounted only when Grimaldus had safely reached his heavenly reward, not before. And so it was included in the *Vita Dominici* long after he had abandoned his quill and had given over the task of recounting the saint's posthumous miracles to other hands: III.11, p. 480. The delay may also have been caused by some ambivalence to his role as promoter of Dominic's cult, perhaps even to his role in Dominic's reform. Galindus's visions show the saint in dynamic action, physically exorcising a demon with blows. Here we may grasp the imaginative appreciation of the saint's role in a key area of his cult.

Galindus had been attacked for two nights by a 'night demon'; on the third night, he prayed to Saint Dominic. When the demon revealed itself,

affuit autem et uir dei, Dominicus, cuius auxilium inuocauerat; et malignum spiritum, diuina uirtute roboratus, multum prius cum eo conluctans multisque uerberibus eum afficiens, a domo predicti hominis expulit atque ne eum ulterius attingere interdixit. Qui nimio dolore correptus eum huiusmodi alloquebatur sermonibus, 'Famule dei, Dominice, quare me de propria domo eicis et hominem mei iuris michi eripis?' Quibus dictis, discessit. (III.11.9–15, p. 480)

the man of God, Dominic, whose help he had invoked, also came; and, armed with the power of God, after struggling long with it and giving it many blows, he expelled the malign spirit from the house of the aforesaid man and forbade him ever to touch him again. Overcome with great grief, it spoke to him with the following words, 'Servant of God, Dominic, why do you throw me from my own home and rob me of the man who is rightfully mine?' With these words, it vanished.

Tales of the muscular combat of the saint with demons whose power was overcome by heavenly virtue had clearly left their mark on the laity, perhaps

encouraged by their increased exposure to the Hispanic liturgy after the Council of Coyanza's insistence upon regular church attendance.¹ In this liturgy an important place was given to the reading of the Acts of the Martyrs, those archetypal wrestlers with the devil.²

Galindus's supernatural experiences did not cease, however, since early the following morning he went to a church dedicated to Saint Stephen, the first martyr, and spent the day in offering a candle — presumably praying until the candle had burnt itself out. Unsurprisingly, since his three previous nights' sleep had been broken, he nodded off and dreamt he saw

duos uiros in ecclesia ingredientes, statura dissimiles, sese inuicem alloquentes, quorum quidam erat longissimus iuuenis pulcherrimus; alter uero statura pusillus, ueneranda canicie et calbus, baculum ferens in manibus. Cumque ad altare peruenissent, a seniore cepit iunior querere quisnam esset ille quem prospiciebat eminus iacere. Cui respondit senior ille: 'Permite eum paululum quiescere, nam a diabolo fuit grauissime fatigatus in preterita nocte et dei adiutorio modo est liberatus et nostra ope; est autem famulus domni Grimaldi, librum mee conuersationis facientis.' Quibus dictis, perrexit ad eum et suscitans eum dixit ei: 'Vade', inquit, 'et dic domino tuo quod opus quod incepit, perficiat; ego enim, Dominicus, ei restitutam mercedem promeritam.' Et hoc dicto, ab oculis eius euanuit. Ille uero domino suo quecumque uiderat, inde recedens, retulit et gaudens ad domum suam rediit. (III.11.21–31, p. 480)

two men entering the church, of differing stature, talking between themselves. One was a very tall, very handsome young man; the other was of small stature, with venerable white hair and tonsured, carrying a staff in his hand. As they came to the altar, the younger asked the elder who the man was whom he could see lying a way off. At which, the elder replied to him, 'Let him rest a little while, for last night he was most seriously troubled by the devil, and with the help of God and our involvement, he was delivered. He is the servant of Grimaldus, who is making the book of my life.' Having said these things, he went up to him and, waking him, said: 'Go and tell your lord that he should finish the work already begun; then I will pay him the reward I promised.' Having said this, he disappeared from before his eyes. Leaving the church, he went to tell his lord what he had seen, and made his way home rejoicing.

The account is just the splendid web of contradictions that one would expect from a dream. Dominic asks the younger man not to disturb Galindus, but subsequently disturbs him with his request to tell his lord to finish the book of the saint's own life. The *Vita*, just like Dominic's life, was characterized by the oniric: Dominic's promise to Galindus must have been made through a dream or a vision, and the encouragement given is again through the medium of a dream, just as Dominic's thaumaturgic sanctity was begun by a dream and his life ended with the *visio puerorum*. The promise cannot have been other than the author's salvation, which goes some way to explain Grim-

aldus's bubbling optimism about the power of Dominic's intercession and the delay in recording the tale.

Galindus' dream in the church is essentially a reply to the demon's unanswered question, 'Quare me de propria domo eicis et hominem mei iuris michi eripis?' (ll. 14–15, p. 480; Why do you throw me from my own home and rob me of the man who is rightfully mine?). Galindus, because of his sins, was the devil's property. As such he was the same as all humanity, who belonged to the devil because of the Fall.³ In this sense, demonic possession or demonic attacks were the consequence of sin. Galindus was released, as all human beings are, by the help of God and the intercession (and at times intervention) of the saints: 'dei adiutorio modo est liberatus et nostra ope', (l.25, p. 480). Dominic's involvement was due to Galindus's calling upon him and to Galindus's connexion to Grimaldus. This explanation is not spoken directly to the visionary, but to the 'longissimus iuuenis pulcherrimus' at Dominic's side and constitutes the reasons for which the demon had asked when Dominic expelled him from Galindus's room. Yet the words were not communicated to the demon, since the demon's understanding was unimportant, but to a heavenly companion, who contrasts with Dominic in his youth, beauty and height; Dominic is old, short and uses a stick to walk.

The young man asks who the sleeping figure is; Dominic takes care of Galindus ('permite eum paululum quiescere', III.13.24, p. 480), as he had done on the previous night. He tells the man's story — essentially how Dominic had put the demon to flight and therefore allowed Galindus to sleep —, before now waking him with a message. The tall figure might be equated with an angel, particularly since he is depicted as being both beautiful and of great height; in both of these attributes, he contrasts with the demon. The first vision finds its reflexion in the second. In the first, Dominic fights with a demon; in the second, Dominic talks to an angel. In both visions, the concern is with Galindus. But, since the beginning of the first vision was Galindus' invocation of Dominic, so the resolution of the second is Dominic's instruction to Galindus to do something for him, to do something which concerns Dominic. The composition of the book of the saint's life is of special interest to the saint himself, and was in some way a miraculous event.

EXORCISMS AT THE SHRINE

Since the vision's message encouraged Grimaldus to finish his account of the saint's life (Book I of the *Vita*), then the date the vision took place was after the death of the saint and shortly before his translation. In order to grant enough time for the diocesan investigation to have been established but for the *Vita* still to be incomplete, we might estimate that Galindus's liberation took place in 1075. Yet, even though his visions occurred close to the translation, Dominic's posthumous miracles did not immediately begin to feature exorcisms and the shrine had to wait until the arrival of Ofresa and her family

at II.14, which was the first in a series of exorcisms at Silos. There followed a large number of exorcisms performed at the shrine, some of whose accounts are admirably detailed, others much less so. Yet they all allow an analysis of the manner in which the sufferers became possessed; the types of possession witnessed at the shrine; the manner in which they were brought to Silos; and finally what curative techniques were used at the shrine.

The Circumstances in which Energumens become Possessed

Only three accounts give any sense of how *demoniacae* became possessed. Many accounts note that the possessed had been so for a long time (e.g., II.14.2, p. 342), but an explanation of the circumstances is relatively rare. In other cases, the monks may simply not have been informed, or the sufferers may have been unable to indicate any significant circumstances in which the demons took hold.

Momalega was possessed twice, the second time worse than the first. Her first possession began after the death of her mother when she attempted to tear her cheeks and hair in mourning 'ut exigit praua et turpissima consuetudo patrie, cogente nimio dolore' (II. 5–6, p. 380; as the depraved and most foul custom of her country demanded and because of the intensity of her grief), an action prevented by those attending the funeral rites (II.27.5–12, 17–21, p. 380).⁴ The possession was seen as a punishment for unsuitable behaviour. Momalega returned home after being cured at Dominic's tomb. Some time later, her second bout of possession began. She was scared out of her wits by being struck on the head by a local psychopath (II.27.33–48, p. 382) when she was standing at the edge of a precipice, famed in the locality for being the haunt of demons, a superstition to which the narrator refuses to give full credence. She succumbed to demonic influence again because of her female *fragilitas* (I. 36). Since the second possession was worse than the first, the model which the narrator could use to interpret it is from the Gospel: Jesus' description of the demon who returns to one it had previously possessed with seven more demons worse than itself (Matthew 12, 43–45; Luke 11, 24–25). The failure of the previous exorcism to keep the girl in health is glossed as being the opportunity to show that Dominic was both like Christ and dwelt in Christ because he imitated the deeds of the one who cast out seven devils from Mary Magdalen (II.27.52–62, p. 382–84; cf. Mark 16, 9, and Luke 8, 2).

With the subsequent exorcism to be narrated in Book II, that of Monnina, we would seem to enter fully into the world of folk-belief regarding demon possession.

Quadam die cum uno solo comite ad molendinum perrexit, sed redeunte ad domum comite, in molendino sola remansit. Statimque diabolus, specie lupi assumpta, ante fores molendini stans apparuit; at illa, eo uiso, intremuit, lignum arripuit et, oblita se munire signo Sancte Crucis, de molendino exiuit. Rursus mille formis antiquus

hostis, duobus aliis spiritibus malignis in specie ratarum sibi adiunctis, super molam molendini discurrere corripuit. Sed illa, ignorans astutias inimici, palam farine ut eas exterreret corripuit. Sed illi immundi spiritus statim morsibus eius brachium apprehenderunt et sic eam inuaserunt. Sero itaque facto, eam patruus suus requisivit, plorantem inuenit et sollicite cur fleret inquisiuit, sed nullum responsum ab ea recipere potuit. Sic tamen merentem ad domum reduxit. Alia uero die, ea in domo sedente, demones qui eam inuaserant ceperunt illam crudeliter uexare et singuli sua turpia nomina prodere. (II.32.4–17, p. 404)

One day with just one companion she went to the mill, but, when the companion went home, she remained alone in the mill. And immediately the devil, having taken on the shape of a wolf, appeared standing before the door of the mill. When she saw him, she was afraid, took a piece of wood, and, forgetting to protect herself with the sign of the Holy Cross, went out of the mill. Again, the ancient enemy of many forms, having been joined by two other malign spirits in the form of rats, began to run about on the mill wheel. But she, not knowing the craftiness of the enemy, took hold of the shovel for the flour to scare them. But those unclean spirits immediately bit her arm and thus invaded her. And so, when the evening had come, her uncle came looking for her, found her in tears and, worried, asked her why she was crying, but could get no answer from her. Thus, weeping, he brought her home. On the next day, whilst she was sitting at home, the demons that had invaded her began to cruelly torture her and each to pronounce its own foul name.

Both wolf and rats are wild animals, undomesticated and untamable, eminently suitable to be cast as the forms in which devils might appear. The account of how she became possessed must have come from the mouth of the *demoniaca* herself, since she was alone in the mill when the incident occurred, and she did not speak to anyone that evening and was possessed the next day.

A later account (II.50) merely gives a time at which her possession occurred, all of a sudden after the consummation of her marriage: 'Quedam puella, de urbe que uocatur Cuellar orta, cum esset desponsata uiro et iam sederet in talamo, repente hanc diabolus inuasit et crudeliter uelut exanimem reddidit. In qua uexatione fere per dimidii anni spacium perdurauit' (II.50.1–4, p. 442; A certain girl, from the city called Cuéllar, when she had been married and had already sat in the bridal chamber, suddenly a devil invaded her and cruelly left her as if dead. In this trouble she spent nearly half a year). The three accounts mentioned above stand out for their richness of detail; we shall return to all of them throughout our discussion.

Types of Possession

The symptoms evinced by the possessed were manifold. The most common receive no explanation, are described as little different to an illness and, apart from the mention of the possessed's suffering, no further information is given.⁵ The suffering caused by the demon is conceived of as both spiritual

and bodily, and as being in some way permitted by God: 'Vtrumque enim malignus spiritus agit, nam quemcumque permissu dei inuasserit, ipsius animam fatigat et corpus debilitat' (II.56.3–5, p. 454; For the evil spirit works in both ways, since whomever it invades by the permission of God, it wears down their soul and weakens their body). The mental torture involved is summarized by Armentarius's prayer for himself to be released 'ab horribili temptatione maligni spiritus' (II.53.4–5, p. 448; from the horrible temptation of the malign spirit). In this first class of possession from the *Vita Dominici*, only two of the fifteen people cured at Dominic's shrine are male (Armentarius: II.53, p. 448; Stephanus: III.26, p. 500). Some sufferers are brought close to death by the possession (II.20, p. 354; II.39, p. 420; III.25, p. 514; III.48, p. 544) or become paralysed or comatose (II.56, p. 454).

Another form of possession is one whose description alludes ineluctably to the New Testament and the account of the Gerasene demoniac(s), of which there are three accounts in the Gospels (Matthew 8, 28; Mark 5, 1–5; Luke 8, 27). There are also three accounts of this type of possession in the *Vita Dominici*. They are interesting in many respects, particularly in their depiction of the lengths to which the family of the possessed would go in order to seek out a cure for them. The first of these accounts is only the second narration of an exorcism in Book II, and occurred before 1088:

Erat quidam homo, nomine Didaco, de uilla que nuncupatur Celeruelo, miserabiliter peruasus horribili obsessione demonis. Qui nec retinebatur artatus duris uinculorum retinaculis nec aliquo obstaculo, quamuis firmissimo, abdite reclusionis. Sed preualente infestissimo demone, omnibus uinculis seu claustris disruptis, uelut equus celer, indomitus et infrenis, dementer die noctuque percurrerebat montes, colles ac ualles totius circumiacentis regionis. (II.17.1–7, p. 348)

There was a certain man, Didaco by name, from the town which is called Cilleruelo, pitiably touched by a horrible demonic obsession. Neither could he be held by the hard bonds of chains nor by any other constraint, however strong, of the most hidden dungeon. On the contrary, the most aggressive demon overcame everything; breaking through all his chains and doors, like a fast, unbroken and uncontrollable horse, day and night, he ran madly about the mountains, hills and valleys of all the region around.

The miracle immediately following II.17 is also an account of a wandering possessed.

Fuit quedam mulier, nomine Eufemia, de uico Olmiello uocato, ultra quam potest referre humana lingua antiqui hostis insania horribiliter peruasa. Que beluino more atque inconposito gradu se ubique circumferens omnesque sibi obuiantes deterrens, domesticam societatem spernebat conuentumque hominum fugiendo deuitabat ac solitaria, omnibus suis indumentis concissis, cum uociferatione terribili montes siluasque peragrabat. (II.18.1–7, p. 350)

There was a certain woman, Eufemia by name, from the place called Olmillo, horribly stricken by a madness of the ancient enemy beyond the capacity of the human tongue to tell. She, in a beastly manner and irregular gait, went about everywhere, terrifying all who crossed her path, spurning the society of her own home and running away to avoid gatherings of people; alone, her clothes all in shreds, she traversed the mountains and woods with terrible shouts.

A third example of this type of possession is also found in the first exorcism to take place after the consecration of church and cloister in 1088: a woman from Peñalba is described as being driven out into the wilderness by a demon. She 'incertis gressibus per incerta deuia ferebatur' (II.24.2–3, p. 366; was led with wandering step through winding byways). The same symptoms are witnessed again only at the very end of the collection. Rather than describing the possession of an adult, it details the sufferings of a little girl, although unlike Didaco and Eufemia, the girl's possession was relatively short-lived.

A diabolus arrepta per multis diebus extitit sine aliqua cessatione uexata nec eam sinebat saltem ad unius hore spacium quiescere, sed semper eam tenebat et huc atque illuc discurrere cogebat; uestimenta sua suis manibus et dentibus scindebat; consortia hominum spernebat atque ridiculosa et innania uerba ex ore proferebat et ex integro sub iugo demoniaco, iussu dei omnipotentis, subdita erat. (III.43.2–8, p. 532)

Seized by a devil, she [Iuliana] passed many days troubled without any cessation; it did not allow her to rest even for the space of an hour, but always held her and forced her to run hither and thither; she tore her clothes with her own hands and teeth; she spurned the company of men and spouted forth ridiculous and meaningless words from her mouth and was wholly placed, by the permission of God almighty, under the demon's yoke.

This group of possessions in the *Vita* have clear neotestamental parallels; details which recall the Gospel narratives of the Gerasene demoniac are spread throughout these accounts; Didaco's dwelling in the mountains after having broken his bonds echoes Mark 5, 4–5, as does Eufemia's and Iuliana's crying aloud; Eufemia's threatening passers-by recalls Matthew 8, 28, and her having no home recalls Luke 8, 27, as does Eufemia's and Iuliana's tearing their clothes. The woman from Peñalba's experience is only roughly parallel to the biblical accounts. In none of the above accounts in the *Vita Dominici* do the demons speak, as they do to Jesus, nor, disappointingly, are any pigs involved (cf. Matthew 8, 30–32; Mark 5, 11–13; Luke 8, 33). No one account matches the Gospel exactly, or even nearly, and it is more likely that the specific illness of the energumens dictated the description and its allusions to the Gospel narratives rather than the other way around.⁶

This view is confirmed by the account of the sufferings of Momalega, who may be classified as a wandering possessed, although her behaviour was unlike that of the Gerasene demoniac. Momalega, as we saw above, was

possessed twice; the narrator is here describing her second set of symptoms, which provoked him into an unusual expression of his own revulsion and fear at the sight: 'ego, teste deo, hoc referens omnibus medullis meis intremisco' (II.27.51–52, p. 382; with God as witness, my innards tremble as I relate this). Momalega took on the voices and gait of beasts and serpents:

Itaque puella miserrima, terribili inmundorum spirituum habitatione undique circum-septa, teterrimis, non humanis sed demoniacis, utebatur uocibus; inauditis fremebat serpentium sibilibus; furentium bestiarum atque ferarum imitabatur rugitus ac gemitus; nec ei deerant confuse uoces uolucrum atque reptantium. Omne suum corpus tortuosis ferebat anfractibus et, quantum ei fas erat, nullo modo per recta itinera pergebat, sed semper deuia requirebat; omnes obuiantes seuis morsibus, ut poterat, laniabat; ubi uero ei posse mordendi et laniandi deerat, monstrosius ac turpibus nutibus deterrebat. Huiusmodi igitur grauibz conatibus, amissis omnibus uiribus, super omne hoc infortunium perdidit etiam officium utrorumque pedum et taliter ut non claudicando incederet, sed more reptilium reptando deformiter reperet. Ad augmentum etiam sui cruciatus est priuata oculorum luminibus et omnino est tradita in interitum sue carnis ut post, mirabiliter curata, cognosceret quam mirabilia sunt opera omnipotentis. (II.27.68–82, p. 384)

And so the most unfortunate girl, surrounded on all sides by the dwelling-place of the terrifying unclean spirits, gave out extremely revolting, not human but devilish, voices; she hissed with an unheard-of hiss of serpents, imitated the roars and groans of wild and furious beasts, and nor was she lacking in the noises made by birds and creeping things. She dragged her whole body in winding bends, and, so great was heaven's judgement upon her, she would not in any way proceed on a straight line, but always sought byways; all those she came across, she injured with fierce bites, if she could; where she could not bite and wound, she frightened with foul and monstrous gestures. Through these strenuous efforts, then, all her strength gone, on top of all of this misfortune, she even lost the use of both feet and to such a degree that she did not move limping but creeping in the manner of reptiles, she would slink repugnantly along the ground. So that her suffering might be increased, she was deprived of sight in her eyes and her body was completely given over to destruction so that afterwards, wonderously cured, she might know how marvellous are the works of the Almighty.

A third group of possessions also have New Testament parallels. They represent a form of epilepsy. Although Dominic had cured a man from this disease or demon (I.14, pp. 274–76), it is not until the very end of the collection that any other cures are found. They are distinguished by phrasing reminiscent of Mark 9, 13–28, particularly the first: Egga was tormented for a year by a demon, before, 'formidans ne in aqua aut in igne a diabolo proiceretur et suffocaretur, a superna pietate est uisitatus atque a suis hominibus admonitus ut non neglegeret ad sanctum Dominicum currere' (III.42, 2–4, p. 530; fearing lest he be thrown into fire or water and suffocated

by the demon, he was visited by heavenly mercy and counselled by his men that he should not neglect to run to Saint Dominic). A boy from Quintanar de la Sierra, 'nescimus quo casu traditus est in potestate inmundi spiritus, a quo spiritu in terra proiciebatur, dentibusque stridebat ac spumabat ualdeque affligebatur' (III.47.2–4, p. 542; by what misfortune we do not know, was given over to the power of an unclean spirit, by which spirit he was thrown to the earth, and ground his teeth, and foamed at the mouth and was terribly afflicted). This type of epilepsy was often seen by physicians and others as a form of possession; there was thought to be no possibility of it being cured, apart from miraculously (see above, pp. 65–66).

Two accounts of the symptoms of possession do not fall into any of these groups. The recently married girl from Cuéllar suffered from some form of demonic-inspired sleeping sickness for several months (II.50). It is not clear whether this demonic attack produced fainting fits or whether the six months were spent in a semi-comatose or soporific state, similar perhaps to chronic fatigue syndrome. A reference to paralysis or a comatose state as being produced by demonic possession is given shortly after the girl from Cuéllar's tale, at II.56.1–5, p. 454.

The illness suffered by Eolalia may be easier to establish. Her symptoms would seem to be those of Tourette's syndrome, a psychological disorder which is 'characterized by convulsive tics, by involuntary mimicry or repetition of others' words or actions (echolalia and echopraxia), and by the involuntary or compulsive utterances of curses and obscenities (coprolalia)':⁷

Quedam mulier, nomine Eolalia, de uilla que dicitur Sancta Maria, maligni spiritus infesta uexatione exagitabatur ac, uehementer mente capta, insana uerba ac turpia omnique ratione carentia loquebatur et ridiculosa opera ac deformia, nulle utilitati apta, operabatur. Cuius infelix et intolerabilis conuersatio et inhonesta et omnino inopportuna actio omnibus suis domesticis ac uicinis nimium erat horribilis atque odibilis; uita nempe illius funditus erat detestabilis et mors, si occurrisset, obtabilis. (II.19.1–7, p. 352)

A certain woman, Eolalia by name, from the town which is called Santa María,⁸ stricken with the hateful torment of a malign spirit. Driven wholly mad, she would give voice to insane words, wholly lacking in reason, and would do deeds which were ridiculous and shameful and without any good use. Her unhappy and intolerable behaviour and her unchaste and inopportune actions were horrible and hateful to all of her servants and neighbours; her life was wholly detestable, and her death, if it were to have happened, desirable.

Other illnesses could also be seen as the product of demonic involvement, even though they were not formally identified as having been cured by exorcism. Thus Tellus has his sight returned, his sins forgiven and is liberated from the attacks of the devil (he prays at III.41.10–12, p. 528, 'ut ei succurreret et lumen redderet sua piissima intercessione atque a peccatis

omnibus absolutum et ab innumeris insidiis diaboli ereptum'). Underlying this conception may well be the comment reported of Jesus when he defended his cure of a hunchback on the sabbath, 'Hanc autem filiam Abrahae, quam alligavit Satanas: ecce decem et octo annis non oportuit solvi a vinculo isto die sabbati?' (Luke 13, 16; And so this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has kept bound for these eighteen years; was it not fitting that she should be released from this bond on the sabbath day?). Satan's power was witnessed in the various illnesses abroad in the world as well as in the more clearly definable features of demonic possession.

The Reasons for Pilgrimage to the Shrine

As we have seen, an illness such as epilepsy had a physiological form and a demonic form — the latter being untreatable using conventional methods. For some of the sick, it was only when physicians, apothecaries and doctors had failed that a diagnosis of demonic possession was considered. Urraca was only diagnosed as having a demon after many days of torment when no medicine could be found to bring her to health and those around dispaired for her life. Her mother then tried local saints: 'Mater eius, hac de causa nimis afflicta, omnes quas poterat ecclesias circuibat et pro eius salute Dominum exorabat' (II.39.5–7, p. 420; Her mother, extremely anguished by this thing, went around as many churches as she could to beseech the Lord for her health). And it was only after this ritual failed that the girl was brought to Silos. From a diagnostic point of view, demonic possession would seem, in this case, to have been a last resort to explain an otherwise intractable set of symptoms.

The first energumena to be cured at the shrine is described as follows:

Mulier quedam inergumina, nomine Ofresa, de opido Mamblas uocato, miserabiliter uexabatur per multum temporis pessima obsessione demonis. Itaque a suis, ut sibi conpetebat, duris innexa uinculis, ad sacratissimum tumulum beati Dominici est perducta. (II.14.1–5, p. 342)

A certain possessed woman, Ofresa by name, from the village called Mamblas, was unhappily vexed for a long time by the most evil obsession of a demon. And so she, bound by hard chains, was brought by her family, as was their duty, to the most holy tomb of the blessed Dominic.

Grimaldus's aside on the action of Ofresa's family in bringing her to Silos, 'ut sibi conpetebat' (as was their duty) indicates that the responsibility for finding a cure fell explicitly upon the possessed's nearest and dearest. That Ofresa was bound by chains suggests that she was a danger to herself or others, and perhaps could be classed as a wandering possessed, although not enough details are supplied to be sure. Binding with chains was part of the normal treatment of the dangerously insane.⁹

The following four possessed cured at the shrine were long-term, chronic cases (II.17–20). Didaco, a wandering possessed, was captured by his family and brought to Silos by force. No doubt news of Ofresa's successful exorcism had reached them, since they lived within the immediate zone of Silos. Dominic's *fama* as a thaumaturge reached Eufemia's relatives, who had long searched in vain for a solution to her ills: 'Parentes itaque sui de tam dira ipsius incommoditate iusta miseratione permoti, ereptionis eius remedium magna sollicitudine perquirebant, sed frustrata omni indagatione, nusquam inuenire poterant' (II.18.8–10, p. 350; Her relatives, therefore, justly moved to compassion by the misfortune which had befallen her, sought with great assiduity the cure which would bring about her release, but their inquiries having failed, they could find this cure nowhere). The similarity of Eufemia's case with Didaco's leads one to the conclusion that it was just the news of his cure that spurred them on to visit the shrine, since such an excursion, demanding time, manpower and expenditure, could not have been taken lightly. The relatives of the next *demoniaca* to be cured, at II.19, also travel to Silos explicitly because of the growing reputation of Dominic's *virtus*.

The woman from Peñalba (mentioned above as one of the wandering possessed) was cured shortly after the consecration of church and cloister in 1088. Here, although the energumena claimed to have had a vision of the Archangel Michael who instructed her to go to Silos for her liberation, it was the subsequent worsening of her condition which prompted her relatives to seek a cure at the shrine. The woman's vision placed herself at the centre of a drama of cosmic proportions.

Cui, quadam die erranti, ut nobis ipsa postea, sanitate recepta, cum terribili iuramento referebat, obuiauit quidam uir in splendidissima specie, asserens se Michaellem archangelum esse. In cuius aspectu fulgenti, tremens ac stupens hesit; qui illam consolans et ne timeret benigne confortans ait illi: 'Si desideras ab immundissimo demone, a quo uexaris, liberari ac pristina sanitati perfecte restitui, quamtotius festina pergere ad monasterium Exiliense, denique curationis tue gratia beato Dominico est a Domino concessa; statim enim ut sacratissimo illius sepulcro te representaueris, ab isto apostata ac nequissimo spiritu celerrime purgata liberaberis.' Hoc ab angelo dicto, species se alloquentis, que ei apparuerat, disparuit. (II.24.4–13, p. 366)

Wandering about one day (as, having received her health, she later recounted to us with a terrible oath), she came across a certain man of most splendid form, claiming to be the archangel Michael. Before whose shining face, fearful and astonished, she stopped; he, consoling her, and, lest she fear, kindly comforting,¹⁰ said to her, 'If you desire to be freed from the most unclean demon by whom you are troubled, and be returned to your former perfect health, hurry to the monastery of Silos as soon as you can, since the grace to cure you has been granted to the blessed Dominic by the Lord; so immediately that you present yourself before his most sacred grave, most speedily purged from this renegade and most evil spirit, you will be freed.'

The woman was unable to take the angel's advice, since the demon possessed her much more severely than usual, making her swallow a foul rag (therefore preventing her from speaking) and driving her about wildly.¹¹ This deterioration in the woman's health finally provoked her relatives into action. They caught her, bound her in chains, and, 'uiolentissime repugnante demone' (II. 20–21, p. 366; with the most violent opposition of the demon), dragged her to the saint's tomb on a Saturday, where she waited until Sunday. She was liberated from her demon by the combined forces of Saints Martin and Dominic (for which, see below, pp. 145–46). The involvement of Martin may have encouraged Momalega's friends and relatives to bring her to the shrine. They arrived precisely on the feast of St Martin, November 11 (II.27.26, p. 380), probably within a year or two of the cure recorded in II.24. When Momalega fell prey to the demons for a second time, her relatives returned to the shine which had previously had success.

Monnina's uncle did not have recourse, at least initially, to Silos. He only took action after Monnina had been tortured by the demons for many days (II.32.17, p. 404), and then chose to take her to Sepúlveda, handing her over

cuidam presbitero, qui erat famosissimus in demonum expulsionibus, eam ad sanandum obtulit, sed totis uiribus super eam laborans, nichil prodesse potuit. Post hec, ad alium clericum eam adduxit et, promisso precio, ut ab ea demones a corpore obsesse puelle expelleret postulauit. Illo autem, in exorcizandi labore intento, alii demones plures prioribus superuenerunt, priores demones a corpore obsesse puelle expulerunt et eam denuo ipsi inuaserunt. Sed priores maligni spiritus, cum ira egressi, exorcizantem clericum peruaserunt, ad terram deiecerunt et nisi miseratione Domini quidam bonus clericus cum quodam prudente sene fuisset ingressus, funditus eius uita extorsissent; sed ipsis adiuuantibus et orantibus, sanitati est redditus. (II.32.16–29, p. 404)

to a certain priest, who was very famous for expelling demons, but, though he had worked with all his powers over her, he was able to achieve nothing. After this he brought her to another cleric and, having agreed a price, asked him to expell the demons from the body of the infested girl. However, whilst he was about his work of exorcism, there came other demons, more than the earlier ones, and these drove out the former demons from the body of the possessed girl and invaded her themselves. But the earlier malign spirits, going out from her in a rage, overcame the cleric who was exorcising the girl, threw him down upon the ground and, had it not been for the fact that by the mercy of the Lord a good cleric with a wise hermit¹² chanced to enter, they would have completely wrested away his life; but by their aid and prayers he was returned to health.

There can be no clearer expression of the dangers which an unworthy exorcist could run. The narrator blames the man's possession on his having asked for payment for something which could only be done by God himself (II.32.30–33, pp. 404–06). Yet the scene also hints at the life of towns during

the post-Mozarabic period, with the famed exorcist whose existence has otherwise been lost to history and who was the first port of call, even before the shrines of saints, and, given the girl's precedence, even before the shrine of Dominic.

Monnina was from Hacinas, near Salas de los Infantes, and the journey to Sepúlveda would have been roughly a hundred and fifty kilometres; it would, furthermore, have been difficult to avoid Silos. The new demons, having possessed the girl's body, behaved 'belligeratum more, fremere, frendere' (II. 34–35, p. 406; in the manner of soldiers, growling, gnashing their teeth), and said, mocking those around who attempt to cure the girl, 'Nullus homo, nulla incantatio potest nos eicere ab isto nostro habitaculo, nisi Dominici abbatis, in monasterio Exiliensi quiescentis, oratio' (II. 40–42, p. 406; no man, no incantation can eject us from this little dwelling place of ours, except the prayer of Dominic the Abbot, who rests in the monastery of Silos).¹³ Monnina was therefore brought to the monastery by her relatives. The exclusivity of Silos as the place of her cure was perhaps suggested by the vision claimed by the woman from Peñalba (II.26), where it was an angel, not demons, who insisted upon the need to go to Silos.

A final example of supernatural encouragement to visit the shrine is found in II.50, the cure of the girl from Cuéllar. Dominic appeared to her at night to inform her that 'Hoc enim quod pateris ideo tibi accidit, quia pater tuus gratia orationis numquam ad illud monasterium pergere curavit' (II.50.11–13, p. 442; but this which you suffer has come upon you because your father has never thought to go to that monastery to pray). A penitential pilgrimage to Silos would therefore cure her, which was immediately undertaken.

It is germane to note the acceptance with which the girl's vision and its message that she should go to Silos was received by her family with the frosty reception given to Maria's and Iustus's accounts of visions of the saint (see above, pp. 113–14). A comparison of these examples of disbelief in a vision and the acceptance given by the family of the *demoniaca* suggest the following conclusions. First, her malady had already been identified as being supernatural in origin, and thus a visionary appearance of the saint could be more easily accepted. Secondly, it would seem that no curative actions had been taken during the six months that she had suffered this disease (II. 3–4, p. 442). Thirdly, the instruction to visit the shrine was accompanied both by a threat — that if she did not, she would never be healed (II. 10–11, p. 442) — and by an explanation of the cause of her illness, that is, the failure of her father to go to Silos on pilgrimage (II. 11–13, p. 442). Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly, neither Maria nor Iustus were suffering from illnesses readily associated with Silos's curative functions. But by the time of the *demoniaca*'s journey from Cuéllar ten exorcisms had occurred at Silos, some of them highly spectacular. One of these had even specified that only Dominic could expel the demons, no doubt influencing the girl's choice of liberator and her family's readiness to accept the solution proposed.

Curative Techniques

The action of the Ofresa's family, when they arrived at the shrine, was that of anyone bringing the sick to be healed. They laid her before the saint's tomb. However, unlike any other of the sick and suffering during this early period of the cult, 'Statimque a religiosis fratribus Exiliensis loci diuine maiestatis inuocatione facta sanctique suffragio deuota, unanimi reuerentique aclamatione postulato, mulier miseranda, effugato infesto demone, funditus est liberata a se opprimentis inimici potestate' (II.14.5–9, p. 342; And immediately that the devout brethren of Silos invoked the divine majesty and sincerely beseeched the favour of the saint with reverent prayers in unison, the foul demon having fled, the miserable woman was wholly freed from the power of the enemy that oppressed her). The cure of Didaco was even more immediate, testifying to the power of the shrine in the early period of its thaumaturgic life. Carried in chains to Silos, Didaco was dragged before the altar containing Dominic's relics. The demon, unable to bear Dominic's *praesentia*, fled Didaco's body 'horribili eiulato emisso' (II.17.15, p. 348; having given out a horrible howl). The bystanders were suitably struck with wonder and terror (II. 14–15, p. 348) as the man was left seemingly dead and it fell to the monks to undo his chains, set him on his feet and pray for his health to Christ and Dominic, their action imitating Christ who lifted up the demoniac boy with his hand (II.17. 16–20, p. 348; Mark 9, 26).

In the following two exorcisms, the link between the prayers of the monks and the intervention of the saint is made explicit, since the relatives bringing the possessed themselves ask for the monks' involvement through their prayers (II.18.16–19, p. 350; II.19.14–16, p. 352); the final exorcism in this sequence records that the monks also prayed for the energumen (II.20.5–6, p. 354).

Exorcisms that took place after 1088 indicate a formalization in the rituals used to combat evil spirits. The cures no longer took place of a sudden, and exorcists were used to conjure the demon,¹⁴ together with repeated prayers from the whole community of monks,¹⁵ and, significantly, the offering of the eucharist.¹⁶ At times, the prayers of the family would suffice when the *inergumena* was placed before the tomb.¹⁷ The possessed's own prayers might also be sufficient.¹⁸ In general, those who were not incapacitated by demonic attacks were expected to pray for their own welfare and to remain awake through vigils so that they might be delivered, just like those afflicted by other maladies. The form of prayer that was expected of the possessed is recorded towards the end of the collection. Egga prayed before Dominic's tomb that 'eum a potestate diabolica, ut est solitus aliis inerguminis sanare, ita et ipsi subueniret quantotius et ad pristinam sanitatem eum restitueret' (II.42.11–12, p. 530; he might rescue him from the power of the devil, as he was wont to cure other possessed people, as soon as possible, and return him to his former health). His prayer did not go unanswered.

The use of an exorcist is demonstrated most clearly in the first exorcism to occur after 1088, concerning the woman from Peñalba who received a vision of the Archangel Michael instructing her to travel to the shrine. She was prevented from doing this by her demon, but her family brought her anyway. They arrived on a Saturday.

Dum itaque sequenti dominico die, ecclesiastico more, exorcista sacris adiurationibus conprimeret impurum demonem miserabilem mulierem pestifere inhabitantem, subito, ore aperto, pitacium quod gerebat in ore absconditum longius expuit atque horribili uoce in his uerbis demon per os eius prorupit, 'O homo, omitte me tuis inportunis adiurationibus affligere et sanctiores te me uehementius te affligentes inspicere'. Igitur ab exorcista quid uideret requisita, respondit uoce ualida et omnino improba: 'non uidetis Martinum, Turonensem episcopum, et uestrum Dominicum in presentia uestra stantes et michi ut ab hac muliere exeam precipientes?' Hec demone per os obsesse profitente atque exorcista diuinis adiurationibus insistente, terribilem uocem mulier emisit et continuo demonium ab ea exiit. (II.24.22–33, pp. 366–68)

While therefore, on the following Sunday, according to the custom of the Church, the exorcist with sacred adjurations compelled the impure demon, foully dwelling in the unhappy woman, suddenly, having opened her mouth, she spat out the rag which had been kept hidden in the mouth for a long time, and the demon spoke with a horrible voice through her mouth: 'O man, stop torturing me with you impertinent conjurations and know that those more holy than you are tormenting me more vehemently than you.' Asked by the exorcist therefore what she saw, it replied in a loud and wholly wicked voice, 'Do you not see Martin, Bishop of Tours, and your Dominic standing before you and ordering me to leave this woman?' While this demon was saying these things through the mouth of the possessed woman, and whilst the exorcist continued in his divine adjurations, the woman gave a terrible cry and immediately the demon left her.

The scene at the shrine is of particular interest, since it relates the invisible world of *praesentiae* around the sacred space of the saint's tomb. The demon reveals a spiritual world unseen by bystanders: Saints Dominic and Martin are present to assist the less holy exorcist at the shrine. The saints needed not appear to mortal eyes for their presence to be felt, for, at their sight, the demon was reduced to a state of terror. The connexion of Dominic with Martin is clearly part of the early cult of the saint: the hagiographer compares the two at I.7.77–95, pp. 242–44; Dominic was translated to a position in the church 'ante altare beati Martini, ubi nunc ueneratur' (I.23.135, p. 310; in front of the altar of blessed Martin, where he is now venerated). This connexion undoubtedly had its origins in Dominic's own devotion to Martin. Martin, too, had a reputation as an exorcist.¹⁹ The link between Martin, Dominic and the power to exorcise established during the present cure (II.24), as we have seen, may have influenced Momalega's friends and relatives who

brought her to the shrine precisely on the feast of St Martin, celebrated on November 11 (II.27. 26, p. 380).

In the woman from Peñalba's first vision, we see the absorption of the cult of angels into that of saints, whereby angels, once awesome powers requiring veneration, had become little more than helpers to much more important holy men and women. Saint Michael, although leader of the heavenly host and the angel who expelled Lucifer from heaven, does not cause the demon possessing the woman to flee. He is merely empowered to indicate Dominic as the suitable exorcist. Such a diminution of his power is one with the general trend throughout Western European Christianity which saw the role of the angels as autonomous beings diminish and their containment within the cult of saints.²⁰ The appearance of Michael may have been suggested by Silos's possession of the monastery of San Miguel and Santa María of Montesinos.²¹ The cult of Michael was represented in Silos with an altar co-dedicated to him in the newly built church of 1088.²²

It was the mere presence of the saints that provoked the demon into flight, rather than any abjuration on the saints' part — and the conjurations of the exorcist are explicitly excluded from the power which forces the demon to quit its habitation. The demon's dismissal of the exorcist's role is not in consonance with many of the other exorcisms at the shrine, where the role of the exorcist and the prayers of the monks was an important part of the cure. The demon's words, however, do foreshadow the words of the demons who spoke through Monnina to claim that '*Nullus homo, nulla incantatio potest nos eicere ab isto nostro habitaculo*' (II.27.40–41, p. 406; no man, no incantation can eject us from this little dwelling place of ours) — an explicit denial of the power of exorcists, since a famous exorcist had already failed to eject demons which were fewer in number than those speaking through the girl's mouth.

Momalega was liberated from her first possession on Christmas Day, after having stayed before the tomb for nearly a month and a half. This length of time at the shrine was unusual in cases of any illness, but her second possession was even more difficult to cure. Her family brought her to Silos again, and placed her, mute, before the saint's tomb. After three days, the girl began to speak, although the possession continued, and she was '*nimis importuna peruasione fatigabatur, uexabatur, cruciabatur*' (II.27.108–09, p. 386; exhausted, vexed, tortured by the extremely distressing attacks). The monastery's exorcists began their conjurations of the demons, so that the process of expelling them from the energumen's body might begin. They confessed their names and their organization: a feudal structure, with one main demon above fourteen other 'principes' who were themselves above innumerable others (II. 112–116, p. 386). After the initial progress, however, nothing more was achieved.

Ad sepulcrum namque eius apparuit quidam in habitu monachili, facie quidem decorus, cunctis autem ignotus, qui cum digna reuerentia ad tumulum sancti uiri

accessit et stans super puellam ab astantibus quam infirmitatem pateretur inquisiuit. (II.27.119–22, p. 386)

And so, there appeared at his tomb someone in a monk's habit, with a beautiful face, unknown to all, who approached with worthy reverence the tomb of the holy man and, standing above the girl, asked those standing near from what illness she was suffering.

The hagiographer was in no doubt that the appearance of this stranger was due to the saint's intervention, since he prefaced his description of the man and the subsequent events by writing, 'mirabiliter est ostensa super eam bonitas diuina miserationis interuentu pii confessoris' (II.27.18–19, p. 386; the goodness of divine compassion was marvellously shown upon her by the intervention of the merciful confessor). Like a saint or angel deputed to communicate a heavenly message, as soon as his advice was given, 'statim recessit, nec umquam postea in nostro monasterio apparuit' (II.27.130–31, p. 388; he left immediately, nor did he ever appear in our monastery again).²³ His advice, when he had heard what had happened, took the monks by surprise:

'Est illi indictum cotidianum ieiunium?' Cui cum respondissent: 'Minime, domine, non enim potest ieiunare pressa tanta cruciatione', iterum ait eis: 'Ergo obliti estis sermonis Domini dicentis discipulis de huiusmodi demoniacis: *hoc genus non potest exire nisi in oratione et ieiunio*. Itaque si solliciti estis de eius salute et si uultis eam ab his demonibus liberare, cotidianum ieiunium ei indicite et, excepto dominico die, cotidie eam ieiunare cogite.' (II.27.121–130, pp. 386–88)

'Has it been ordered that she fasts every day?' When they replied to him, 'Certainly not, sir, since she cannot fast while she is submitted to such suffering', he said to them again, 'Then you have forgotten the words which the Lord spoke to his disciples about those demoniacs: *this kind cannot be cast out except by prayer and fasting* (Matthew 17: 20; Mark 9: 28). Thus if you care about her health and if you wish her free of the demons, order that she fasts every day and, except Sunday, force her to fast every day.'

Whilst the insistence on Sunday as a day on which no fasting may take place is quite common,²⁴ the quotation from scripture is highly unusual, for it employs an instruction out of context. The phrase is recorded in both Mark and Matthew, and in both it is taken as an explanation for why Jesus' disciples could not cast out a demon. The need for fasting and prayer is generally assumed to fall on the part of the exorcist, not the possessed, as can be seen, for example, in Bede's commentary upon the Gospel of Mark.²⁵ The more usual reading of the gospel passage is witnessed by Dominic's *in vita* cure of Garsia Munnionis or by the action of Abbot Fortunius, who recalled this very advice and instituted masses and general fasting for nine days in order to exorcise a demon (II.32.48–58, p. 406).

Three weeks after the fast had begun, and roughly three months after she had been brought to the monastery, continually prompted by the prayers of those around her, she was released, at a point when the liberation was as public as possible:

nam quadam die, dum multi circa eam ad sepulcrum sancti residerent et misericordiam dei implorarent, subito audita est uox ab ore eius, dicente principe demoniorum sibi subditis spiritibus malignis: 'Cogimur iam de isto domicilio exire, quod quondam possedimus in proprietate; iudicio enim dei omnipotentis, omnia regentis, iubetur nobis ut illud relinquamus et ad alia loca pergamus; datum est enim huic sancto quiescenti in hoc sepulcro'. Ad hanc uocem principis demoniorum conterrita est omnis multitudo demonum inhabitantium puelle corpusculum. Ipsi autem egredientibus, omnes qui adfuerant confusas uoces quasi innumerarum bestiarum audierunt, scilicet rugitus leonum, hinnitus equorum, mugitus boum, ruditus asinorum, ululatus luporum, latratus canum, balatus ouium atque caprarum et ceteras diuersas uoces ignotas, quas explicare uix posset aliqua facunditas. (II.27. 136–149, pp.388–40)

now on a certain day, whilst many were staying around her at the grave of the saint and imploring the mercy of God, suddenly a voice was heard from her mouth. The leader of the demons was saying to the malign spirits that were submitted to him, 'We are now being forced to leave this dwelling, which we once held as our own; by the judgement of Almighty God, who rules all things, we are ordered to leave it and to go to other places; this has been given to the saint who rests in this grave.' At these words of the leader of the demons, the whole multitude of the demons inhabiting the girl's little body were terrified. And as these went out, all who were near heard an almost uncountable number of many different animal voices, namely the roar of lions, the whinny of horses, the lowing of cattle, the braying of donkeys, the howling of wolves, the barking of dogs, the bleating of sheep and goats and diverse other unknown voices, which no eloquence could ever describe.

The girl collapsed, lay unconscious for an hour, and convalesced in the monastery for four days before she could begin her journey home to La Rioja. The tale is shocking, and it is unsurprising that the narrator could note that the girl's suffering was 'omnibus audientibus uehementissime [...] formidabile' (II. 50–51, p. 382; most vehemently terrible to all who hear). After this spectacular cure, the flight of demons is not marked by any striking account; exorcisms, it must be supposed, become routinized within the cult.

SILOS AS A CENTRE OF EXORCISMS

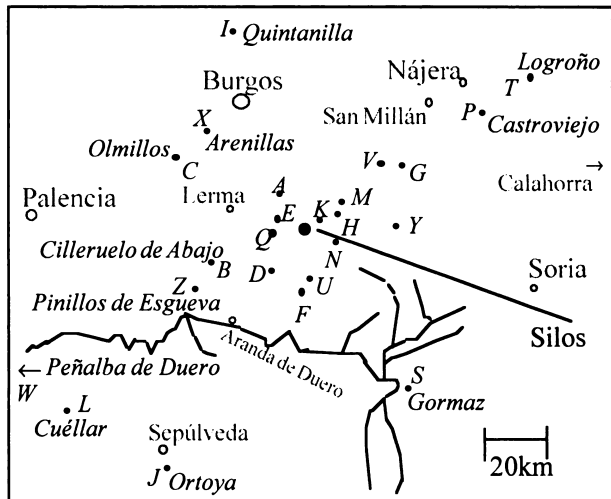
The proportion of exorcisms recorded at Silos (one in four) is mirrored at the shrine of Saint Zoyl at Carrión, where exorcisms made up a quarter of recorded miracles. They were more frequent at the shrine of Rudesindus at Celanova, and almost half of the miracles which came to be recorded at

Isidore's shrine in León concern miraculous exorcism.²⁶ Such figures are far in excess of that witnessed in France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where only six percent of cures were connected to demonic possession, although a figure of fifteen percent has been reached for lives from the fourth to the sixth centuries.²⁷ The number of exorcisms at Dominic's shrine, then, was in no way unusual for Spain during Middle Ages. Exorcisms cannot, therefore, be described as a speciality of the saint, but rather are within the range of frequency usual for shrines in Northern Spain.

The geographical origins of the pilgrims are comparable to the average for the shrine (see below, figures 6 and 7).²⁸ As noted above, p. 99, the end of Book III (after III.35) sees an absence of local devotees. Silos only counted one poor woman amongst its cured *inergumenae*, whilst one man and one woman were rich, a ratio which mirrors that found throughout Books II–III.²⁹ But the most striking element at Silos is the high number of women who suffered from possessions when compared to French shrines, which had a predominance of men: sixty-two percent against Silos's twenty-five.³⁰

Figure 8:
Origin of Energumens.

Book II	
A: 14	H: 32
B: 17	I: 39
C: 18	J: 46
D: 19	K: 47
E: 20	L: 50
F: 26	M: 53
G: 27	N: 57
O: 59	
Book III	
P: 5	U: 26
Q: 6	V: 35
R: 11	W: 42
S: 12	X: 43
T: 18	Y: 47
Z: 48	

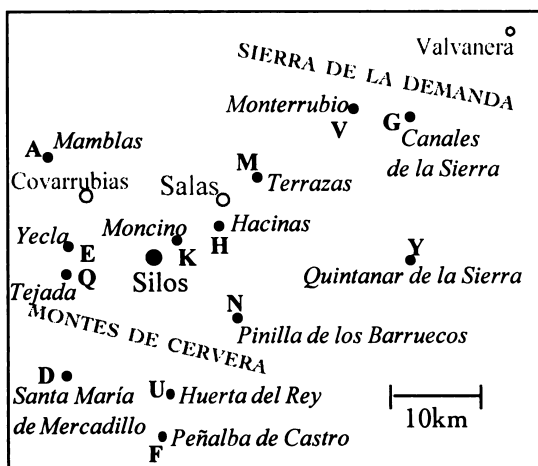


It has been argued that the number of exorcisms at Silos are a reflection of the suffering of the population, particularly women, due to the constant warfare of the frontier zone.³¹ Yet only three, amongst Silos's constituency of energumens, came from lands newly settled by Alfonso VI (see below, figures 6 and 7), whereas the majority came from areas which, especially to the north of Silos, can hardly be considered frontier zones. It is not clear why women should suffer more than men due to warfare, and the high percentage of men cured at French shrines of the period may well indicate that the ravages of war had taken their toll much more there than in Spain. Yet even the region south of the Duero was peacefully settled, according to Reilly:

We can quite sensibly envision, from 1076 on, a gradual movement of small homesteaders across the Duero occupying the lands of its south bank to varying degrees of depth. From that date on they had been effectively free of organized campaigns from the Muslim south. For defense against more casual depredations, such lands lay within easy hail of a variety of Leonese strong-points at Zamora, Toro, Tordesillas, and Valladolid. In addition, the land itself partook of the character of that immediately north of the Duero in soil, climate, and precipitation. It was, then, both easy and safe for the immigrants to work.³²

Although the immense stronghold of San Esteban de Gormaz was raided by Muslims in 1080 (thus provoking the events which would lead to the banishment of the Cid),³³ such raiding on a massive scale would seem not to have continued as the Almoravid and Christian empires faced one another in uneasy stalemate. Peasant life in this area, then, although inevitably hard and violent, was not appreciably worse than elsewhere in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe.

Silos was not a frontier monastery. Dominic in his lifetime only had to worry about Muslims in as far as they were enslaved in his coenobium or were the captors of Christians whose families asked for alms. The only vengeance miracle he worked was against a local brigand, not a Muslim warlord or Christian robber baron (I.15, p. 278–80). The evidence of the posthumous miracles only confirms that Silos was resolutely non-periferic. We may draw a comparison with another monastery, Celanova, which was on the frontier between Galicians and Portuguese. A fundamental feature of the from helping themselves to the monastery's possessions, lands or buildings. It was not until the thirteenth century that vengeance miracles were recorded at Silos, and these are minor incidents relating to respect for the saint's cult — the observance of his feast day, the existence of his relics in the church. None,



Not recorded on either map

O: Silos?

R: Aragón

Figure 9:
Central Area of Figure 6,
origins close to Silos.

unlike at Celanova, involve death by spontaneous explosion.³⁴ Silos had, in fact, gained a reputation as a shrine which specialized in the undoing of vengeance miracles, not in their proliferation.³⁵

Some accounts of possessions cured at Silos certainly influenced others in identifying Dominic's shrine as the place at which a cure would be found. Yet these stories, however spectacular, did not have an appreciable impact on the number of the possessed who were cured at the shrine. In Book II, there are eight exorcisms up to and including II.32 and seven in the subsequent twenty-eight miracles — half of the exorcisms to occur in Book II had occurred midway through the book. In Book III, there are eleven exorcisms in total, the last being III.48, which is the same number as had occurred by II.47. Exorcisms in Book III therefore occurred with the same relative frequency as in Book II. They did not, however, continue after other types of illnesses had ceased to be cured. We may conclude that, for Silos to be effective as a centre of exorcisms, it was necessary that Dominic should work miracles for other sufferers and not be wholly specialized in liberations from the devil, although these cures were clearly not a negligible part of the shrine's *fama*.

REASONS FOR THE FREQUENCY OF EXORCISMS

When considering reasons for the existence of exorcism as an important element of a saint's cult, it is important to point to the wide variety of symptoms that were considered evidence of demonic possession. It is essential to bear in mind that the wide variety of complaints found at Silos do not allow of one over-arching thesis to explain them. In search for an explanation, we shall consider some explanatory schemes used for demon possession in the past hundred years.

Psychoanalytical Approaches: Energumens as Hysterics

One explanation for the number of exorcisms at the shrine has already been mentioned: war drove women mad. Possession is seen not as spiritual misfortune but as mental illness. The equation began at La Salpêtrière mental asylum in fin-de-siècle Paris. The director of this august institution, Professor Jean-Martin Charcot, produced a description of a mental illness, hysteria, basing himself on his observation of the behaviour of women in his care. He could thus diagnose what had been treated as demonic possession as hysteria, a mental aberration which had nothing to do with supernatural beings, and so the hysteric was to be in the power of the doctor, not the priest.³⁶ Yet Charcot's methods were totally flawed. Even some of his contemporaries considered that he had, unwittingly, encouraged his hysterical patients to behave in line with his own theories and expectations.³⁷ His patients were encouraged to behave as hysterics should, or at least as Charcot thought they should. And part of that behaviour was to behave like demoniacs. Charcot

hung pictures of demoniacs in the hospital because 'the hysteric-demoniac equation — which can be regarded as [a] politicized hysteria diagnosis — was [...] one of the Salpêtrière school's constant preoccupations and an integral part of its self-image.'³⁸

The temptation to diagnose retrospectively those unfortunate enough to live in the past rather than at the dawn of Progress was not limited to the Salpêtrière school's anticlericalism. In the twentieth century, demoniacs of other times have been reclassified as

sick people possessed, not by the devil, but by disease, as people fit, not for the flames, but for the couch. In propagating such views, analysts from Freud to present psychohistorians have presented themselves as pioneers of therapeutic methods and historical readings both enlightened and scientific.³⁹

Hysteria was read back and not only diagnosed in the demoniacs of saints' lives but also conjured from ancient authors on medicine, being given a false genealogy which stretched back to the wholly innocent Hippocrates.⁴⁰

In the present day hysteria is used confidently only in popular parlance to describe highly emotional women or the reaction of Londoners to the deaths of princesses, but has ceased to be a respectable diagnosis amongst clinicians.⁴¹ The twentieth-century fashion for diagnosing it was not without cost: Shorter notes that there was a tendency in the 1950s to miss subsistent physical complaints and label them as hysteria. Out of eighty-five patients (mainly young or middle aged) that were diagnosed as hysteric at the National Hospital in London during those years, twelve had died nine years later due to an underlying illness that had not been noticed at the time.⁴² Now the tide has turned against hysteria to such an extent that historically important diagnoses of hysteria have themselves been re-diagnosed. Thus Freud's diagnosis of 'conversion hysteria' in 'the ur-patient of psychoanalysis', Anna O., has been recast by later authorities as schizophrenia, multiple-personality disorder, infatuation with her therapist, toxic shock owing to morphine addiction, major depression, tubercular meningitis or explained by her being 'a victim of the Viennese Jewish Princess syndrome'.⁴³

Studies of modern cases of possession indicate that, apart from the belief in possession itself, it is very difficult to find any unifying psychological morbidity.⁴⁴ More recently, authors have attempted to separate hysteria from possession on the grounds that hysteria involves a belief on the part of the sufferer that the pains are physical in origin, and are not due to a psychological or spiritual entity, as must be the case with possession.⁴⁵

Psychiatric explanations: possession as a psychological mechanism

The way by which possession states arise has been discussed by a British psychiatrist, William Sargant, who treated a large number of patients during

and after the Second World War. Under conditions of extreme stress, human beings may react through 'a splitting of the stream of consciousness, so that certain thoughts, memories or patterns of behaviour implanted in the brain somehow become isolated and totally divorced from the main stream of consciousness.'⁴⁶ This splitting of the mind into a normal personality which alternates with a hypnoid state can result in amnesia of what has passed when the mind is dominated by the hypnoid state until the mind is again in that state.⁴⁷

Hypnoid states may give rise to possession through the development of a secondary personality, aware of things which are denied to the normal personality. The possessed usually experiences total amnesia of what has passed during the possession, and are excused of any responsibility for what the demon says through them. For example, Thomas Aquinas cited Augustine: 'quandoquidem nec ipsi homines, quorum rationalis natura est, cum daemon in eis loquitur, sciunt quid loquantur' (although these men [*scilicet*, the possessed] are rational by nature, they do not know what they say when the demon speaks through them).⁴⁸

The individual's personality is taken over by another part of the mind which has its own personality. The conquering of the personality's *imperium* by this hypnoid part of the mind is not always total, however. Some individuals experience a 'lucid' form of possession, in which the psyche does not split but the sufferer is aware of the demons whilst they possess him. These types of possession, as described in mid-twentieth-century French patients, were often linked to deep psychological conflicts of a moral kind — for example, over homosexuality — and highly-structured obsessional states underly the syndrome.⁴⁹ As Sargant comments, 'it is found that "normal" people, who are not markedly obsessive, may experience complete dissociation under many varied stresses; while those with marked obsessional tendencies are much more likely to experience "possession", if at all, in comparatively clear consciousness.'⁵⁰ Both forms of possession may be witnessed at Silos. The lucid type is perhaps found in II.53 of the *Vita Dominici*, where Armentarius seeks relief from the devil's horrible temptation (II. 4–5, p. 448). The prognosis for lucid possession is poor, whilst that for normal people is excellent, although this will depend upon the difficulties of the individual's social and affective situation.⁵¹

Possession states, then, are only with difficulty to be characterized as mental illness, since, under certain conditions, total possession is the reaction of a healthy mind, not a sick one. The rude mental health of shamans (who undergo possession states and provoke them in others) has been noted many times.⁵² Indeed, the activity of shamans has been claimed to improve the mental health of those whom they serve.⁵³

In the descriptions of actual possession states given by modern psychiatrists, it is clear that the possession was itself a defence against serious

mental illness which extreme crises were threatening to provoke. Ganath Obeyesekere noted that the possession suffered by his Sinhalese patient, Alice Nona, was 'her last-ditch defence against personality disorganization and psychosis'.⁵⁴ Obeyesekere saw a positive gain from the symbolism or idiom used by his patient in becoming possessed: her possession allowed her to communicate the severe domestic difficulties that were threatening to overwhelm her. Yet, paradoxically, the alienation involved in demon possession was itself a means of keeping in contact with reality, providing a means of communication with others that could avoid a descent into a 'private psychotic fantasy'.⁵⁵ For Yap, demonic possession is the first step of the possessed to find a cure, that is, some form of solution to a problem which, arising from instinctual needs or connected to self-esteem, would be otherwise intractable. The possessing demon or spirit contains the characteristics appropriate for the solution of the conflict or for the satisfaction of frustrated desire.⁵⁶

The mind, we might say, struggles to be healed by overthrowing the main or normal personality which can neither cope with nor find a solution to the crises which threaten it and replaces the insufficient personality with one which has the elements which may lead to a cure and the restitution of the main or normal personality. Exorcism is but an extreme case of the psychological benefits brought through religious practices.⁵⁷

Yet the identification of a psychological mechanism is only part of the explanation. Almost none of Sergant's patients were suffering from possession. Their personalities were periodically submerged by hypnoid states, but these states did not develop demonic personalities. Possession is not a necessary outcome of the splitting of the mind. The reasons for hypnoid states being understood as possession by the possessed and those around them will be considered in the following section.

Anthropological explanations: possession as theatre

Thanks to the fieldwork of anthropologists during the 1950s, possession moved away from the hysteria of Charcot's lecture hall or of the psychoanalyst's couch and into the symbolic realm of ritual. Possession became theatre.⁵⁸ Possession was understood as a social process rather than a private neurosis. Every culture establishes ways in which the sufferings, solitudes and stresses that are inescapable from existence may be interpreted and borne.⁵⁹ The state of possession, whether it is entered into voluntarily or involuntarily, cannot be an 'unprogrammed or unrehearsed experience' but will necessarily obey certain culture-specific norms.⁶⁰ Medieval Christians were only ever possessed by demons; twentieth-century Hindus and Christians in India may be possessed by a wide range of spiritual beings, comprising the untimely dead, deceased family members unhappy with their descendants' behaviour, vengeful gods, angry goddesses or malevolent demons.⁶¹

Possession was considered to be a controlled reaction against oppression, an approved way of altering a difficult situation either through some rise in social status, through a lightening of workload, or simply through the provision of sympathetic attention.⁶² I. M. Lewis described possessed women in a Muslim society as 'successfully manipulating their husbands and menfolk', since they could demand considerable attention and expenditure to be lavished upon them. The most likely time for a woman to become possessed was when her husband was thinking of taking another wife.⁶³ Possession in these cases led to a change in status, since the possessed were inducted into a cultic group which formed both a mechanism of support and a self-help group for them. These 'peripheral cults' as Lewis termed them were under the control of a ritual specialist and often linked to the possessing spirit.⁶⁴ They were also witnessed in Christianity: groups of possessed gathered around the tomb of Martin of Tours on a permanent basis, forming what was, to all intents and purposes, a cultic group.⁶⁵

Yet care must be taken with any description of demon possession which describes the possessed as acting or as transparently manipulating others, since the psychiatric evidence detailed above and the descriptions of the possessed's torture in the accounts from Silos indicate that mental states of acute anguish underly the possessing demon's overthrow of the personality. The anguish was shared by the families who had charge of the energumen's welfare. The way the possessed behaved was certainly a 'social role', in that they took on a learned set of behavioural characteristics that were recognized as granting a particular status within society. But 'enacting roles does not imply that there is no affective content'.⁶⁶

Possession is not only a social role, but also, and more importantly, a social process, a teleological state which, beginning spontaneously, moves towards its resolution by altering, if only temporarily, the life-situation which produced the intolerable pressures that drew the individual into the state of possession. The acute sufferings of the possessed remove them from the daily round and can mobilize those close to them to assist them out of compassion. The oppressions and frustrations consequent upon the possessed's social, familial or psychological position must be temporarily lifted and family members united in the search for a cure.

One reason for the stability of the social process of possession across various cultures may be its similarity to the liminal states involved in rites of passage, which occur in pre-modern societies at certain key points in the individual's (or generation's) life-cycle, and are effected through the process of segregation, liminality and reintegration.

Rites of passage are used to do 'ritual work', that is, effect the desired social change. The religious element makes the ritual more powerful, because a religious official has the 'charisma' to induce feelings of awe. [... These] rites have the social function of creating a new social equilibrium, after the disruption of transition.⁶⁷

Possession, in this light, may be seen as an individual attempt to create or instigate some of the effects of rites of passage in order to reconfigure both oneself and one's social position. Rather than being triggered, as is a rite of passage, by age, the behaviour and activities which surround possession are brought about by the development of a hypnoid personality in the subject which acts and is classified as a possessing spirit.

The possessed subject, like neophytes in the initiation or puberty rites of tribal societies, is completely passive and utterly dispossessed (even of the body), temporarily deprived of any social status. The possessing demon draws the possessed subject into a state of liminality towards human society. Even the tortures worked by the demon have a parallel to the unprovoked violence to which the neophytes are at times subjected.⁶⁸ Yet, since the possessed are alone in their possession, the solidarity that is established between neophytes during their period of segregation is unavailable to them.⁶⁹ Neophytes' solidarity is based on their equality which owes its existence to their temporary withdrawal from society in the form of its structural relations, its 'differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of "more" or "less".'⁷⁰ The withdrawal, of course, is designed to re-introduce the neophytes to another level of that social structure.

Yet demonic possession is also a withdrawal from social structure, a refusal to be bound by social norms so that what has become an intolerable social situation may be expressed as such, and social forces invoked to change it. The basic social force is the humanity and compassion of those surrounding the possessed, who must search for a cure. This may be through the adoption by all of a liminal state through pilgrimage to a saint's shrine, or through submission to a ritual specialist who is granted the power to elucidate the conflicts through questioning of the demon, expelling it, and returning the cured energumen to his or her former position. Should this solidarity with others not be fully realisable, or should the social structure be particularly closed and so the possibility of social roles being renegotiated through the possession not exist, then support and emotional consolation may be available to the possessed through cult-groups made up of the formerly possessed, since these peripheral cults offer the experience of undifferentiated communality beneath the authority of a ritual specialist.⁷¹

EXORCISMS AND THEIR EXPLANATION

The Manner of Possession

The descriptions provided in the *Vita Dominici* of the way in which young women became possessed elide with the description provided by Sergeant of the genesis of hypnoid states. Momalega was possessed after her excessive grief at the death of her mother, and, for the second time, through fear.

Monnina was possessed, too, through fear. She thought the devil had appeared to her in the shape of a wolf and then, in the form of rats, had bitten her. The conjunction of animals in the girl's possession are remarkably similar to a modern case from the Southern Indian state of Kerala. Joseph, a Christian, aged thirty-five, tried to kill his wife several times after drinking heavily. He was brought to an famed exorcist, Fr George, a priest of the Syro-Malabar rite, who interrogated Joseph after he had placed him under hypnosis. The force possessing the man confessed that he was the spirit of a Muslim who had killed himself after murdering his own wife for her repeated infidelity. When asked how he came to possess Joseph, the spirit said, 'When this fellow came I assumed the form of a snake and jumped in front. But he did not get frightened. Immediately I assumed the form of a bat and flew away. It was soon after the snake, and that fellow was frightened. Immediately I entered in him.'⁷²

For Fr George, possession is the rise of a second personality to displace the first. The second personality is a personification, a drawing together of 'weird ideas' (the term is Fr George's own) suppressed by the individual, often linked to a guilty conscience. The second personality rises when, through shock, fright or guilt, the individual enters into a sort of self-hypnosis. Joseph, frightened by the dual apparition of snake and bat (to which we may compare Monnina's wolf and rats), entered into a hypnoid state in which the 'weird ideas' concerning his wife's fidelity could be given a shape, that of Raman, a Muslim said to have killed himself in the place of Joseph's vision.⁷³ We shall return to Fr George and Joseph when we discuss the nature of the cures at Silos.

If we consider Monnina's story, then the hypnotic effect of the ritual may well explain the unworthy priest's being possessed, since, for one unused to the art, he could easily have been hypnotized himself by the rite. Since he had accepted payment, he would have had a guilty conscience, and thereby gave himself up to the power of the psychological personification he was attempting to treat. It was, however, but a passing fit, calmed by wiser and better heads.

Types of Possession

Many of the possessed at Silos are depicted in a way that might be termed a normative pattern of possession: either intermittent or constant manifestation of the possessing spirit which demanded the involvement of the family to bring the possessed to the shrine. However, it is clear that some, whose possession is less overwhelming, come to Silos of their own accord. It is tempting to suggest that many of these suffered from lucid possession, but only the case of Armentarius mentioned above might point us in that way.

Eolalia's behaviour, which as we have seen was probably a severe form of Tourette's syndrome, must caution against any application of the psycho-anthropological model we have adumbrated to all examples of possession.

Demonic possession, in Eolalia's case, was a means of explaining what would otherwise have been inexplicable and intolerable behaviour in her failure to respect the most basic social norms.⁷⁴ The diagnosis not only performed the explicatory function of allowing a personality to be predicated behind the woman's repulsive gestures and words, but also directed the woman's servants and neighbours to seek out a suitable remedy, that is, pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint. The case of the two epileptics cured at the shrine was perhaps similar. The form of epilepsy considered to be hardest to cure was claimed to be caused by demons. No physician could thereby lose face or reputation for his failure to restore the patient to health.

The efficacy of exorcisms

We may compare the actions of the monks at Silos around Dominic's tomb with the procedures adopted by Fr George in exorcising Joseph. The priest put Joseph under hypnosis and then interrogated the possessor (that is, the personification of the patient's 'weird ideas') as to why it was there. Then, using the power of religious symbols, he encouraged or forced the personification to swear that it would leave. Still through hypnosis, the same religious symbols were used to inspire the patient's main or real personality with courage.⁷⁵ The process took place in a room where the cross was prominent, together with Hindu and Muslim symbols, since patients from all three religions have recourse to the priest.

The description of Fr George's working practice, *mutatis mutandis*, may well account for the Silos monks' extraordinary success in casting out demons. The introductory rite of exorcism itself may be seen as hypnotic, together with the *generalis acclamatio* which was carried out in aid of the possessed. The dialogue with the demon(s), the abjuration that they relinquish their prey is identical. The religious atmosphere and the presence of powerful religious symbols were provided by the shrine itself and its place in a church; courage instilled by the spiritual *praesentia* of the saint. The obverse of this is the terror of the demon before the presence of the saint, as seen in the exorcism of the woman from Peñalba.

There was at least one living exorcist with a famous reputation in Castile at the close of the eleventh century. We may wonder why, if such shaman-type individuals existed, the cult of saints should have attracted to itself the number of the possessed that it did. We may surmise, firstly, that the exorcism provided by the monks in whose church the shrine had been created was a much more powerful and emotional experience than that which could be supplied by a single exorcist. Through chanting, common prayers and the exorcism itself, carried out in impressive surroundings, the possessed would be encouraged into a powerful discharge of emotions which is often crucial to bring about the ending of a possession. Secondly, the monks, separated from the world, were an institutionalization of the human solidarity and of the

rejection of worldly evaluations which was integral to the experience of possession.⁷⁶

The Symbolism of the Possessor

Whilst the exorcism might be thought of as being worked by the power of suggestion, through religious symbols and rituals of whose power there was a widespread cultural acceptance, the nature of the possessor and its stipulations to bring about a cure have their own symbolic value.⁷⁷

Momalega's initial possession would seem to have been a prolongation of her mourning ritual. She metamorphosed the physical violence she wished to work on herself into psychosomatic suffering: 'laborauit horribili uexatione pessimi demonis' (II. 25–26, p. 380; she bore the awful attacks of the most evil demon). Momalega may have been already prone to psychological disturbance earlier in her life, since she suffered pains around her heart, which from infancy 'sepius usque ad mortem deducebatur' (II.27.3, p. 380; often brought her close to death). She was cured on Christmas Day, which with its emphasis on birth, new life and salvation, would have encouraged those around her to provide the girl with a propitious environment in which to respond to the general desire for her health and to lay aside her outlandish mourning.⁷⁸

Her second bout of possession was much more spectacular. It is likely that her wandering through the countryside was suggested by tales of the *demoniaci* who had been cured at Silos, amongst whom there were some wandering possessed. Her hypnoid personality, however, extrapolated from Didaco's behaviour of running around like an 'equus celer' (a speedy steed), and took on the gait and noises of a whole array of animals. Emitting the voices of beasts is a common feature of possessions, through time and across cultures. The *Miracula Zoili*, a late twelfth-century collection from Carrión de los Infantes, describes two such possessions. A woman possessed by a demon was brought to the shrine in chains, and, whilst her relatives and friends prayed for her,

illa vero pectore furibundo, ore terrisono, balatus pecorum, latratus canum, cantus avium imitans, ita ut satis appareret nichil sensus in ea remansisse. Quanto magis illam astantes torqueri videbant, tanto pro ea instantius Dominum exorabant.⁷⁹

She, with furious chest and terrifying mouth, imitated the bleating of sheep, the barking of dogs, the singing of birds, until it seemed clear enough that there was no sense left in her. The more those around her saw her tortured, the more vehemently did they pray to the Lord on her behalf.

The woman was cured when the monks, on Saint Zoyl's feast day, took the martyr's relics in procession and placed her under the reliquary. In a subsequent exorcism, a possessed woman, who was described as 'quasdam

voces pecorum emittens, ita vexatur a daemone, quod nullam humanam rationem retinere videretur' (giving out the cries of farm animals, was so vexed by the demon that it could be seen that she no longer possessed any human reason).⁸⁰ Jerome, in his *Vita Paulae*, VIII.13, recorded that in Samaria she came across men who 'howled like wolves, barked like dogs, roared like lions, hissed like serpents, bellowed like bulls'. Sigal reports that medieval French *demoniaci* gave out animal cries in several accounts of exorcism, and Yap that possession by a dog-spirit and a snake-spirit caused his Hong-Kong patients to bark and chirp [*sic*] respectively.⁸¹ However, few of them took on the gait and savagery of the animals as Momalega so theatrically did. She imitated the serpents and reptiles which were seen as the lowest of animals, since the snake had been cursed by God to crawl upon its stomach after the Fall (cf. Genesis 3, 14), and all 'creeping things' had been classified as unclean (Leviticus 11, 41).

Her arrival at Silos provoked a sullen silence, but, under the pressure of the exorcist's conjurations, the demons revealed their names and the manner in which they inhabited the girl's body. The story of the Gerasene demoniac may have bequeathed this hierarchical principle, since his demons confessed they were called 'Legio [...], quia multi sumus' (Mark 5, 9; Legion, for we are many; cf. Luke 8, 30). The semi-feudal organization, the order and power which Momalega's demons represented were a compensation for the girl's weakness, vulnerability and powerlessness, particularly in relation to the 'homo peruerse mentis' (I. 35, p. 382; man of perverse mind) who had struck her.

The nameless monk's counsel may well have been motivated by Momalega's history of mental disorder and the suspicion that she was unwilling for the demons to leave. The fasting he suggested would have provided a means by which the girl could show penance for her sins. It would also would have provided a form of shock therapy, whereby the girl would have had to choose between hunger and forgoing her state of bestial alienation. She came to her senses, perhaps because her shattered health could not permit an extremely long fast, as those who were with her indicated when the fast was first suggested (II.27.121–22, p. 386).

Monnina's story, on the other hand, is a fine example of the interplay between conscious acceptance of the state of possession and its simultaneous rejection by the sufferer. She enjoyed the vicarious exercise of power, pretending to be a warrior, even a band of warriors, in a highly aggressive dumb-show. And she exercised real power through laying down the conditions under which she would be cured, conditions which her family were only too willing to carry out. Her behaviour may be taken as an example of the secondary gains which the possessed obtain through their possession. But in specifying how she would be cured, we see that there was an awareness that these gains were temporary and represented only a means to an end.⁸² That advantages were acquired by the possessed may well explain

the worsening of the affliction that is occasionally witnessed when the saint's tomb is approached, as the possessed themselves react to the possibility of their cure with hostility (cf. II.39.9–12, p. 420), although it may equally be that, since the gains are achieved through suffering, an increase in suffering — and therefore in the attention received from others — is part of the price to be paid for guaranteeing a movement towards the resolution of the conflicts that generated the possession.

The young woman from Cuéllar's possession took the form of an incapacitating sickness. Her vision explained it as a punishment which was due to her father but which had been visited upon her. Her sufferings and their cause were part of a common language, as can be seen from an account in the *Miracula Rudesindi* which combines the motifs of the invitation to visit the shrine and the punishment upon a child for an unfulfilled vow in recounting how a woman from Tierra de Campos, having remained blind for a long time, was instructed to visit the grave of Rudesindus in a dream. She had never before heard the name of the saint, and slowly made her way to the shrine by asking directions of many she met. After a night's vigil, she was cured.

Recepto igitur lumine in propria reuertitur, et post annum cum puero a demone uexato ipsa siquidem ut ante ceca quia uigilium sancti Rudesindi ceu uouerat non obseruauit, ante sepulcrum sancti uiri reperitur. Peractis itaque uigiliis ipsa iterum illuminatur et puer a demone liberatur.⁸³

Having received sight, she returned home, and after a year with her child troubled by a demon and herself again blind since she had not observed the vigil of Saint Rudesindus as she had promised, was again before the grave of the holy man. And so, having completed the vigils, she regained her sight and the boy was freed from the demon.

Although this text was written almost three-quarters of a century after the miracle in the *Vita Dominici* was recorded, the cure of the blind woman formed part of the oral history of the shrine which Ordonius recorded before moving on to contemporary miracles; the miracles that are recorded alongside this one all purport to be from the last years of the eleventh century and the early years of the twelfth.⁸⁴ Ordonius situated the miracle's occurrence (or, rather, its place in the remembered history of the shrine) as the first decade of the twelfth century, and therefore roughly contemporary with *Vita Dominici*, II.50. Certainly the story had existed in the vicinity of Celanova long enough for it to reappear in the story of a man, similarly from the Tierra de Campos, similarly ignorant of Rudesindus, and similarly blind, who was cured at the shrine but not subsequently struck down.⁸⁵

The personal symbolism in the girl's exorcism is worthy of note as well. She had just been married when she was taken with illness. It is not fanciful to suppose that some disorder in her relations to male family members was at the root of the affliction. And so the saint, the 'good father', as it were,

comes to tell her of the fault of the 'bad father', her real father. Dominic, appearing as an old man, can indicate the means of the cure which the bad father can undertake and so redeem himself from his thoughtlessness and his daughter from her possession. Pilgrimage is the price enacted for the *demoniaca's* return to health. In comparison, Obeyesekere's patient, Alice Nona, contrasted the failure of her spouse with that of his father who would appear to her in dreams and possess her as a punishment for the ungrateful and violent treatment she received at her husband's hands.⁸⁶

The possessed were brought, or brought themselves, to a tomb. And in this tomb were the bones of a dead man. It is possible to see, through the imagery chosen to express demon possession (in the symbolic infestation of the personality by demons, by the dead, or by vengeful deities), a psychological conflict connected closely with death and to consider the possessing demons as partly a personification of the desire for nullity and non-existence in the face of excessive difficulty. The individual's confrontation with the tomb implies a confrontation with his or her own impulses towards death. As Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī († AD 1111), the eminent Muslim theologian, noted, 'the visitor [to a saint's shrine] ought not to be heedless of [...] reflecting on the deceased. He is in a state of reflection when he pictures in his heart the dead, how his members have separated and how he will be resurrected from the grave.'⁸⁷ And just as the saint was one who had, like Christ, triumphed over death, so the tomb (evidence of death and, paradoxically, the evidence of death's defeat) could open a way in which the psychological forces of death could be overcome and the self restructured in relation to religion and its ideal of social harmony.

The exorcisms performed at the tomb had a spiritual meaning for the monks and laity that listened to the accounts of the miracles. They spoke of Dominic's ability to protect them from the attacks of devils which were aimed not at possessing their bodies, but possessing their souls through enticing them into sin and having them cast into hell. The continued expulsion of demons was a sign of the presence of God amongst them, and of the benefits that they would reap through their devotion to Dominic. One of the authors of Book II encouraged those who would listen to the account to pray thus:

His igitur moti, karissimi, per interuentum huius sancti inuocemus super nos protectionem Spiritus Sancti, qui immisiones demonum remoueat a nostris corporibus et suggestiones a cordibus, qui ab utroque procedendo, coequalis, consubstantialis et coeternus per eterna secula regnat cum Patre et Filio. Amen. (II.27.154–158,p.390)

Affected by these things, dearest brethren, let us call down upon ourselves through the intervention of this saint the protection of the Holy Spirit, so that the attacks of the demons may be kept from our bodies and their temptations from our hearts by the one who, proceeding from both, co-equal, homoousion and coeternal, for ages unending reigns with the Father and the Son. Amen.

It has been claimed that the continued presence of demonic possession in Europe is due to the vested interests of the hierarchy of the Church since 'successful exorcism seemed to illustrate the power of the Church, to affirm its values, and to maintain its authority.'⁸⁸ The monks undoubtedly encouraged the laity to bring the possessed to the shrine for cures through their own actions in instituting prayers, fasting and exorcisms for the possessed. Yet all cultures usually place possession states in the hands of ritual specialists, and, as we have seen, it was the insistence of the faithful in requesting prayers for the possessed that drew the monks in to the curative routine. It would not be correct to see the monks at Silos — or the Church at large, however one wishes to identify that entity — as encouraging the laity in superstitious beliefs to increase their own power. At most one may speak of a coming together of the interests of the laity (to have a language in which possession states might express themselves so that they might be removed from the sufferer) and that of the representatives of institutional religion (to benefit the sufferers by removing possession states). In this equation, however, the institutional religion had to provide a solution to the possession states, or the laity would go elsewhere, to individual exorcists such as the one in Sepúlveda, or hermits and other holy men living, at times heretically, on the margins of society.⁸⁹ The monks of Silos, too, gained a fundamental role for themselves in the cure of the possessed. The rituals of communal prayer and exorcism allowed the brethren of the monastery to share in the miraculous work that Dominic was performing after his death and therefore to gain an importance and centrality within his cult. If the monastic life was principally concerned with the struggle against demons (see above, p. 34), then the monks' involvement with cures of the possessed was a dramatic illustration and fulfilment of their vocation. The rituals of exorcism, the practice of fasting and offering prayers for *demoniaci* allowed the monks of Silos an opportunity to communicate, to themselves and others, who they were.⁹⁰ Their existence as a community depended upon the thaumaturgic abbot whose grave lay in their church, and, through Dominic, Christ himself.

The predominance of women amongst the *inergumeni* of Silos was perhaps partly caused by the frustrations of life that fell disproportionately upon their sex. For the narrator of Momalega's exorcism, it was womanly weakness which led her to be possessed. But the predominance of the fairer sex was also no doubt due to their better, more robust mental health.⁹¹ For example, almost all of those suffering from lucid possession in post-war France were male.⁹² Yet, although the arts of the devil and the writhings of young girls have a hold on the modern imagination, it was not exorcisms which dominated Dominic's medieval devotees' appreciation of their saint. A sign of the unexceptionality of the shrine's record of exorcisms is the fact that this aspect of Dominic's posthumous thaumaturgy did not become as central to his image as that of his patronage of escapes, even though three times as many exorcisms were claimed at his shrine than escapes in the *Vita Dominici*.

NOTES

1. Cf. Valcárcel, p. 365 n. 2: Canon 6 of the Council of Coyanza (1055).
2. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Passionaires, légendiers et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Âge espagnol', in *Hagiographie. Cultures et Sociétés IVe-XIe siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Centre de Recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge, Université de Paris X (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), pp. 49-59, at p. 52. For the connections of this vision to the cult of Saint Aemilianus, see below, p. 199.
3. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (3rd edn; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), s. v. 'atonement', at col. 123A. The claim to property is found in twelfth-century Marian miracles, where the soul is delivered from demons; for example, devils say to angels, 'Nil in hac anima habetis, quoniam propter mala opera que gessit, iure concessa est nobis' (*Miracula Gloriose Dei Genetricis et Perpetue Virginis Marie*, §2, ed. Fernando Baños, in his edition of Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Biblioteca Clásica, 3 (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), pp. 348-87, at p. 349; you possess nothing in this soul, since, because of the bad works it did, it is rightfully ours). For an eight-century description of angels and devils tussling over the fate of a soul, see Boniface's description of the vision of the monk of Wenlock: *Bonifatii et Lullii epistolae*, Epistola 10, ed. Tangle, pp. 7-15, at p. 9, ll. 22-25.
4. Compare the description of the mourning of the Leonese for Alfonso VI some years later, according to Pelayo of Oviedo's *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, p. 87, l. 9 - p. 88, l. 2, 'flentibus cunctis ciuibus et dicentibus: Cur pastor oues deseris? Nam commendatum tibi gregem et regnum inuadent enim eum Sarraceni et maliuoli homines. Tunc comites et milites, nobiles et innobiles, siue et ciues, decaluatis captibus, scissis uestibus, rupte facies mulierum, asperso cinere cum magno gemitu et dolore cordis dabant uoces usque ad celos' (trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 88-89; 'whereupon all the citizens wept and shouted, "O shepherd, why have you deserted your sheep? Now Saracens and evil men will fall upon the flock which has been entrusted to your kingdom" Then the counts, knights (both the nobles and those not of noble birth), and citizens tore out their hair and rent their clothes, the women scratched their faces, and they sprinkled ashes and with great moaning and heaviness of heart they shouted to the heavens').
5. Namely, II.14, p. 342; II.20, p. 354; II.39, p. 420; II.46-47, p. 436; II.53, p. 448; II.56, p. 454; II.59, p. 458; III.5-6, p. 474; III.13, p. 482; III.18, p. 486; III.26, p. 500; III.35, p. 514; III.48, p. 544.
6. T. K. Oesterreich, *Possession, Demoniacal and Other Among Primitive Races, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, tr. D. Ibberson (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1930), p. 133, presents a European missionary's experience of demonic possession in Africa: 'A man was known locally as being "sick of the demon". When in his right senses he obtained shelter in the mosques and monasteries. He often came to the station, where M. Mayor [the missionary] used to give him food and talk to him [...]. When the fits took him, however, he used to flee into the forests and caves, and wound himself with stones and pieces of wood. He one day came to the station in the course of an attack; he did not recognize M. Mayor and fled with wild gestures as soon as he was approached'. A wandering possessed was cured by sleeping in the tomb of Benedict in Subiaco: Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.38.1, ll. 1-12, ed. de Vogüé, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 260, p. 146 — but there seems to be no influence of this account on the *Vita Dominici*.
7. Oliver Sachs, *An Anthropologist on Mars: Seven Paradoxical Tales* (London: Picador: 1995), p. 73.
8. Perhaps Santa María de Hoyas (Soria), some thirty kilometres from Silos, but also possibly Santa María del Campo (Burgos), a place large enough to be described as a *uilla* and in the area of the Arlanzón valley around Muño, whence a number of possessed women came.
9. See Fear, *Lives*, p. 33, note 83; *Vita Aemiliani*, §25, ed. Vázquez Parga, p. 26, l. 7-p. 27, l. 23. At the Hindu shrine of Poonkutil House, Kerala, a centre for the treatment of the insane and the possessed, 'strongly built patients accept to be fettered without attempting

to resist [...], "this is due to the blessing of the place, the blessing of our Goddess", as one of the practitioners expressed it. See Gilles Tarabout, "'Psycho-religious Therapy' in Kerala as a Form of Interaction between Local Traditions and (Perceived) Scientific Discourse", in *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia. La prise en charge de l'affliction: possession et cultes thérapeutiques en Asie du Sud*, ed. Marine Carrin (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), pp. 133–154, at pp. 139–40.

10. The instruction not to fear is found in virtually all angelic apparitions: cf. Luke 1, 30, 'Et ait angelus ei: Ne timeas, Maria' (the angel said to her, Mary, do not be afraid). Absence of fear was an important divinatory measure in deciding the provenance of the vision: 'non difficilis est bonorum spiritum malorumque discretio. Si enim post timorem successerit gaudium, a Domino venisse sciamus auxilium: quia securitas animae praesentis majestatis indicium est. Si autem incussa formido permanserit, hostis est qui videtur' (Antony the Great, as cited in an abbreviated form by Thomas Aquinas, OP, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a.30.3, ed. and tr. English Dominican Fathers, LI, 78–79; 'it is easy to tell the difference between good and evil spirits. If joy follows fear, we know that it is from the Lord since the calm soul points to the majestic presence. If the fear goes on and on, we are looking at the enemy'). The full text can be found in Evagrius's Latin translation of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*, §18, PL 73, 142D–143B.
11. 'Eoque discendente, impiissimus demon, illam arripiens, crudelius solito uexare cepit; et insuper, quodam turpissimo pitaciolo os illius fortiter obstruens, miserrimam mulierem insanam ac mutam reddidit atque hoc horrendum incomodum septem diebus pertulit' (II.24.15–18, p. 366)
12. I have translated *sene* as 'hermit' since it is in all probability a technical ascetic term for a man advanced in perfection, a use recorded as early as the Desert Fathers.
13. A later example of demons' refusal to be expelled except by a named saint is that given in the *Vita* of Pedro González (†1246), 'Pedro Pérez de Villela ... had a son obsessed by a demon who for eleven consecutive days neither ate, drank nor slept. Adjured by exorcisms, the demon replied that no one would cause him to depart except Brother Pedro González. The adolescent was led to the sepulchre of the holy father with bound hands (rage would otherwise have prevented it). Prayers having been said by those who stood round him, the demon there and then withdrew', according to Oesterreich, *Possession, Demoniacal and Other*, p. 184, citing *Acta Sanctorum*, aprilis II, 399.
14. II.24.22–23, p. 366, 'ecclesiastico more' (according to the custom of the Church; cf. Canon 90 of IV Carthage (AD 398), 'omni die exorcistae energumenis manus imponant', PL 84, 199–208, at 207A); II.27.109–12, p. 386; II.46.8, p. 436; III.43.17, p. 532; III.47.11–12, p. 542; III.48.14–15, p. 544.
15. II.39.16–17, p. 420; III.5.7–9, p. 474; III.6.4–5, p. 474; III.13.5–6, p. 482; III.43.16–17, p. 532; III.47.11–12, p. 542; III.48.7–14, p. 544.
16. II.46.7, p. 436; III.13.5–6, p. 482.
17. II.47.3–8, p. 436; II.50.16–19, p. 442; II.56.8–12, p. 454; II.59.6–9, p. 458; III.35.10–19, p. 514.
18. II.53.3–5, p. 448; III.5.4–7, p. 474; III.18.3–5, p. 486; III.26.6–7, p. 500; III.42.8–14, p. 530.
19. For the power of Martin's relics to cast out demons, see Gregorius Turonensis, *De miraculis Sancti Martini*, I.38, PL 71, 938CD, and II.17, 948B–49B.
20. Henry Mayr-Harting, *Perceptions of Angels in History: an Inaugural Lecture Delivered in the University of Oxford on 14 November 1997* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 5–6, 13–17.
21. Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas y notas marginales*, p. 29 and *Documentación*, doc. no. 11, pp. 13–14 (20–XII–1056).
22. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación*, doc. no. 25, p. 30 (AD 1088).
23. Silos was already an important centre for the pilgrimage to Santiago, and he may have been a monk traversing the route across Spain.
24. For example, the Fourth Council of Carthage (AD 398), canon 69, 'Qui dominico die studioso ieiunat non credatur catholicus' (PL 84, 199–208, at col. 205AB; those who are

- careful to fast on Sundays are not to be thought to be Catholic), or Augustine's comment, 'die autem dominico ieiunare scandalum est magnum' (Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis, *Epistola* 36: *Ad Casluanum*, XII.27, in *Obras de San Agustín en edición bilingüe*, VIII: *Cartas*, ed. Lope Cilleruelo, OSA., Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 69 (Madrid: BAC, 1958), pp. 166–204, at p. 196; but it is a great scandal to fast upon a Sunday).
25. Beda Venerabilis, *In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, III.324–44, in *Beda Venerabilis Opera*, pars II: 3, ed. D. Hurst, OSB, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), pp. 427–648, at p. 550.
 26. Exorcisms at the shrine of Zoyl: *Miracula Zoyli*, §§8, 9, 12, 13, 15, at pp. 501, 503–4. At the shrine of Rudesindus: *Miracula Rudesindi*, §3, 9, 12, 18–19, 29, 31–33, 42, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilariño Pintos, at pp. 164, 170, 174–76, 180–182, 202, 206–212, 226–230; the proportion is even higher (reaching roughly thirty percent) when pseudo-miracles and folk-tales are discounted (§§6–8, 17, 30). Exorcisms at the shrine of Isidore: *Historia Translationis Isidori*, VI.1–5, ed. Juan A. Estévez Sola, in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*, ed. by Luis Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola and Rocío Carande Herrero, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 73 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 143–79, at pp. 174–78 (or §§25–29, *Acta Sanctorum*, aprilis I, pp. 351–362, at p. 360D–61E).
 27. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 236; John Moorhead, 'Thoughts on Some Early Medieval Miracles', in *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by Sergei Hackel (London: The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981), pp. 1–11, at p. 1.
 28. Eneugemens whose origins were within twenty kilometres make up thirty-six percent of the total; the percentage for the various types of cures witnessed in the *Vita* as a whole is thirty-seven percent. Thirty-six percent of eneugemens also came from between twenty and sixty kilometres; the percentage for all cures in the *Vita* is thirty-four percent. Twenty-eight percent of the possessed came from beyond sixty kilometres, against twenty-nine percent for the *Vita* as a whole.
 29. 'Pauper': II.59; rich: III.32 and III.38 (both possess servants).
 30. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 237.
 31. Lomax, 'Aspectos de la vida castellana', p. 297.
 32. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 307.
 33. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 128; *Historia Roderici*, §10, in *The World of El Cid*, trans. Barton and Fletcher, p. 104. Rodrigo Díaz launched a counter-strike at Toledo, bringing back 7,000 captives. Barton and Fletcher, at p. 104 n. 21, speculate that San Estebán de Gormaz was already in Rodrigo Díaz's possession when the Muslims attacked, which would explain why he led the counter-strike. Documentation only survives attesting the Cid's overlordship of Gormaz from the period after his return from banishment.
 34. Ordonius, *Miracula Rudesindi*, §1, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilariño Pintos, p. 162, II. 454–55.
 35. See above, pp. 109 and 112. Its reputation continued into the thirteenth century: see below, p. 305.
 36. Nicholas P. Spanos and Jack Gottlieb, 'Demonic Possession, Mesmerism and Hysteria: a Social Psychological Perspective on their Historical Interrelations', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 88 (1979), 572–46, at p. 540.
 37. Sander L. Gilman, 'The Image of the Hysteric', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. by G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 345–452, at pp. 345–36.
 38. Jan Goldstein, 'The Hysteria Diagnosis and the Politics of Anticlericalism in Late Nineteenth-Century France', *Journal of Modern History*, 54 (1982), 209–39, at p. 237.
 39. Roy Porter, 'The Body and the Mind, the Doctor and the Patient: Negotiating Hysteria', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, pp. 225–85, at p. 231.
 40. See Helen King's highly entertaining article, 'Once upon a Text: Hysteria from Hippocrates', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, pp. 3–90. The origins of the term 'hysteria' lie in the attempts of physicians drawn into Early Modern witchcraft trials to account in a

natrualistic fashion for symptoms which might mimic demon possession (see Micale, *Approaching Hysteria*, p. 48). Some of these symptoms, particularly pain in the limbs or in organs where no lesions or illness could be detected, became completely separated from any concept of possession and were discussed as 'hysteria' (G. S. Rousseau, "'A Strange Pathology'": Hysteria in the Early Modern World, 1500–1800', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, pp. 191–221). The attraction of Charcot's thesis was that it imposed order on an otherwise nebulous concept.

41. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria*, p. 29. A similar process would seem to be happening with the diagnosis of schizophrenia.
42. Edward Shorter, 'Paralysis: the Rise and Fall of a "Hysterical" Symptom', *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1985–86), 549–82, at p. 551.
43. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria*, pp. 60–62; Anna O's epithet is that given by Philip Reiff, *Freud: the Mind of the Moralizer* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1959), p. 11.
44. P. M. Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome: a comparison of Hong Kong and French Findings', *Journal of Mental Science*, 106 (1960), 114–137, at p. 121, 'Clearly many of the cases [of possession] could have been labelled variously as examples of hysterical delirium and twilight state, hysterical puerilism, buffoonery syndrome, pseudologia phantastica, mythomania and even playful malingering; the common element being the idea of possession held in the context of exuberant myth and legend.'
45. Shorter, 'Paralysis', p. 555; Erika Bourguignon, *Possession* (San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp, 1976), p. 10.
46. William Sargant, *The Mind Possessed: a Physiology of Possession, Mysticism and Faith Healing* (London: Heinemann, 1973), pp. 12–13.
47. Sargant, *The Mind Possessed*, p. 34.
48. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a 2ae, CLXV.2.4, ed. English Dominican Fathers, XLIV, 188.
49. Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome', pp. 124–25.
50. Sargant, *The Mind Possessed*, p. 52.
51. Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome', pp. 124–25.
52. I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: an Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), pp. 182–84.
53. S. F. Nadell, 'Shamanism in the Nuba Mountains', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 76 (1946), 25–37, at p. 36, 'the institutionalized catharsis which [shamanizing] offers may well have the therapeutic effect of stabilizing hysteria and related psychoneuroses, thus reducing psychopathic incidence which would otherwise be much larger'.
54. Ganath Obeyesekere, 'The Idiom of Demonic Possession: a Case Study', *Social Science and Medicine*, 4 (1970), 97–111, at p. 105.
55. Obeyesekere, 'The Idiom of Demonic Possession', p. 105.
56. Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome', p. 125.
57. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 60: 'Mental ill-health, more than physical, is greatly affected by stress, and social support can do a lot to prevent or cure. Discussion of problems may lead to solving them; sympathetic support can lead to enhancing self-esteem; the availability of a supportive network can lead to a feeling of mastery, an ability to cope with things; but above all acceptance and companionship of others, a feeling of being loved, may be the most therapeutic of all.' These views have been reinforced by a report recently published by the Mental Health Foundation, 'Is There Anybody There?: a Report into Mental Health and Friendship', as reported in *The Tablet*, 28 April 2001, p. 632.
58. M. Leiris, *La Possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar* (Paris: Plon, 1958).
59. David Mechanic, 'The Concept of Illness Behavior', *Journal of Chronic Diseases*, 15 (1962), 189–94, at p. 191, whose survey of the use of medical services of a large university showed that, irrespective of social class, religious affiliation determined the proportion of students who would avail themselves of the doctors' services: seventy-one percent of Jews and seventy percent of Episcopalians had recourse to them, whilst only

- thirty-two percent of Christian Scientists and forty-two percent of Catholics found occasion to use them. The authors concluded: 'Our findings suggest a theory of learned alternative channels for dealing with life stress situations, including illness. Symptoms presented to the physician by Jews and Episcopalians may be presented to priests, lay practitioners and druggists by members of other groups.'
60. J. Duncan M. Derrett, 'Spirit-possession and the Gerasene Demoniac', *Man*, n. s., 14 (1979), 286-93, at p. 287.
 61. Y. J. Shobha Devi and G. S. Bidarakoppa, 'Jod Gomaz as a Healing Centre', in *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia. La prise en charge de l'affliction: possession et cultes thérapeutiques en Asie du Sud*, ed. Marine Carrin (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), pp. 74-89, at p. 78.
 62. See Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, p. 101. Elaine Showalter, 'Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender', in *Hysteria after Freud*, pp. 286-344, rejects the idea that hysteria should be seen as a form of protest against the lot of the oppressed. The low number of the poor who were recorded as suffering from possession at Silos (four percent of those possessed) would also argue against any protest based purely on economic conditions alone. The poor make up only six percent of the total of pilgrims recorded in Books II-III. The rich, however, although they make up twenty-five percent of pilgrims in total, only figure as eight percent of those cured from possession — although that percentage may significantly underestimate their number.
 63. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, p. 86.
 64. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, pp. 94-99.
 65. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM, 1983), pp. 111, 123.
 66. Spanos and Gottlieb, 'Demonic Possession', p. 527.
 67. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 51.
 68. On the neophytes, see Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 94-97.
 69. This solidarity is termed 'communitas' by Turner, *The Ritual Process*, pp. 96-97, 125-130, who envisages a state of human existence temporarily distinct from social structure and the structural ties implicit in existence within society. 'Comunitas' is a recognition of the essential human bond without which there could be no society. 'Spontaneous communitas is nature in dialogue with structure, married to it as a women is married to a man. Together they make up one stream of life, the one affluent supplying power, the other alluvial fertility', Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 140.
 70. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 96.
 71. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, p. 88.
 72. Tarabout, 'Psycho-religious Therapy', pp. 142-43.
 73. Tarabout, 'Psycho-Religious Therapy', pp. 144-145.
 74. On demonic possession as an excuse for anti-social behaviour, see Spanos and Gottlieb, 'Demonic Possession', p. 541.
 75. Tarabout, 'Psycho-Religious Therapy', p. 145.
 76. On this view of monasticism, see Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolical Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 272-300, where such organization is termed 'antistructure' to contrast it with the normal structure of society. Cf. Ilana Friedrich Silber, *Virtuosity, Charisma and Social Order: a Comparative Sociological Study of Monasticism in Theravada Buddhism and Medieval Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 38-40.
 77. Noted with respect of South Indian Muslim shrines by Jackie Assayag, 'But, They Do Move ... : Religion, Illness and Therapeutics in Southern India', in *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, pp. 30-50, at p. 47.
 78. Derrett, 'Spirit-Possession', p. 287, suggests that the Gerasene demoniac's bruising and cutting of himself amongst the tombs (Mark 5, 6) was a mourning ritual pushed to extremes.
 79. *Miracula Zoyli*, §13, p. 503.

80. *Miracula Zoyli*, §15, p. 504.
81. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 236 (*Miracula Sancti Agili*, I.14–15, *Acta Sanctorum* (Brussels, 1643–1940), augusti VI, pp. 587–92, at pp. 589–90; *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, VIII.7, ed. E. de Certain, *Les Miracles de saint Benoît* (Paris, 1858), pp. 262–63; *Miracula sancti Willelmi monachi Gellonensis*, §9, *Acta Sanctorum*, maii VI, pp. 822–28, at p. 824; *Vita Sancti Petris prioris Juliacensis*, III.24, *Acta Sanctorum*, iunii IV, pp. 608–14, at p. 614). Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome', p. 121. See also Oesterreich, *Possession, Demoniacal and Other*, pp. 42–45, 95, 191.
82. Franck Rollier, 'Walking Round on the Straight Path in the Name of the Father: a Study of the Dispossession Trance at Murugmalla', in *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, pp. 51–73, at pp. 53–59.
83. Ordonius, *Miracula Rudesindi*, §3, ll. 479–91, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo and Vilariño, p. 164.
84. Miracle §1, AD 1074–1091; §2, ante 1107, but not a great deal before since witnesses were still alive to tell the tale to Ordonius; §4, 1090–1118 (ll. 431, 461–64, 492, at pp. 161–164). Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes', p. 149, notes that usually the oral tradition available to hagiographers, as with Ordonius, stretched back a maximum of a hundred years.
85. Cf. Ordonius, *Miracula Rudesindi*, §13, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilariño Pintos, p. 176, ll. 644–62. Possession as a punishment for failure to visit a shrine of the Virgin is found in the *Miracula Rudesindi*, §31, pp. 206–210, ll. 995–1040.
86. Obeyesekere, 'The Idiom of Demonic Possession', p. 104.
87. *Ilhya* 'Ulum al Din, 5 vols (Cairo, 1955), IV, 492, cited by Josef W. Meri, 'The Etiquette of Devotion in the Islamic Cult of Saints', in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. by James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 263–86, at p. 279.
88. Spanos and Gottlieb, 'Demonic Possession', p. 535.
89. For heretical hermits of the eleventh century, see Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background to Cîteaux*, p. 149.
90. See Robert F. Taft, SJ, "'Ringraziamento per la luce": verso una teologia dei vespri', in his *Oltre l'oriente e l'occidente: per una tradizione liturgica viva* (Rome: Lipa, 1999), pp. 173–200, at pp. 174–78.
91. For the general preponderance of women at saints' shrines that specialize in exorcism, see Marine Carrin, 'Reasserting Identity through Suffering: Healing Rituals in Bengal and Karnataka', in *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, pp. 90–115, at p. 90.
92. Yap, 'The Possession Syndrome', p. 124.

CHAPTER 5

ILLE PROMPTISSIMUS DELIBERATOR ESCAPES

Whilst Fortunius's church and cloister were being solemnly consecrated in the presence of the papal legate, a hubbub in the lower part of the church among the gathered laity caused a pause in the proceedings as heavy iron chains clanked as they were raised up and placed on Dominic's altar. Servandus had arrived, dusty and bedraggled, bringing with him his chains and his story of how Dominic had rescued him from captivity in Muslim Medinaceli, some two hundred kilometres away. No more propitious a time could have been chosen for his arrival, nor could more illustrious ecclesiastical personages have been found to witness it in the whole of the Iberian peninsula. Servandus's arrival transformed the cult of Dominic, enlarging Dominic's role and persona far beyond the figure of the saintly reforming abbot, whose cult, apart from a burst of enthusiasm before his translation and a small flurry of exorcisms, was characterized solely by the modest number of miracles that had, up to this point, occurred at his tomb. Fortunius had even found it unnecessary to translate his relics to the more prestigious, raised part of the new church. Servandus's story set Dominic on the road to be a saint with a national profile, fixing him in the minds of Castilians as the liberator of captives and, eventually, as a saint with a special role in the maintenance and protection of Castile itself.

The account that is set down and attributed to Servandus has a discernible theological message above and beyond the account of the escape. His sufferings during his imprisonment were extreme. He was tortured '*intolerabili diri horroris, famis, frigoris, fetoris et cathenarum ponderis exitio*' (II.21.7–8, p. 356; with an intolerable death of fear, hunger, cold, stench and the heavy weight of chains). The characterization of the place, particularly its being deep underground, lacking light and without any solace or help (II.21.4–5, p. 356), is that of an earthly hell filled with the torments that demons rejoice to inflict upon sinners. However, since he was not in hell, help was still available through prayer, close to death as he was (II.21.9–12, p. 356).

Servandus expressed himself as a Christian dying a good death in imitation of Christ upon the cross, echoing the words of Luke 23, 46, '*Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*' (Father, into your hands I commend my

spirit), and placing all his hope in God his creator. Grimaldus attributes Servandus's change in fortunes to God himself, who chose Dominic to carry out the liberation so that Dominic's sanctity could be seen more clearly by everyone (II.21.17–22, p. 356). Here, explicitly, the initiative lies with God; it is he who responds directly to the captive's prayer by sending Dominic. The miracle is not wrought through the saint's intercession for one who intended to go to his tomb in supplication. Rather, God chose Dominic from the numerous saints at his disposal for a task beyond even the captive's hopes and for which he therefore did not pray. Servandus prayed for the salvation of his soul (II.21.12–13, p. 356) and was rescued from his bodily affliction. Yet the dramatic change is also concerned with the captive's soul.

One night, when all were asleep, Dominic appeared to Servandus 'cum magna claritate luminis' (l. 24, p. 356; with a great shining of light) and called him by name. Servandus came from Cozcurrita, itself near the place of his confinement, Medinaceli. This was probably too far from Silos to have possessed, at this early stage of the cult, an image of the saint. Servandus's vision, therefore, had no obvious pattern from within the cult on which to base itself, and so he saw Dominic dressed in a monk's habit, without any other attributes. Dominic identified himself as the former abbot of Silos and a sinner. Grimaldus then goes on to recount what Dominic said in direct speech, since it was the most important part of the vision, at least from his point of view:

Dominus quoque miseras tue magne afflictionis clementi respectu uidit, lacrimis condoluit, orationem tui contriti et humiliati cordis benigna miseratione exaudiuit et me huc ad hoc misit, ut te ab hoc horribili ac fetenti lacu eripiam ac patrie parentibusque restituam, quia in eo qui semper uiuit et regnat et non in homine mortali omnem spem tue ereptionis, secundum sententiam propheticam, posuisti. (II.21.31–36, p. 358)

The Lord saw with forgiveness the miseries of your great affliction, took compassion on your tears, heard with loving pity the prayer of your contrite and humbled heart and has sent me here, in order to rescue you from this horrible and noisome dungeon and return you to your homeland and relatives, because you put all your hope of rescue in him who ever lives and reigns, and not in mortal man, according to the words of the prophet (cf. Jeremiah, 17, 5–7).

Christ had sent Dominic to rescue the captive. And as the saint spoke, the locks and bars of the dungeon were shattered. When this had occurred, Dominic signalled to the captive that he should leave the dungeon. Yet rather than hurrying to escape, the captive pointed to his own chains, which were too heavy to allow him to leave. Dominic handed him a small wooden mallet, and, as the writer exclaims, 'mirabile dictu!, fragile lignum ferreos conpedes confregit' (l. 44, p. 358; marvellous to relate! the weak wood shattered the iron shackles). Servandus then adduced a second problem. The dungeon was too high for him to escape. Dominic threw down a rope, and, before pulling

him up, instructed the captive to go to Silos and hang his chains above his shrine 'ad laudem et gloriam nominis Christi' (I. 53, p. 358; to the praise and glory of Christ), a procedure which became the normal means of commemorating an escape miracle. Characterized as the wish of the saint himself, it formed an important part of the ritual of the shrine.

Dominic's words to Servandus were more concerned with his moral conduct than is usual in such accounts. His behaviour after his liberation is also intended as a sign that he has been redeemed in both the spiritual and material senses. As Dominic says to the captive when he pulls him out of the cell, 'Gratias deo redde de tua ereptione et omne bonum quod poteris adimple et compesce te ab omni uanitate et malignitate' (II. 50–52, p. 358; Give thanks to God for your release and do all the good that you can and keep away from yourself all vanity and evil). The vision is characterized by a particular moral slant, which is absent from accounts which might be described as otherwise analogous. The captive is in a prison which resembles hell. Dominic appears, and allows him to break his chains with a mallet; he then pulls him up with a rope: the work of forgiveness, breaking the bonds of sin; the work of grace, raising the previously captive man to the height of liberty. The man is freed from the corporal affliction of his cell but is also, in an allegorical sense, freed from the pains of hell and rises to freedom, nature co-operating with grace, his own efforts being underpinned by the mercy of God.

Such an understanding of the two aspects of the miracle is highlighted in the prayer with which the narrator closes the chapter, in which he encourages his brethren to rejoice that God has seen fit to grant them 'tantum et tam eximium patronum' (II.21.91, p. 360; such a great and eminent patron saint), whom they should suitably honour so that he may grant them enough food from which to live, that they might escape from earthly dangers and sin and that, through his intercession, they might be freed from the damnation of eternal death and brought to everlasting joy (II.21.91–98, p. 360). The physical liberation of the captive becomes, in the narrator's eyes, a sign of the grandeur of Dominic's sanctity and an indication of the spiritual benefits that Dominic's intercession could bring. His words of exhortation would have had a particular resonance if, as I have argued, Dominic's cult had decayed in the monastery by this time.

'Diuina [...] prouidentia' (II.21.63, p. 358) had brought about this propitious conjunction of personages. Whilst the liberation of the captive itself filled all those who were there with wonder and joy (II.21.68, p. 360), his vision left them in no doubt to whom they should ascribe the marvel. The dedication of the church and its altars was shown to be in accord with divine will by Dominic's acquisition of the power to free this captive. Grimaldus completes his eulogy of Christ, through whose power every miracle is worked, with three pointed comparisons (II.21.71–85, p. 360). The first parallel mentioned is that of Peter, whose escape from Herod's prison through the intervention of an angel was the archetype of all such liberations. Here the emphasis falls on

the similarities between the escapes through the breaking of the bonds and the opening of the gaol doors. The second is Saint Nicholas's appearance to a sleeping prefect of Constantinople to admonish him over his taking of bribes and his emperor's unjust imprisonment of three officials. Here, the parallel is with the closeness to death of Servandus and the men rescued by Nicholas. The third is Martin of Tours' liberation of prisoners whom he is described as leading out from prison. Significantly, all three saints were named in the dedications of altars at Silos at the consecration of 1088. The miraculous arrival of Servandus on the very day of the consecration conveyed divine approval — and Dominic's approval — for the direction that the monastery had taken in explicitly supporting ecclesiastical reform as reflected in the same altar dedications (see above, pp. 87–88). It also reminded everyone that it was Dominic who was the major saint at the abbey, even though his relics had been sidelined in the reconstruction and dedication of the church.

A small footnote should be added to Servandus's account of his liberation. In the description of the breaking of chains with a mallet lies a precise parallel with a liberation performed by Saint Faith of Conques in the tenth century. Faith also handed a hammer to the first captive she released: 'cum [...] incessanter ad sanctam Fidem exclamaret, mox ei sancta Fides vigilanti apparuit. Quae cum rogata sancta Fidis vocabulo se nominaret, protinus marculum vetustissimum [...] prebens, jubet illo compedes feriri' (As he ceaselessly called upon Saint Faith, soon she appeared to him while he was awake, and, after identifying herself when asked by the captive and offering him a very old small hammer, told him to strike the shackles).¹ The devotee of Saint Faith swiftly escaped. The cult of Faith was known both through the *Camino francés* and through the allegiance of some Iberian monastic houses to Conques at the end of the eleventh century. Conques is mentioned in the *Codex Calixtinus*.² There are marked similarities between the church at Conques and the cathedral of Santiago.³ The monastery of Saint Faith at Conques's influence was also felt in Catalunya, where it had possessed the church of 'Colonicum', in the diocese of Vich 'multo ex tempore' (for a very long time), and several Catalans are recorded as having been freed by Saint Faith.⁴ This influence continued into the twelfth century, when the monastery was given a church and hostelry in Roncesvalles between 1101 and 1104 by Count Sancho de Erro; the bishop of Pamplona at this time was a former monk of Conques.⁵ The cult of Saint Faith was thus well-known on the pilgrim's way to Santiago de Compostela towards the end of the eleventh century.⁶ Nevertheless, the French parallel to Servandus's liberation was not known at Silos, since the narrator rejoices in the originality of the wonder that took place, noting that the iron shackles were 'inaudito miraculo fractis' (Il.21.89–90, p. 360; broken by an unheard-of miracle).⁷ Was Dominic's fame as a thaumaturgic liberator based upon a pious fraud practised upon his monastery? Or do saints copy one another's miracles? It is impossible to say.

PETRUS OF PLANTATA

The second escape-miracle contains an account of a vision, but after this miracle no other escape involves visions. The vision itself explains why Dominic would not appear again. Unlike the account of Servandus's liberation, Petrus's account relinquishes the seriousness of the moral *exemplum* in favour of a certain irony and humour. Petrus, an important noble from the vanished town of Llantada near Carrión de los Condes, had left his homeland for the castle of Aledo in Murcia and spent several days raiding the Saracens roundabout, but was eventually captured by them.⁸ The author is not unaware of the irony of the situation: 'omnes a Sarracenis capti sunt; et qui hostili prede iniabant, pro dolor!, hostium preda facti sunt' (II.25.6–8, p. 370; all were captured by the Saracens; and those who were greedy for booty from their enemies, alas!, became their enemies' booty). Petrus spent two years captive in a cistern. Dominic appeared to him on a certain Wednesday, but did not free him. Instead, he told him to escape on the coming Friday when he would be taken out to work in his master's orchard. Petrus did as he was told, fled on the Friday and reached Toledo, whence he travelled to Silos.

The tale, too, works on the level of theological metaphor, despite its lightness of tone. In the sharing out of captives, Petrus was assigned to a soldier of Murcia whose home lacked a dungeon and who 'in altissima uoragine lutulendi lacus eum demersit' (II.25.11–12, p. 370; plunged him into the very deep hole of a muddy cistern). The means of imprisonment is likely enough, yet its versimilitude allows a play on the word 'lacus', since that word is strongly reminiscent of the Psalms, where *lacus* is the 'pit' of Sheol or Gehinnom, the Hebrew abode of the dead: Psalm 27 (28), 1, 'ne quando taceas a me, et assimilabor descendentibus in lacum' (lest you answer me with silence, and I become like those who go down to the abyss). Petrus does indeed live there as if he were dead: 'per duos annos miseram uitam et omnino infelicem omnique dira mortem deteriore in luctu et in totius generis afflictione, sine omnis uiuentis consolatione, duxit' (II.25.12–14, p. 370; for two years, he led a pitiful and utterly miserable life worse than direst death, in mourning and in all manner of affliction without any consolation from the living). The muddy cistern is like the pit of sin and death into which every human being falls. Therefore the narrator continues, not with the immediate account of Petrus's escape, but with a meditation upon the general import of the miracle, which reveals the action of God in the world on behalf of sinners through the intercession of the saint:

Sed miserante Domino, qui, ueraci Sacre Scripture testimonio, peccata hominum in se confidentium et ad se clamantium in tribulatione dimittit, infelicem captium in infelicitate sua non despexit neque neglexit, sed per beatum patronum nostrum, Dominicum, ab infestissime captiuitatis iugo clementer eripuit et optatissime libertati mirabiliter restituit. (II.25.15–19, p. 370)

But, in his mercy the Lord, who, by the truthful testimony of Sacred Scripture, pardons the sins of those who trust in him and who call out to him in need, did not despise or abandon the unfortunate captive in his misfortune, but through our blessed *patronus*, Dominic, mercifully freed him from the yoke of the most horrible captivity and marvellously restored him to his most desired liberty.

Only after this moral aside is the account of the liberation given. One night, Dominic appeared with a brilliant light, dressed in a monk's habit and leaning upon a staff, even though the doors of the house, which enclosed the cistern on all sides, were duly locked (II.25.23–25, p. 370). Dominic called to the captive by name. Instead of the exchange that occurred in the previous narration, Dominic unexpectedly chastised the captive: 'Miser, cur teipsum neglegis? Et quamobrem hunc teterrimum lacum non egrederis? Et quare te pristina libertatis ignavia pressus, minime conaris?' (II.25.28–30, pp. 370–72; Wretch, why are you neglectful of yourself? And why do you not leave this most loathsome pit? Why, chained by slothfulness, do you make no effort to regain you original liberty?).

Petrus disbelieved the vision. He thought his master was encouraging him to escape so that he might have him punished or executed. Dominic's rebuke, however, pointed towards another reason for his continued captivity. Petrus had learnt to put up with his misery, content with his imprisonment. Placed in the *lacus* of sin, he no longer looked to his 'pristina libertas', that freedom which Adam had before the Fall. As Augustine wrote, 'Prima ergo libertas voluntatis erat, posse non peccare' (The first freedom was of the will, the power not to sin).⁹ Petrus is a type of humanity caught in the devil's coils and unable or unwilling to escape, for he has forgotten his original freedom as a son of God. *Ignavia* is a metaphor for *accedia*, spiritual sloth.

Even after this admonishment, Petrus held back in fear, saying that he could not leave because of his bonds and the height of the cistern (II.25.33–35, p. 372). Rather than dropping the man a mallet and lowering a rope, Dominic told him to pray for his release: "Noli", inquit, "desperare de misericordia Domini, qui semper se inuocantes adiuuat et peccata oppressorum afflictorum in tribulatione relaxat" (II.25.35–37, p. 372; 'Do not despair,' he said, 'of the mercy of the Lord, who ever helps those who call upon him and pardons the sins of those oppressed and afflicted by tribulation'). Just as the monkish author prefaces his account of the liberation with a general consideration about the nature of God's mercy, so Dominic prefaced his instructions to the captive on how to escape with a similar consideration of God's mercy, a thought which was turned to the captive's own plight by Dominic's promise that God would hear his prayer (II.25.37–41, p. 372).

After making the promise of salvation, Dominic insisted upon the importance of faith. On one level, Petrus should have faith in the promise of literal liberation. But, on higher level, Petrus must have faith in the saving power of God himself.

Quod dico, intellige et firmiter tue menti trade nec insit tibi aliqua hesitatio, si uis frui salubri tui corporis et anime comodo; me scito esse Dominicum peccatorem, quondam Exiliensis monasterii abbatem.' (II.25.44–47, p. 372)

Understand what I say to you and take firmly it into your mind, and have no hesitation if you wish to enjoy the health of your body and the ease of your soul; know that I am Dominic, a sinner, once abbot of the monastery of Silos.

Grimaldus draws the lesson that faith is all-important, not only from the view of those imprisoned or those wishing to be cured, but also as a spiritual, theological necessity for all humanity (II.25.86–92, p. 374).

Dominic's role has here changed from that of the envoy of Christ to that of an intercessor. He had interceded for Petrus, even though the latter had not prayed directly to request his intercession, and it was because of Dominic's prayers that the captive would be released: 'a Domino sum misericordiam consequutus et ego ei obtuli tuas preces et gemitus et ab eo ad te liberandum sum missus' (II.25.47–49, p. 372; I have gained mercy from the Lord and I placed before him your prayers and groans and I am sent by him to free you). The power is always God's, never the saint's own, but now Dominic had a special role to play in the court of heaven regarding captives. They were, in some way, placed under his patronage. Such patronage was claimed at a particularly suitable time, since the southward expansion of Christian kingdoms had led to more Christians falling captive to the Muslims.¹⁰

Yet despite the visionary appearance, no miraculous escape occurred, at least not in a usual form. Dominic merely advised the captive on what would be a propitious time for an escape and encouraged him to use his own wits to effect it. He would be taken to dig his master's kitchen-garden on the following Friday with two others; his master would then go to besport himself with his own co-religionists; at that point the captive was to attempt his escape (II.25.49–58). Rather than liberating him by a miracle, Dominic encouraged the captive to make his own escape. Such an attitude is very much like that often adopted by Saint Faith in the tenth century through her appearances to dreaming captives, encouraging them to help themselves.¹¹

Petrus escaped, just as Dominic had indicated that he should, and reached Toledo after twelve days, 'omnibus omnia que circa se gesta erant per beatum Dominicum retulit; certissimis indiciis esse uera que dixerat manifestauit' (II. 25.66–67, p. 374; to all he told all that had been worked by blessed Dominic concerning himself; by most certain signs he showed what he said was true). Encouraged by those to whom he told his tale, he continued on to Silos (II.25. 80–85, p. 374). Petrus probably made his way to the newly dedicated convent of Santo Domingo (which now has the epithet, 'el Antiguo') in Toledo, which may have been founded by Alfonso VI in 1085, after the fall of the city into his hands.¹² There was no mention in the vision that he should render homage at the saint's tomb, but the *sensus fidelium* was certainly that this was the fitting way to show one's gratitude.

The vision marks an alteration in the type of liberation captives could expect. The marvellous appearance of the monk, raising the captive out of the dungeon through supernatural power and conveying an important spiritual lesson at the same time, is replaced by the simple encouragement to escape: 'Sagaciter ergo age, et quod agis prudenter dispone' (II.25.51–52, p. 372; Therefore, act wisely and prepare carefully what you do). The captive must make a leap of faith. In subsequent accounts of escapes in the collection, captives commend their escape to Dominic (III.9.4–6, p. 478; III.20.6–10, p. 492; III.36.16–26, p. 516), but no visions are received.

FURTHER ESCAPES

The saint's prowess in freeing captives was wholly accepted by the aristocracy of Castile, since Iohannes Dominici, seized upon Dominic's fame to explain his escape from a dungeon where he had been placed by an irate Alfonso VI after showing the temerity to attack Muslim vassals of the king. Iohannes Dominici claimed that Dominic had shattered his shackles immediately that his name was invoked (II.26.45–49, p. 378). Yet the man's squire was standing outside the prison awaiting his escape with a spare horse — an event unlikely to have also been arranged by the saint. Iohannes Dominici's attribution of the escape to Dominic, we may think, was a means of deflecting any punishment for the crime he had committed, which he had then compounded by evasion of the king's justice. The man's gifts to Silos were a fitting way of confirming his release. The king absolved Iohannes Dominici from punishment for his crime, thus recognizing the higher authority of the saint. This was the correct response to a miraculous liberation, which had already been given expression in the *Miracula Sancti Martini*, where captives, having escaped from their chains, reached Martin's basilica and were subsequently absolved by the judge from their punishment: 'Post paucos dies, homines qui carceris vinculis tenebantur, divinitus absoluti, sancti basilicam sunt ingressi, et per iudicem immunes a damno laxati sunt' (After a few days, men whom the chains of prison had held, freed by God, entered the basilica of the saint, and were released from their punishment by the judge).¹³ Dominic's protection and the church at Silos could function as a sanctuary for escapees from Christian justice, something which occurred several times during the thirteenth century.

Iohannes Dominici's escape saw a pause in escape miracles, until a young man from Sepúlveda came to Silos after escaping from Atienza (III.9, p. 478), the narration of whose escape is immediately followed by that of Bellitus who, perhaps returning to his native Palencia, came to give thanks at Silos for his liberation. His tale is as follows:

Iuuenis quoque alius, nomine Bellitus, de ciuitate Palentia sancti Antonini natus, a Sarracenis in exercitu regis Aldefonsi fuit captus atque ad Cesaraugustam urbem perductus. Illic uero duobus annis longa carceris maceratione fatigatus, nullius

auxilii fuerat suffragio releuatus. Cum autem die quadam ante domum tortoris resedisset, illic pertransiens quidam christianus miles, cum eum miserrima specie aspexisset, dignum duxit ut eum de salute sua commoneret: 'Miserrime, illius promptissimi deliberatoris, Dominici, non reminisceris; ipse enim suis piissimis precibus me ipsum et complures alios a captiuitatis iugo iam eripuit.' (III.10.1-10, p. 478)

Another young man, called Bellitus, born in the city of Palencia of Saint Antoninus, was captured by Saracens in the army of King Alfonso and led to city of Zaragoza.¹⁴ There for two years he was wearied by the suffering of his long incarceration, without being buoyed by anyone's assistance. When however he was sitting outside the home of his torturer, a certain Christian knight was going past and, since he saw him with an unhappy face, he thought it right to offer him advice on his salvation: 'Most unhappy man, do you not remember that most speedy liberator, Dominic? For he by his most merciful prayers took me and many others from the yoke of captivity.'

Bellitus had been taken captive by Alfonso VI's Muslim allies in Zaragoza — and was therefore in all likelihood fighting for the hated Almoravids.¹⁵ The Christian knight's advice to Bellitus indicates that devotion to Dominic had spread to a constituency who had most need of his intercession: military men who constantly risked capture during the incessant warfare between empires. Dominic had become *the* liberator of captives ('*illius promptissimi deliberatoris*'), just as he had become the saint of choice for the aristocracy on campaign (see above, p. 108). The Christian knight's further comment, that he and many that he knew had been freed by Dominic, shows that Dominic's fame as a liberator had grown, even though these liberations had not been reported at the shrine. As we have seen (above, figures 5-7), there were numerous churches dedicated to Dominic built during this period in the frontier zone, and it was to these that devotion and thanks would most likely be expressed.

In a subsequent escape-miracle, Dominic's protection reaches out to captives who are not military men. The townsmen Avitus and Oliverius were both held in a tower by Muslims. They escaped by breaking their chains with a stick and letting down a rope they had plaited together from straw. When they hid themselves not far from the tower, they remained invisible to their pursuers (III.36.41-42, p. 518). They were protected in their escape since they called on the saint at the moment that they broke their irons.

In the liberation of Avitus and Oliverius, it is clear that devotion to the saint had produced specific phrasings of prayer which were known to all. Just as pilgrims' behaviour at the shrine had become formalized, so also captives' desires for liberation had become expressed in fixed forms of devotion. Before breaking their irons, Avitus and Oliverius used a set prayer, saying together,

Sancte pie confessor dei, Dominice, sicut solitus es omnibus hominibus te inuocantibus adesse, ita et nobis, miseris indignisque famulis tuis, adesto in hac

captiuitate et angustia laborantibus nosque citius ab hoc loco iube egredere et ad sanctum sepulcrum tuum, felicia membra tua retinentem, incolumes nos representa et ab omni malo libera. (III.36.23–27, p. 516)

Holy, merciful confessor of God, Dominic, just as you usually assist all those who call upon you, so for us, your unhappy and unworthy servants, come to our aid in this captivity and anguish and speedily take us unharmed out of this place and bring us to your holy grave, which holds your blessed relics, free from all evil.

Escape miracles were crucial in the geographic development of the cult. Through them, an initial displacement of Dominic's power or *virtus* from his shrine to the places of escape was effected; yet this power was brought back to his tomb through its role as the focal point for thanksgiving and as a symbol of rescue and safety. The cult spread widely, since the appeal of a saint who would liberate captives was of particular interest to the fighting classes and all those who dwelt insecurely in the frontier zones. In Book III, the majority of those freed by Dominic were captured not in warfare but in ambushes.¹⁶ It was this aspect of the cult of Dominic, more than his fame as an exorcist, which was favoured by warfare and settlement on the frontier. Servandus's release confirmed the ideological stance of the monastery *vis-à-vis* the Gregorian reform, indeed provided a miracle to support the signs of that reform. Yet it also created the tenacious conception of Dominic as the liberator of captives, wheresoever and by whomsoever they were held. This characteristic played a central role in the development of the cult, turning into the dominant feature during the twelfth century.

Given that the cult of Saint Leonard had been associated with the release of a *miles* from captivity by 1030, and had gained in popularity in the early twelfth century thanks to the attribution to him of the release of the Antiochan crusading prince, Bohemond, from Muslim captivity in 1103, it may be that Dominic's popularity was due to both a pressing spiritual need amongst a warrior class and to their desire to have a saint closer to home than Leonard (whose shrine was in Aquitaine) who might be called on to grant his assistance.¹⁷ A twelfth-century church dedicated to Leonard can be found in Zamora (León), and, three hundred years later, the right-hand side chapel at the entrance of the Jerónimos church in Belém (Lisbon), built under Manuel I of Portugal (†1521), was dedicated to Leonard; it has now become the baptismal chapel. The Leonese and Portuguese perhaps preferred a saint who was not strongly connected to political power of their overweening neighbour, Castile.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS

Escapes, particularly from Muslim captivity, would eventually become the dominant miracle within the cult of Dominic in the thirteenth century. These escapes should be seen against a general background of conflict between two

distinct civilizations. Given the numerous mentions of Muslims in the *Vita Dominici*, it is possible to sketch the attitude taken toward them by the authors who composed the text. We may first address the question of terminology.

Grimaldus refers to Muslims as the 'spurcissima gens Agarenorum' (I.5.341–42, p. 218; the most unclean race of the Hagarenes); the 'barbara gens Sarracenorum' (II.21.2, p. 356; the barbarian people of the Saracens); or simply as 'Sarraceni' (I.12.2, p. 266; I.16.11, p. 282). In what is probably the work of another author (see above, p. 11), 'Agareni' and 'Sarraceni' are also used interchangeably (II.25.6–9, p. 370) — as they were by Pelayo of Oviedo.¹⁸ But II.25 is also the miracle in which the 'gens Ysmaelitarum' (people of the Ishmaelites; II.25.71, p. 374) makes its first appearance, and here the word would seem to refer to all Muslims, and not just, as in the later *Historia Roderici*, to Almoravids.¹⁹ The 'gens Ysmaelitarum' are said to dwell in the castle of Guadalajara (II.26.2, p. 376). These Muslims were decidedly not Almoravids but vassals of Alfonso VI.

'Sarraceni' and 'gens Ysmahelitarum' are used with much the same sense in II.28.1–3, p. 392 (cf. II.30.2, p. 398). It is unclear whether the 'turpissima gens Hysmaelitarum' at II.42.2 (p. 428) — due to another author again — is intended to specify just the Almoravids or all of al-Andalus, but is probably the former. Similarly, it is unclear whether the 'Sarraceni' who capture Simenus are ethnically distinct from the 'princeps Hysmaelitarum' (III.20.3–4, p. 490; commander of the Ishmaelites) who takes possession of the captive, or whether the 'Agareni' in III.36.9 (p. 516) can be identified as either Hispanic or North-African Muslims — its meaning was limited to Hispanic Muslims by the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. The latter, Pelayo of Oviedo's *Chronicon*, and the *Historia Roderici* use the term 'Moabita' to denote Almoravid;²⁰ this word does not appear in the *Vita Dominici*, whose usage is more traditional, based on Isidore's etymologies of the names for Arabs and Muslims.²¹

Although we cannot show that the monks' appreciation of the racial origins of the Muslims they had occasion to mention was particularly nuanced, it can be demonstrated that their attitude to them was, nonetheless, complex. As far as warfare against al-Andalus was concerned, Grimaldus fully supported regal leadership, as can be seen from the following praise of King García:

Igitur in eo tempore Garsias rex, filius Sancii regis Maioris, frater Fredelandi regis tenentis imperium prouincie Legionensium, obtinebat regnum prouincie Nagarensis; uir certe corpore decorus, actibus clarus, sermone directus, armis strenuus et usu milicie bellicosus, ut testantur frequentes et nobiles ac memorabiles ipsius uictorie super spurcissimam gentem Agarenorum facte et insuper restitutio Calagurritane ciuitatis, que quondam fuit, auctoritate scripturarum, sedes pontificalis. (I.5.337–43, pp.216–218)

Therefore in that time King García, son of King Sancho el Mayor, brother of King Fernando who held the *imperium* of the province of León, came to the throne of the

province of Nájera; he was a man of handsome body, of noble deeds, or forthright speech, valiant with weapons and warlike in the field, as testify his frequent and noble and memorable victories won over the most unclean people of the Hagarenes, and above all the reconquest of the city of Calahorra, which once was, according to authoritative documents, a bishopric.

The enthusiasm felt for the reconquest of former bishoprics was also felt by the author of the *Historia Silensis*, who, when describing Fernando I's conquests, noted, 'nomina principalium ciuitatum, eclessii [*sic*] quarum olim pastores prefuerant, quas uiriliter pugnando a sacrilegis manibus extorsit exprimere curauit' ('I have sought to record the names of the principal cities over the churches of which once upon a time bishops presided, which stoutly fighting he [Fernando] dragged from their sacrilegious hands').²² Fletcher notes that reforming clerics wished to introduce

a system of metropolitan and territorial diocesan organization designed to replace the one that had been destroyed by the Muslim conquest nearly four centuries earlier. In an ideal world, the reformers would have preferred to have restored the administrative framework of the Visigothic church *ex toto*.²³

It is here, in the longings of eleventh- and twelfth-century clerical reformers that the ideology of the *reconquista* took shape, but as we can see from Grimaldus and the *Historia Silensis* the ideology was not just concerned with land but with the much more rarified question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Piety and valour are connected in Grimaldus's description of Alfonso VI's forebears: Alfonso was the 'gloriosissim[us] fili[us] Fredelandi regis, omni regali strenuitate opinatissimi, filii Sancii regis, omni deuota pietate et bellicosa uirtute christianaue religiositate pollentis (I.23.119–21, p. 310; the most glorious son of King Fernando, widely famed for all of his valiant and regal deeds, son of King Sancho, who shone with all devout piety and warlike virtue and Christian religion).

Grimaldus's damning reference to the 'spurcissimam gentem Agarenorum' (I.5.341–42, p. 218; the most unclean people of the Hagarenes) is echoed by one of the continuators of the work who wrote in or shortly after AD 1091 (see above, p. 9):

Quodam tempore domnus Aldefonsus, imperator Hyspanie, disposuit super turpissimam gentem Hysmaelitarum ad bella procedere et castrum quod Granata uocatur, rebellantem contra se, opprimere, ut illud aut tributis subderet aut, rupto federe pacis, bellum quod posset inferret. (II.42.1–4, p. 428)

At a certain time Lord Alfonso, Emperor of Hispania, decided to go to war with the most foul people of the Ishmaelites and attack the castle called Granada which had rebelled against him so that he might reduce it to paying tribute, or, should the peace agreement be broken, war against them as much as he could.

At best the attitude shared by both authors could be termed a straightforward distaste for Muslims; but the expressions of disgust must be placed within context. King García's victories are only the preamble to his illegal deposition of Dominic from his position as prior in San Millán; Emperor Alfonso's decision to go to war against Granada is but the preamble to a vengeance miracle, visited upon Martino, maiordomo of Bremundus Rodric, himself a important figure in Alfonso's court. The miracle befell the unfortunate soldier because he dared to prepare the materials of war on a Sunday (II.42.8–19, p. 428). Even wars led by kings against the infidel had to be seen within proportion.

A sense of proportion is most clearly seen in the author's response to an unprovoked attack upon the Muslims of Guadalajara who acknowledged through tribute and taxes the overlordship of Alfonso VI (II.26.2–5, p. 376). The narrator does not mince words in describing the Christians who ambushed, killed or put to flight the unsuspecting Muslims and made off with their belongings: 'Contingit autem, ut mos est prauorum et insipientium hominum ac leuitati omni utilitati inutili inseruiendum, milites christianos supranominati castris consilium inire omnino inconsiderata et non satis, ut iustum fuisset, astuta dolositate' (II. 6–9, p. 376; It befell that Christian knights from the above-mentioned castle [Hita], came up with a plan which was not thought through at all and not, as would have been to be expected, cunning enough, as is the custom of depraved and thoughtless men who easily follow futile ends). Not only was their action illegal; it was stupid.²⁴ Grimaldus is adamant that the king's decision to make an example of the lawbreakers was just (l. 16, p. 376) because 'deceat namque principes deuotos subditos benigne regere, uiriliter defendere; rebelles autem forti manu impugnare, premere et prosternere' (II. 23–25, p. 376; it is fitting for princes to rule benignly loyal subjects and protect them manfully, whilst they should use a strong hand to fight, attack and bring down rebels). Such a view was normal within contemporary canon law: 'in a letter to Archbishop Wilfred of Narbonne, Alexander II observed that all laws, those of the Church and those of secular authority, forbade bloodshed unless it served as a punishment for crime, or, as might be the case with Saracens, there was a need to counter hostile aggression.'²⁵ Similarly, the author of II.25 was in no doubt that greed was the knight Petrus's foremost motive in raiding Andalusi territory from the castle of Aledo (II.25.6, p. 270), a negative opinion which was a reflection of the prevailing clerical characterization of soldiers. Alexander II, for example, congratulated the bishops of Spain for protecting local Jews from adventurers who had entered the peninsula to fight Muslims.²⁶ According to the pontiff, the adventurer's motives were greed and stupidity, a view which echoes Grimaldus's condemnation both of Petrus and the knights of Hita. The influential collection of canon law, Burchard of Worms' *Decretum* also emphasised this viciousness of those involved in warfare, stigmatizing 'those who from greed ... deliberately slay'.²⁷ In the presentation of the captives who

miraculously escape their prisons, there is no sense that the men deserve their liberation. They are freed precisely because they are sinners.

The terms in which those Muslims who capture Christians are described are rarely pejorative: Dominicus, Petrus, a young man from Sepúlveda, Simenus and Bellitus are all taken 'a Sarracenis' (I.12.2, p. 266; II.21.6–7, p. 370; III.9.1, p. 478; III.10.2, p. 478; by the Saracens); the exception is Servandus, who was 'a barbara gente Sarracenorum captus' (II.21.2, p. 356; captured by the barbarous race of the Sarracens).²⁸

Bellitus is particularly interesting, as we have seen. He had perhaps been fighting for the opposing side, which may account for the description of him being shunned or at least not offered any succour by others. Yet although he would seem to have enjoyed better treatment than other captives — he was at least sitting on the doorstep of his master's house, not permanently enchained or placed in stocks — his master is described as his 'torturer'. The manner of his escape is odd too: he waited for his guards to get drunk on wine and fall asleep; he then slipped out of his chains and walked out of the city (III.10.12–14, p. 478).

When speaking of the thwarted escape of the captives that belonged to Silos, Grimaldus does not avail himself of the opportunity to condemn the Muslims. Their escape, rather, is due to the laxity of their gaoler (I.16.11–14, p. 282), and the narrative interest centres not on any shiftiness of the infidels' characters but on the discomfiture of those who did not believe that Dominic had received the revelation of their flight. It is these disbelievers, and not the recaptured captives, who are described as returning abashed to the monastery (I.16.35–36, p. 284).

A further story concerning a Muslim captive is provided by II.28, which casts a laconic eye over the ever-present raiding that was a constant feature of frontier life:

Contigit quodam tempore gentem Christicolarum super gentem Ysmahelitarum, ut sepiissime fit, irruisse; in qua irruptione multi sunt Sarracenorum capti et ad terram Christianorum aducti. Inter quos captiuos est captiuatus quidam adhuc tenerrime etatis paruissimus puerulus, quem proprius dominus eum sorte spoliolum sortitus, ad suam domum aduxit. Et quia in eo spem future bone indolis, prodentibus quibusdam eudentibus signis, intellexit, diligenter nutriuit; ad ultimum etiam baptismi gratiam ei tradidit et ut Sancius uocaretur in baptismi sacramento a sacerdote expetiit et obtinuit. Consquutus autem sacramentum baptismi, statim, irruente gutta, que uulgo uocatur telo, cepit in coxis et in pedibus infirmari; qua ingrauescente, ita contractus est omnino redditus ut etiam non ut homo debilis incederet, sed etiam ut reptile reperet et ut serpens serperet. Ergo a domino suo libertati redditus et incomodo sue infirmitatis afflictus et quid de se ageret anxius omnique humano auxilio destitutus, attamen fide plenus, ad monasterium Exiliense, uidelicet, ad sancti Dominici merita uenit et se eius sacro tumultu cum deuotione qua potuit obtulit. (II.28.1–17, p. 392)

It so happened that once the Christians, as very often happens, fell upon the Ishmaelites. Many Saracens were taken prisoner in this attack and were brought to the land of the Christians. Amongst these captives a baby boy of tender age was captured, whose master (to whom he fell by lot) brought him to his own home. And since he could see — thanks to clear signs — that there was hope in the child to have a good disposition in the future, he brought him up diligently; at the last he even brought him to the grace of baptism and asked the priest that he be called Sancius in the sacrament of baptism, which he obtained. Immediately after the child had been christened, gout, which the common folk call ‘telo’ attacked his thighs and feet with illness; this became worse and so he became wholly paralysed in his limbs so that he did not go about like a lame man but rather he crawled like a reptile and slithered like a snake. So, given his freedom by his master and suffering from the importunity of his illness and worried over what he might do with himself and deprived of any human assistance, yet full of faith, he came to the monastery of Silos, or rather, to the merits of Saint Dominic and offered himself at his sacred tomb with what devotion he could.

The plight of the child was pitiable, abandoned by the master who had raised him. But after a year at the monastery, the boy regained an upright stance and the ability to walk (II.28.18–23, p. 392). ‘Qui usque hodie incolumis et letus et, ut seruus fidelissimus, deseruit Exiliensis monasterii utilitatibus’ (II.28.24–25, p. 392; Up to the present day he has remained healthy and happy and, as a most faithful servant, serves the needs of the monastery of Silos). This boy is the only devotee of Dominic to be described as a *servus* of the monastery, and no doubt his economic and social insecurity impelled him into such a relationship.²⁹ Yet we must also note the beginning of the account. Attitudes to Muslims were not necessarily racist: the good character of the child prompted his master to bring him up as a Christian, even if the master’s later actions were hardly motivated by Christian charity. Sancius’s final role as *servus* of the monastery could hardly have been less Christian, and the monks were full of praise for him (‘seruus fidelissimus’). Sancius’s Saracen origins were not bar to the appreciation of his character; the author’s concern was religious, not racial.³⁰

A revealing expression of hatred for Muslims — revealing because it is the only clear expression of that emotion in the *Vita Dominici*, whether towards Muslims or not — comes in a gloss provided for words spoken in a vision by Dominic. He told Petrus, ‘Post hoc biduum erit dies qui uocatur dies Veneris, in quo die dominus tuus educet te de hoc ergastulo et ad excolendum ortum mittet cum duobus aliis sodalibus; ipse uero, uobis solis relictis, uacabit ocio cum suis ciuibus’ (II.25.52–55, p. 372; The day after next will be the day called ‘the day of Venus’ [i.e., *viernes*, Friday]. On that day your master will lead you out of this prison and send you to till his plot with two other companions; he will give himself over to leisure with his neighbours, leaving you alone). Petrus took this moment to escape, and reached Toledo (II.25.65–

67, p. 374). Grimaldus's gloss on Dominic's words thus separates Petrus's escape from his arrival at Silos (II.25.80–85, p. 374).

Ergo hic dies sextus ebdomade errore infidelium paganorum est Veneri consecratus et a nomine ipsius dies Veneris uocatus. In quo die infausta et insana religione et nefanda atque abhominabili traditione uacat inreligioso ocio et execrabili cultura omnis atra gens Ysmaelitarum; hanc nempe inutilem et omnino uituperabilem legem tradiderunt eis pseudoprophete eorum. Denique, iuxta ueracem scripturarum relationem, scimus Venerem fuisse impudicam meretricem; et quia illa spurcissima Ysmaelitarum gens omnino est soluta a iugo omnis pudicie, idcirco ipsius nomine uocauerunt sextam feriam septimane; quam diem colunt suo miserimo errore cessando inutiliter ab omni opere. Qui dies sexta sabbati uocatur hebraica ueritate. Sed omissis omnibus inutilibus, ad ordinem redeamus. (II.25.68–79, p. 374)

Therefore this sixth day of the week is consecrated by the error of the infidel pagans to Venus and in her name called 'the day of Venus'. On this day, according to their accursed and nonsensical religion and their evil and abominable tradition, the whole of the infamous people of the Ishmaelites gives itself over to irreligious leisure and execrable worship; this completely useless and wholly blameworthy law was given them by their false prophets. Yet, according to what truthful writings say, we know Venus to have been a shameless whore;³¹ and because that most foul people of the Ishmaelites is completely free from the yoke of any shame, they call the sixth day of the week by her name. On that day they add to their most miserable error by uselessly ceasing all work. The day is called the sixth day of the sabbath by Hebraic truth [i.e., the Old Testament]. But let us return to the sequence of our narration, setting aside all useless things.

It is unlikely that Dominic spoke to Petrus in the words written down by Grimaldus. The saint would have addressed the knight in Romance, and the name of the day which so exercised Grimaldus given in its Romance form, *viernes* (cf. Italian, *venerdì*; French *vendredi*). Grimaldus translated back from the Romance form to the Latin 'dies Veneris'. Venus, however, is a goddess from the Roman pantheon, not the Islamic, which offers no room to Aphrodites, however beautiful. *Paganus* is not otherwise used in the *Vita Dominici*; he may be referring, then, to pagan Rome. But that is unlikely. *Paganus* was used by Hispanic Christian authors to refer to Muslims,³² and its combination with 'infideles' (infidel) make one morally certain that, throughout this passage, Grimaldus is referring solely to Muslims. He takes exception to the use of the word *viernes*, preferring the numerical system of referring to the days of the week that has been adopted in Portugal and Greece, with all days of the week, apart from the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, being identified by an ordinal number.³³

Grimaldus was aware that Muslims kept Fridays special, but, since he links this to the use of *viernes* to refer to the sixth day of the week, one suspects that he knew this primarily through Romance-speaking Muslims. The

connexion between Venus and Muslims is strengthened by their moral turpitude, 'free from the yoke of shame'. If one unpicks his thought, it would seem to be the following: Muslims treat Friday as if it were the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Sunday. This day should be called 'the sixth day' by Christians (and no doubt was in official ecclesiastical circles), since that is what it is called in the Old Testament. But, because what Muslims do on the Friday is the sort of behaviour inspired by Venus, then they have dedicated that day to her. Grimaldus, perhaps, was trying to establish a cultural difference between Romance-speaking Christians and Muslims: Christians should use a separate system to refer to the days of the week. But allied to this attempt to mark a linguistic difference is a curious allusion. Muslims were linked to the cult of a pagan Roman goddess. We might like to think that it is a confusion or misapprehension that we also find in the *Chanson de Roland*, where the Muslims worship a demonic trinity, one of which is called 'Appollin' (Apollo),³⁴ and conclude that it was perhaps through both pagan Rome and Islam being seen as enemies of the faith that this curious elision was carried out. Furthermore, Grimaldus accuses Muslims of having several 'false prophets', rather than just the one *pseudopropheta*, Muḥammad.

Yet the reference to Venus chimes with one of the earliest Christian descriptions of Islam: John Damascene's hundredth chapter of his *De haeresibus* (On heresies). In the first paragraph of this chapter he claims that pre-Islamic Ishmaelites, called also Hagarenes or Saracens, 'étaient donc idolâtres et adoraient l'Étoile du Matin et Aphrodite, qu'ils ont appelée précisément *Chabar* dans leur langue, ce qui veut dire grande'.³⁵ Later, he returns to the subject:

Ils nous accusent aussi d'idolâtrie parce que nous nous prosternons devant la croix qu'ils ont en horreur. Nous leur disons alors: Pourquoi donc vous frottez-vous à cette pierre dans votre Ka'ba, et aimez-vous la pierre au point de l'embrasser? Certains d'entre eux disent que c'est sur elle qu'Abraham s'est uni à Agar, d'autres qu'il y a attaché la chamelle au moment de sacrifier Isaac. [...] On raconte d'ailleurs que cette pierre est la tête d'Aphrodite, devant laquelle ils se prosternait et qu'ils appelaient *Chabar*. Et de nos jours encore, la trace d'une effigie apparaît à ceux qui observent minutieusement.³⁶

John Damascene's work became available to the Latins in translation only in the mid-twelfth century.³⁷ Grimaldus's opinion that Muslims were 'free from the yoke of shame' is shared with many medieval Christian observers of Islam, with at least John Damascene basing himself upon the Qur'an.³⁸ In the twelfth century Guibert of Nogent's summary of Islamic teaching (of c. 1110) was that 'circumcissione quidem decreta, totius eis impudicitiae laxavit habenas' ('he enjoined circumcision, while completely freeing them from their restraining lusts').³⁹ Walter of Compiègne thought that Muhammad had 'established that one man should marry twelve wives and that the chaste

bonds of marriage should be abandoned.⁴⁰ The sexual licence of Muslims, then, was a commonplace amongst Christian authors.⁴¹

It was often noted that, in spite of claiming to follow the religion of Abraham, Muslims, beginning with Muḥammad in the Qur'an, rejected observance of the sabbath.⁴² That Friday was their day of prayer allowed Grimaldus to run together the pre-Islamic deity and the day of the week. The plurality of prophets who have given Muslims their law is paralleled in an observation by William of Tyre (†1186), who, after giving a history of the early caliphate upto the time of 'Alī, writes,

And so a schism arose among those people, which has persisted right down to our times, for some of them say that Muḥammad is the greater and the most important of the prophets, and these in their language are called Sunnites, but others say that 'Alī alone is the prophet of the Lord, and these are called Shi'ites.⁴³

William was writing roughly a century after Grimaldus, but shows how the schisms within Islam might be understood as a proliferation of prophets. This plurality is also an attempt to mirror Christ's prophecy (Matthew 24, 24; Mark 13, 21) concerning the rise of false prophets who would deceive many — Muḥammad was not the Antichrist, but the paths were being made straight for his coming.⁴⁴ Awareness of the schisms and sects within Islam may have been sharpened by the Almoravids' fanatical devotion to the Maliki School of Sunnism at Qayrawān against the Fāṭimid belief in the supreme authority of the Imām.⁴⁵

We are confronted, then, with the possibility that Grimaldus knew something relatively detailed about Islam, whatever the polemic *bouillebaisse* he made of his knowledge. But it is equally striking that he shows himself most upset about differences in customs (the naming of a day, observing a weekly rest on Friday rather than Sunday, sexual behaviour) rather than any doctrinal differences with Muslims. Religion for Grimaldus as for his contemporaries, however, covered a larger section of human activity than we would now readily admit.⁴⁶

We may thus identify a range of reactions to Muslims and Islam in the *Vita Dominici*: wholly condemnatory when dealing with Islam as a religion and mode of behaviour; favourable to the conversion of Muslims to Christianity; insistent upon the rights of Muslim subjects under Christian kings; enthusiastic in support of campaigns against unallied Muslims when led by kings, but critical of the motives of those on private expeditions; and, finally, inured to depredations on both sides of the frontier. The attitude towards Muslims evinced in the *Vita Dominici* is not the product of the tolerant understanding of different cultures and faiths within a liberal democracy. It is the entrenched position of Christians whose society had been at war with a powerful enemy for generations. Given the limitations of time and place, the view that the *Vita Dominici* offers is remarkably balanced.⁴⁷ It would be worthwhile to compare

this balance with the attitude which democratic governments have adopted towards their enemies during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

THE BURGOS CASKET

Dominic was considered as the equal of the martyrs by his hagiographer. Devotees who came to his shrine saw him as a powerful intercessor for their health. Those imprisoned came increasingly to see Dominic as their patron-saint. These strands — Dominic as exalted saint, as healer and as liberator — combine in two enamelled plaques affixed to the top and side of a small ivory Islamic casket in Silos in the mid-twelfth century. The casket is now held in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Burgos, whither it was taken when expropriated from the monastery.⁴⁸ The casket, measuring 34cm x 21cm x 19 cm, has a hipped cover and was made in Cuenca in AD 1026.

The iconographic programme mainly consists of a delicate arabesque of half-palmette leaves and of confronted birds, antelopes and fabulous creatures. [...] Four bowmen and one horseman appear on each of the two large panels, namely the front and the back [...]. A bowman bending his bow is depicted on each edge of the upper and lower bands, and a horseman, attacked by a wild animal from behind, appears in the centre of the lower band. The warriors are all dressed in a short tunic and wear what is likely to be a helmet which covers the forehead and the nape of the neck. They are all girded with daggers. A quiver for holding arrows is attached to the girdle of the bowmen, and the horseman is armed with a dagger and round shield.⁴⁹

Avinoam Shalem points towards the similarity of these motifs, which are most unusual in Spanish Muslim art, with the mosaics in the Stanza di Ruggiero in Palermo (AD 1160–70), where ‘the heraldically arranged animals between fantastic trees and plants symbolize a paradisal scene, while the bowmen [...] symbolize courage and victory’.⁵⁰ The images on the casket, in their ‘combination of victory and paradise might hint at the most desirable blessing any pious Muslim can wish for, namely to win a victory over death by entering the abode of paradise’.⁵¹

And not only paradise. The casket may refer, in its depiction of mounted men, to an Islamic legend concerning the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, designed to legitimate Moorish rule over Spain. A spell which protected the Visigothic realm from destruction was locked in a house. Roderick, the last of the Visigoths, broke into the house, and found the conquerors of the country depicted, depending on the version of the story, either in frescoes, as statues, as miniatures in a scroll, or figured upon the sides of a marble chest (the latter perhaps recalling early Christian sarcophagi). The Du’l-Nūnids, the *taifa* family for whom the casket was made, had created their capital in Toledo and so the story of Toledo’s downfall had a particular resonance for them as they

sought to identify themselves with the glorious past in their relatively inglorious present.⁵² With such a background, the casket spoke of Muslim political and religious dominance, military success in Spain (a veritable promised land) and paradise in the next.

It is highly probable that this political reading of the casket's iconography was understood in Silos and that the choice of enamels to adorn the box was pointed. A triumphal casket made for the son of al-Manṣūr in AD 1004 to commemorate the latter's taking of León was used by the monastery of Leyre to enclose the relics of Nunilona and Alodia. The triumph of the martyrs perhaps became allied after 1096 to the triumph of the Christian forces who liberated Huesca, the place of their martyrdom under 'Abd al-Rahmān III in AD 851. Bearing in mind the specifically Toledan and Islamic emphasis of the Silos casket, then the two images chosen by the enameller, or, more probably, Martín, abbot of Silos at the time, made a contrasting point with the original decoration.

Two champlevé copper plates with enamels were mounted on the casket [when it was restored by an enameler in Silos in the mid-twelfth century]. One plaque, representing Saint Dominic, with a Benedictine mantle [and an abbatial staff] and accompanied by two angels, is attached to one of the narrower sides of the casket. Another plaque, depicting the Lamb in a medallion with the Alpha and Omega and surrounded by two fabulous birds, is mounted to the flat top of the lid. Some other enamelled strips of engraved and gilded copper are mounted on the casket's corners.⁵³

The Lamb, together with the alpha and omega, is the triumphant Christ of the Apocalypse 22, 13–14, 'Ego sum alpha et omega, primus et novissimus, principum et finis. Beati, qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni: ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae, et per portas intrent in civitatem' (I am α and ω , the first and the very last, the beginning and end. Blessed are those who wash their garments in the blood of the Lamb that they may have the power from the tree of life and enter through the gates into the city). It is the Lamb triumphant who is surrounded by the new song in Apocalypse 5, 10, 'fecisti nos Deo nostro regnum, et sacerdotes: et regnabimus super terram' (You have made us a kingdom and priests to our God and shall reign on earth').⁵⁴ The Lamb presides over the casket which alludes to the loss (for Christians) of Toledo, and the rest of Spain with it. Toledo had returned to Christian hands in 1085.⁵⁵

Moreover, the representation of Dominic, identified by the lemma, 'Sanctus Dominici' [*sic*],⁵⁶ is precisely that of *his* victory. It recalls his vision, since he is flanked by two angels bearing crowns, but his pose, facing outwards like the angels, dressed in a monk's habit and bearing a abbatial staff, recalls the captives' visions of him.⁵⁷ Against the evocation of the Muslim paradise is placed Dominic's vision whereby not only his salvation was promised but also that of those who belonged to his monastery. Above the evocation of the fall

of Toledo is placed the symbol of the risen Lord. The enamels point to the superiority of Christianity, to the divinely-inspired reconquest of the land. They also point to the role of Dominic in this spiritual and temporal warfare, through being placed upon a casket which originally proclaimed the contrary on behalf of Islamic rulers.

Due to Dominic's sponsorship of escapes and his popularity with the fighting class, he was quickly connected in some way to the struggle against Muslim domination of parts of the peninsula, so that, in the early twelfth century, a prayer was composed for his feast-day which linked Dominic's *virtus* strongly to the fate of the whole kingdom (III.43.30–41, p. 534).⁵⁸ The prayer's first element asks that Dominic, 'considerato nostre conditionis ficmento, hostem comprimas; expellas tirannidem, dissidentes pacifices' (ll. 31–32; taking into account our situation, contain the foe; expell tyranny, pacify the disaffected). It was to be this conception of Dominic, as a saint with a particular concern over the preservation of Christendom, that would inspire the subsequent developments of the cult during the the following hundred and fifty years.

NOTES

1. Bernardus Scholasticus, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, I.32, ed. A. Bouillet, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis publié d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Schlestadt*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 21 (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), p. 78.
2. *Codex Calixtinus*, ed. W. Muir-Whitehill, 3 vols (Compostela: Instituto Padres Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos, 1944), I, 365.
3. Marcelin Dufourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 118.
4. Colonicum: Bernardus Scholasticus, *Miracula*, IV.6, ed. Bouillet, p. 182; Catalans: *Miracula*, IV.6, pp. 182–85; Appendix III.3, pp. 242–45; Appendix IV.1, pp. 247–49.
5. Dufourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, p. 106.
6. For the cult of Faith, see Benedicta Ward, SLG, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London: Scolar, 1982), pp. 36–42.
7. Bull, *The Miracles*, p. 15, comments that 'the enthusiasm with which writers often greeted a miracle that they could present as *inaudita* [...] reveals that there was a cachet to be enjoyed if a cult centre could be presented as departing from the norm'. For the limits of this departure, see Amy G. Remensnyder, 'Un problème de cultures ou de culture?: la statue-reliquaire et les *joca* de Sainte Foy de Conques dans le *Liber miracularum* de Bernard d'Angers', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, x^e–xii^e siècles, 23 (1990), 351–79, at p. 370.
8. Held by the Christians from 1086, Aledo was unsuccessfully besieged in 1098 and only fell to a Murabit seige in 1092: Muñoz Ruano, 'Castillos en la vida de Alfonso VI', pp. 311–12.
9. Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis, *De correptione et gratia*, XII.33, ed. Victoriano Capánaga, ORSA, *Obras de San Agustín en edición bilingüe*: VI, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 50 (Madrid: BAC, 1956), pp. 130–206, at p. 182.
10. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 120; García González, 'El dominio', p. 42 n. 68.
11. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 38.
12. See Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 66–67 and 326.
13. Gregory of Tours, *De miraculis Sancti Martini*, IV.41, PL 71, 1006C.
14. Valcárcel, p. 479, mistranslates, presenting Bellitus as serving in Alfonso's army; but the syntax does not allow this interpretation: it must be the Saracens who are serving under

- Alfonso. One might make the case that the manuscript tradition is corrupt, and that the phrase should read, 'a Sarracenis in exercitum regis Aldefonsi' (by Saracens [fighting] against the army of King Alfonso), but that would still not guarantee that Bellitus was actually fighting for Alfonso, and is in any case far too stylistically advanced for the author of this segment of miracle accounts. Valcárcel's error is probably due to his having followed Menéndez Pidal's highly colourful rendering of the story (in which Bellitus did fight in Alfonso's army). The point of Pidal's retelling the story, with numerous changes and a good dose of the miraculous, was to show 'cuánto los azares de la guerra fomentaba la religiosidad, no la relajación moral, en esos caballeros que militaban y vivían en tierras de moros' (*La España del Cid*, I.424–25; how much the chances of war encouraged piety, not moral laxity, in those knights who fought and lived in Moorish lands). Bellitus's having fought for Muslims could not, therefore, be allowed.
15. My thanks are due to Dr Simon Barton who has kindly informed me that there does not seem to be any other evidence to suggest that Alfonso VI recruited Muslim troops into his army, but that, given Alfonso's close ties to the *taifas* of Toledo and Zaragoza, it appears highly probable that he should have done. There is abundant evidence for Christians fighting on the Muslim side, on which theme Dr Barton is currently preparing a book.
 16. Three out of four: III.9.1, p. 478; III.20.2, p. 490; III.36.3–11, p. 516. The one exception is Bellitus: III.10 (p. 478).
 17. Leonard's cult became one of the most popular saints in Norman lands, Northern Italy and Southern Germany. See David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2nd edn; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 264A. For the origins of Leonard's cult, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 237.
 18. *The World of El Cid*, ed. Barton and Fletcher, p. 175 n. 76.
 19. *The World of El Cid*, ed. Barton and Fletcher, p. 115 n. 57.
 20. See, for example, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, II.1, II. 5–7, 14–15, ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez, in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII, pars I*, ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 149–248, at p. 195, in which *Saracen* is a general term for Muslims, *Hagarene* for Hispanic Muslims and *Moabite* for North-African Almoravids: 'rex Ali maximus Sarracenorum, qui rex Marrocorum dominabatur Moabit et ex ista parte maris Agarenis longe lateque [...]. Iussitque omnibus regibus et principibus et ducibus Moabitarum, qui erant super Agarenos' (tr. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 162–263, at p. 204; 'King 'Ali, who was most powerful amongst the Saracens, and who as king of Marrakesh rules over the Moabites, and on this side of the sea over Hagarenes far and wide [...]. He ordered the kings, princes and commanders of the Moabites, who ruled over the Hagarenes'). A Spanish translation has been carried out by Maruilio Pérez González, *Crónica del Emperador Alfonso VII. Introducción, traducción, notas e índices* (León: Universidad de León, 1997), p. 95. See also the *Carmen de Almería*, II. 38, 45–46, 81, ed. by Florentino Castro Guisasaola, *El Cantar de la conquista de Almería por Alfonso VII. Un poema hispano-latino del siglo XII*, Colección de Investigación, 15 (Granada: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1992), pp. 47–66, at pp. 49–50, 52, and respective notes at pp. 107 and 110. The *Chronica Naiarensis* shows an impressive command of synonyms for Arabs or Muslims, calling them at once *Mauros*, *Sarraceni*, *Arabes*, *Ysmaelitae*; and *Caldeos*, *Moabite*; but only *Mauros* has a specific racial/geographic/religious connotation: *Chronica Naiarensis*, I.211, II. 14, 28, 31; II.20, II. 11, 64, ed. by Juan A. Estévez Sola, *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII, pars II*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 71A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 96–97, 116–17.
 21. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, IX.2.6, *PL* 82, 73–728, at 329A7–9, 'Ismael filius Abraham, a quo Ismaelitae, qui nunc corrupto nomine Sarraceni, quasi a Sara, et Agareni, ab Agar' (Ishmael the son of Abraham, from whom Ishmaelites, who now [are called] by the corrupt name of Saracens, as if from Sarah [Abraham's legitimate wife], and Hagarenes, from Hagar). The Moabites are found two paragraphs later, col. 329A12–14, 'Moab et Ammom filii Loth, a quibus Moabitae et Ammonitae'. A secondary etymology is given for 'Saracen': *Etymologiae*, IX.2.57, at col. 331C12–15, 'Saraceni dicti, vel qui ex Sara genitos

se praedicient; vel, sicut gentiles aiunt, quod ex origine *Syrarum* sint, quasi Syrigenae. Hi peramplam habitant solitudinem. Ipsi sunt Ismaelitae, ut liber Geneseos docet, quod sint ex Ismaele. Ipsi Cedar a filio Ismaelis. Ipsi Agareni ab Agar, qui, ut diximus, perverso nomine Saraceni vocantur, quia ex Sara se genitos gloriantur' (They are called Saracens, or they claim to have been born from Sarah; or, as the gentiles say, that they are in origin Syrians, almost Syrigenes. These above all live in the desert. These are Ishmaelites, as the book of Genesis teaches, called by a perverse name Saracens, because they glory in being born of Sarah). The definition is expressed in chronological terms by the author of the twelfth-century *Chronica Naiarensis*, 1.23, ll. 1–6, ed. Estévez Sola, p. 53, 'Abraham annorum C genuit Yssac ex Sarra libera nam primum ex ancilla Agar genuerat Ysmahel, a quo Ysmahelitarum genus, qui postea Agareni, ad ultimum Sarraceni sunt dicti' (Abraham at the age of one hundred fathered Isaac from the freewoman Sarah, but first from the slavegirl Hagar he had fathered Ishmael, from whom the people of the Ishmaelites, who afterwards were called Hagarenes and latterly Saracens). These definitions reach back to Eusebius and Josephus: see R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 16–17. Hagarene was perhaps the first identity which the early followers of Muḥammad had: 'muḥājirūn' (Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: the Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 8–9).

- 22 *Historia Silensis*, §85, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorilla, p. 189; trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 48.
- 23 *The World of El Cid*, p. 68.
- 24 On the importance of *dolus* and *astutia* (craft and cunning) for the planning of military expeditions, see Karl Leyser, 'Early Medieval Warfare', in his *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: the Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 29–50 at p. 42. For contemporary Spanish criticism of those who did not follow royal strategy, cf. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, 1.38, ll. 1–3, ed. Maya Sánchez, p. 168, where the author criticised 'quidam uero milites insensati, filii comitum et ducum, et alii multi, quorum mens non erat sana nec ambulabant secundum consilium regis' (trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 180, 'certain foolish knights, the sons of counts and magnates, and many others who were not in their right mind and did not walk after the king's counsel'), for attacking a well-garrisoned island, with a resulting large loss of life.
- 25 Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 77.
- 26 Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 77–78.
- 27 Cushing, *Papacy and Law*, p. 127 n. 17, making reference to Burchard, *Decretum*, IV.23.
- 28 'Barbarians' was the favoured term to refer to Muslims on the part of the author of the *Historia Silensis*: see *The World of El Cid*, ed. Barton and Fletcher, p. 18. However, this author only uses 'Saracen' once: §9, p. 31.
- 29 Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 107, considers that a vow to enter into the saint's service at French shrines is found 'assez fréquemment'. Its near-absence from Silos is therefore striking.
- 30 Compare the view in the Crusader states that 'many Moslem converts were deserters and, even at that time, Christians were sceptical about their sincerity', according to Bernard Hamilton, 'A Medieval Urban Church: the Case of the Crusader States', in his *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*, Variorum (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), X 159–70, at p. 160 n. 9.
- 31 Valcárcel, p. 375 n. 5, ties himself in knots over this passage. He takes 'ueracem scriptur-arum' to refer to Holy Writ. 'Como la Sagrada Escritura no menciona para nada a Venus y, por otro lado, la fórmula "Sacra Scriptura" en nuestra obra se aplica siempre sólo a los Libros Sagrados, esta mención expresa de la Biblia puede entenderse así: de la enseñanza de la Sagrada Escritura se deduce que la mujer infiel a su marido es como impúdica meretriz (cfr. v. gr. Ez[equiel] 16, 30–32), y, puesto que Venus fue infiel a su marido, ésta es una impúdica ramera' (Since Holy Scripture does not mention Venus at all and, on the other

- hand, the formula 'Sacred Scripture' in this work only is applied to the Sacred Books of the Bible, this express mention of the Bible can be understood thus: from the teaching of the Holy Scriptures one can deduce that the wife who is unfaithful to her husband is like a shameless prostitute (cf., e.g., Ezekiel 16, 30–32), and since Venus was unfaithful to her husband, she is a shameless whore). But Grimaldus is certainly not referring to Holy Writ: his use of *scripturarum* in this passage should be compared with 'auctoritate scripturarum' used at I.5.353 (p. 218), which, since it relates the former existence of a bishopric at Calahorra, cannot possibly refer to Holy Scripture. I doubt that Grimaldus meant that Venus was described as a real prostitute in a text he had to hand, but that rather she behaved like a prostitute due to her sexual promiscuity, according to the opinions of Patristic authorities, such as Athanasius, *Contra gentes*, §26, 'For from Zeus they [the pagans] learned pederasty and adultery, from Aphrodite fornication' (E. P. Meijering, *Athanasius: Contra gentes. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Philosophia Patrum, 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), p. 87; cp. Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, II.465–69, at PL 60, 324). Venus's promiscuity allows Grimaldus an implied contrast between the monogamous or celibate Christian and the polygamous Muslim.
32. Such as by the author of the *Historia Silensis*: see *The World of El Cid*, ed. Barton and Fletcher, p. 31 n. 46.
 33. Thus in Portuguese, the days of the week are: *Domingo* (Lord's day, Sunday), *segunda-feira* (Second (day), i.e., Monday), *terça, quarta, quinta, sábado* (Sabbath, Saturday).
 34. See for example, *La Chanson de Roland*, ll. 7–8, ed. F. Whitehead, Blackwell's French Texts (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1942), p. 1: 'Li reis Marsilie la [i.e., Zaragoza] tient ki Deu nen aimet/Mahumet sert e Apollin recleimet'; ll. 2696–97, p. 78, 'Iur deus Tervagon e Mahum/E Apollin'; and on the idolatrous nature of the worship, ll. 3267–68, 3492–93, pp. 95 and 102. A version of the *Chanson* was known in Spain around this time: see Dámaso Alonso, 'La primitiva épica francesa a la luz de una nota emilianense', *Revista de Filología Española*, 37 (1953), 1–94. Its popularity at the beginning of the twelfth century is indirectly confirmed by name of the townsman freed by Dominic at III.36, p. 518, Oliverius (i.e., Olivier — see Alonso, *op. cit.*, p. 49–50). For similar, although much wider, use of omomastic evidence in the context of the knowledge and popularity of the matter of Britain, see David Hook, *The Earliest Arthurian Names in Spain and Portugal*, Fontaine Notre Dame, 1 (Saint Albans: David Hook, 1991), pp. 13–14.
 35. Iohannes Damascenus, *De haeresibus*, C.1, ll. 9–11, ed. and trans. by Raymond Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: Écrits sur l'Islam. Présentation, Commentaires et Traduction*, Sources Chrétiennes, 383 (Paris: Le Cerf, 1992), pp. 210–227, at p. 211. I prefer Le Coz's French to the English translation made by Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: the 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 133–41.
 36. Iohannes Damascenus, *De haeresibus*, C.5, ll. 1–7, 18–21, ed. and tr. Le Coz, pp. 210–21.
 37. Bernard Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades', in his *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*, Variorum (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), XI 374–87, at p. 376. Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*, written in the twelfth century, has echoes of Byzantine legends regarding the Prophet: Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 31 n. 27.
 38. Iohannes Damascenus, *De haeresibus*, C.6, ll. 1–34, ed. and tr. Le Coz, at p. 220–23, using Qur'an IV.3, and especially XXXIII.37.
 39. Guibertus Abbas Sanctae Mariae de Novigento, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I.3, PL 156, 679–838, at 681; tr. Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', p. 375.
 40. Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', p. 374.
 41. Compare Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 6, 'What was to be made of a doctrine [...] that accepted the philosophically respectable doctrine of future rewards and punishments, but affronted philosophy by suggesting that sexual enjoyment would form the chief delight of Paradise?' The contrast is placed into context by Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, p. 147, 'It is characteristic of Christianity to have founded its religious institutions in the premiss of the corruptness of marriage. In Judaism these effects are far less pronounced, but they are still detectable: on the one hand the religious meaning of the familial present is relativ-

ised by the hope of national redemption in the future, and on the other hand it is undermined by the austerity of a law which is incapable of full execution in ordinary life. [...] The Muslims by contrast have neither the Jewish hope of redemption in this world nor the anxiety of the Christians over their prospects of salvation in the next; and the yoke of their law is one which, at the level of the family, men can actually bear.' In the light of this, cf. the *Ḥadīth* of al-Navāwī, cited by Le Coz, p. 125 n. 2, in which Muḥammad promised a poor man unable to give alms that legitimate sexual intercourse was merit-worthy, just as was giving alms. Linda V. Seidel, 'Holy Warriors: the Romanesque Rider and the Fight against Islam', in *The Holy War*, ed. by Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), pp. 33–77, at p. 45, claims that the equation of unchastity with Islam was a recurrent theme of Romanesque sculpture.

42. Qur'an XVI.124–25, XLVI.32; Le Coz, p. 130–31.
43. Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', p. 376.
44. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 25–27, discusses what he terms 'the apocalyptic view of Islam'.
45. Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers, The Peoples of Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 101.
46. This emphasis pertained even between Christians: see Tia M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*, Illinois Medieval Studies, 3 (Urbana-Chicago: Illinois University Press, 2000), p. 1: 'According to the authors of [polemical] texts, nearly all of the differences between Byzantines and western Europeans involve religious error. Yet many of the items on these lists of "heresies" seem more ethnic than religious. Among other things, the Greek authors accuse the Latins of eating unclean animals, of being clean-shaven when they ought to be bearded, and of christening their children with barbarous names.'
47. Another example of balance is the unexpected effort that the *Historia Silensis* makes to give al-Manṣūr ('Almanzor', Muḥammad b. Abi 'Āmir, known to Christians by his honorific title) his due at §70, in *The World of El Cid*, ed. Barton and Fletcher, p. 37.
48. Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Ars Faciendi, Beiträge und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 7 (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1996), p. 254, and figs 25, 26, 34, at pp. 388–89, 397. I am most grateful to Dr Shalem for discussing his findings with me. See also, for previous discussion of the enamel of the casket, Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800–1200*, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1972), pp. 229–31, and fig. 263. The style of the enamels have distinct similarities with a reliquary casket from Champagnat: Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, p. 229 and fig. 262.
49. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, p. 83.
50. Avinoam Shalem, 'From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid', *Muqarnas*, 12 (1995), 24–38, at p. 30. For illustrations of the *Stanza di Ruggiero*, see Stefano Giordano, *La Cappella Palatina nel Palazzo dei Normanni* (Palermo: Poligraf, 1991), pp. 61–62.
51. Shalem, 'From Royal Caskets', pp. 30–31.
52. Shalem, 'From Royal Caskets', pp. 32–34, and *Islam Christianized*, pp. 84–85.
53. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, p. 86.
54. Cf. also Apocalypse 5, 6–7.17; 14, 1–5; 15, 3–5; 22, 1–5.
55. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 171.
56. The enameller may have misread what was originally 'Dominic9' as 'Dominici'.
57. Saint Peter's escape from prison (Acts 12, 6–11) — which, as we have seen, was a point of comparison for Dominic's liberation of Servandus — was considered during the eleventh century to foretell the liberation of Hispania: see Joseph Szövérfy, 'Saint Peter Hymns and the Spanish Reconquista', in his *Religious Lyrics of the Middle Ages* (Berlin: Classical Folia Editions, 1983), pp. 64–69; first published in *Aevum*, 32 (1958), 38–50.
58. The prayer is cited in its entirety above, at pp. 22–23.

CHAPTER 6

VIR VENERABILIS VISIONS OF DOMINIC

Grimaldus provides no description of Dominic's appearance in the *Vita* while he was alive. The hagiographer's concern was the interior substance, not the external accidents. However, over the thirty or forty years during which the shrine functioned after Dominic's death, visionaries contributed to an evolving image of the saint. Their descriptions, becoming by and large more detailed over time, provide a form of narrative development within the seemingly discrete accounts of individual cures. By analysing the details of the visions in their chronological development, we may establish how far the elements of an earlier vision or cure could effect subsequent visions and the depiction of Dominic therein. We may thereby glimpse the nature of the *fama* of the saint, and see how precise was the information regarding the miraculous cures worked at the saint's tomb that circulated many kilometres from the shrine among the populace at large.

Galindus's vision (III.11), although placed in the third book of the *Vita*, was certainly the earliest vision of the saint (see above, pp. 131–33). It presents Dominic in what became the canonical form: '*statura pusillus, ueneranda canicie et calbus, baculum ferens in manibus*' (III. 11.20, p. 480; of small stature, tonsured with venerable white hair, holding a staff in his hands). However, since the story was in all probability not written down in close proximity to the event itself, it is possible that a certain normalization of the figure of Dominic had taken place. Yet it would seem that Dominic's appearance in Galindus's vision as *statura pusillus* was an original element. The saint's size is guaranteed through comparison with '*longissimus iuuenis pulcherrimus*' (III.11.20, p. 480) who accompanies Dominic into the church in Galindus's dream.

The description of Dominic as small in stature may well have been due to personal reminiscence of the saint as an old man, when he would be expected to have been smaller than those younger than him.¹ Here we may glimpse the importance of the oral tradition of the saint's cult in the preservation of details that may have escaped the more formal record of hagiography. No doubt this oral tradition had its effect upon the visions of devotees, converting the presentation of Dominic in Galindus's vision into the official image of the

saint. Once this representation became known to devotees, their visions of Dominic would conform to the pattern by which Dominic had appeared, and would mirror any physical representations through statuary or pictures that they had seen.

The shrine recorders were particularly interested in the form under which Dominic appeared and, since they would have had the usual image in their minds, no doubt asked leading questions to the visionaries as they told their tales. Nevertheless, a fidelity to the visionaries' own experience was witnessed. Although the description of the figure that appears to the visionary is often stereotypical, elements particular to the individual vision were tolerated. Thus the recorder respects Martinus's or the mute boy's failure to identify the figure they saw with Dominic — the man in Martinus's visions is referred to as a *senex* (old man) throughout, that in the mute boy's 'uir quidam splendidissimus' (III.4.11, p. 472; a certain most splendidly shining man), and the almost totally divergent representation of Dominic by the final visionary, Iustus, is retold without comment or cosmetic alteration.

Dominic's visionary *persona* finds its first public expression in the vision that accompanied Servandus's liberation. Servandus saw a figure nebulous in the extreme, dressed in a monkish cowl and only subsequently identifying himself as Dominic, a sinner who had formerly been abbot of the monastery of Silos, where he was also buried (II.21.23–30, p. 356).² His speech was grave, his tone humble. The following vision, that of Petrus, gives a much fuller description of the saint's appearance. Dominic again appeared surrounded by a brilliant light, dressed in a monk's habit, but now supporting his steps with a stick. His means of identification to the captive was almost identical to his words to Servandus: again, abbot of Silos, again a sinner, but the detail that he was buried in Silos was omitted (II.25.23–26, 46–46, pp. 370, 372).³ That Dominic was not associated explicitly with Silos indicates that Petrus, although he may have been aware of the previous escape, had not linked the figure of Dominic with what was, after all, an unknown and unimportant monastery. Significantly, after his escape Petrus first went to Toledo, where there was a convent dedicated to Dominic founded by Alfonso VI after his restoration of the former Visigothic capital to Christian rule. It was only there that he was encouraged to go to Silos.

The image of Dominic retained the elements impressed upon it through these two escape miracles: Dominic consistently appeared in his cowl, carrying a *baculum*. The latter was a sign of his extreme age when he died, since it is not conceived so much here as the sign of his abbatial authority, but as a support for his unsteady steps.⁴ Visions thereafter ceased to be connected to escape miracles in the *Vita Dominici*.

The cure of Martinus (II.29) occurred within no more than three or four years of Petrus's escape. It was accompanied by two visions which illustrate the absorption of the previous visionary representations of the saint, although they betray a new level of elaboration. Martinus was at Silos when he

experienced his first vision, and so Galindus's visions would probably have been made known to him. Grimaldus had ceased to write the accounts of the saint's miracles before this point in the *Vita*, and so it is probable that he had died. Alternatively, of course, Galindus's description of Dominic visionary appearance, coming as it did before his translation, most probably determined the form of statues made to depict the saint

Martinus had been suffering from such severe gout that he needed two walking-sticks to move around. He dreamt that a huge dog was trying to drag him from the church and an old man, of venerable face, white hair and tonsure, surrounded by light, drove the dog out of the church with his staff (II.29.21–24, p. 394). The saint's staff, no longer used to support his steps, is used energetically to beat the dog, an action that prefigures the man's cure. Dominic, in Galindus's vision, beat the demon with sharp blows of his fists.

Martinus, only partially cured, staggered to San Millán, where he received no benefit.⁵ On his return journey, he saw the same figure, 'eundem senem in eodem ipso habitu fulgentem quem uiderat in monasterio Exiliensi se a feroci cane eripientem et ipsum canem percussione baculi ab omni ecclesia expellentem et sibi hec pauca uerba dicentem, "Illud non accepisti, etenim non meruisti"' (II. 39–43, p. 396; the same old man, shining in the very same clothes as he had seen in the monastery of Silos freeing him from the ferocious dog and expelling the same dog wholly from the church through the blows of his staff, and saying these few words to him, 'You did not receive it since you did not deserve it'). Martinus convalesced on his return to Silos.

The delineation of Dominic's figure was well underway. Nowhere in this vision is the *senex* identified as Dominic. Martinus's journey to San Millán suggests that the *senex* he initially saw in Silos was connected to Aemilianus — and the latter saint is depicted as being of venerable face, and, more importantly, with white hair and a tonsure on the ivory plaques that adorned his reliquary. Aemilianus is further depicted on the *arca* as using a staff to put a devil to flight, just as Dominic chases the dog from the church.⁶ The figure that appears to Martinus is majestic, and his response to his second vision gives a sense of how he felt himself to be in the presence of the holy: 'tremefactus homo surrexit' (I. 43, p. 396; the terrified man got up), thinking he had been cured. He had not been, and it was only on his subsequent arrival before the tomb of Dominic that he was completely cured, thus confirming, through a common *topos*, that the cure was to be attributed to Dominic. We have seen in Book I of Dominic's *Vita* how the saint was compared to Aemilianus (see above, pp. 33–34, 67–68). Since Galindus was Aragonese, and his master may have originally been a monk at San Millán with Dominic (see above, p. 39–40), the former's vision may have been strongly influenced by the cult of Aemilianus, who did wrestle with the devil.⁷ The overlap between the two saints is made plain in Martinus's vision, where the sick man was clearly confused over the venerable personage he saw in his vision — but it was, in the end, Dominic, not Aemilianus, who cured him.

The young woman from Cuéllar's vision combines the various elements found in previous visions, fittingly, since her exorcism was at once a liberation and a cure. Dominic appears to her as a man, brilliantly shining, claiming to have once been the abbot of Silos. No *baculum* is mentioned, but Dominic is described as being of small stature (II.50.5–7, p. 442). The correspondance between the description of Dominic found in the *demoniaca*'s vision and those previously narrated suggests that the accounts of miracles at the shrine, in precise detail, circulated widely. The vision's assertion that only at Dominic's shrine could she find a cure — borrowed, as we have seen, from Monnina's demons (see above, p. 143) — confirms this impression. The girl had absorbed elements from previous visions and ordered them to stress the inevitability of her cure at Silos, the necessity of going there speedily and the reason for her illness. The girl's representation of Dominic is repeated in the following vision without the figure being identified as the saint (III.4).⁸ In this vision, Dominic strikes a mute boy, thereby returning his power of speech.

The tenacious representation of the saint under the form we find in these visions suggests that his depiction in statues had had an effect upon the laity.⁹ However, verbal descriptions must have been equally important, since, although one might gain an image of the saint as *ueneranda canitie et calbus, baculum ferens in manibus* (having venerable white hair and a tonsure, carrying a staff in his hands) from a graven image, it is difficult to conceive of how *statura pusillus* (small of stature) might be gleaned from a statue in isolation.

The two final visions of Dominic given in the collection are of particular interest. They convey a much more exalted impression of the saint. In the first, Dominic has become the centre of a heavenly liturgy. In the second, he is equated with the martyrs and the patriarchs. In the first of these, Maria, the Basque pilgrim returning from Compostela without a cure, had reached Carrión de los Condes, there to spend the night.

Cumque medie noctis silentio cuncta sopirentur, beatam Mariam Virginem et beatum Michaellem Arcangelum et beatum Petrum Apostolum innumerabiliaque agmina sanctorum predicta mulier sibi cernere uidebatur. Et hi omnes candidis induti erant uestibus, singulos turibulos aureos tenentes in manibus. In medio uero illorum erat uir quidam, statura pusillus, ueneranda canicie et calbus, ferens baculum aureum in manibus ac super dextrum brachium quandam ferens libellum, qui cuiusdam cenobii, quod Exiliensis uocatur, se esse dicebat abbatem. Is uero talia illi referebat: 'Mulier, si ab hac desideras curari infirmitate, ad Exiliense cenobium festina pergere; quo cum ueneris, monachos inibi habitantes admone quatinus parum pulueris sancti sepulcri, uino commixtum, tibi bibendum properent attribuere; statimque ab hac liberaberis infirmitate.' Atque, his dictis, discessit. (III.25.6-19, p. 498)

And whilst all slept in the silence of the night, the aforesaid woman thought she saw the Blessed Virgin Mary, and blessed Michael, Archangel, and the blessed Apostle Peter, and innumerable crowds of saints. And all of these were dressed in white robes, each holding a thurible in their hands. And, indeed, in the middle of

them was a man, of small stature, bald with venerable white hair, holding a golden staff in his hands and upon his right arm carrying a small book, who said he was the abbot of a certain monastery, which was called Silos. He spoke these words to her: 'Woman, if from this illness you wish to be cured, hurry to the monastery of Silos; when you arrive there, ask the monks that dwell there to bring you a little of the dust from the holy grave mixed with wine for you to drink; and straightaway you will be freed from this illness.' And, having said these things, he vanished.

The innumerable saints dressed in white is a allusion to Apocalypse 7, 9, 'Post haec vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare nemo poterat ex omnibus gentibus, et tribubus, et populis, et linguis: stantes ante thronum, et in conspectu Agni amicti stolis albis, et palmae in manibus eorum' (After this I saw a great multitude whom no one could count, from all nations and tribes and peoples and languages, standing before the throne in the Lamb's presence, clothed in white robes and with palm branches in their hands). Instead of palms, however, the blessed carry thuribles, perhaps referring to a verse only slightly later in the Apocalypse, 'Et alius angelus venit, et stetit ante altare habens thuribulum aureum: et data sunt illi incensa multa, ut daret de orationibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum, quod est ante thronum Dei' (Apocalypse 8, 3; Another angel came and stood at the altar with a thurible of gold; and much incense was given him so that he could make an offering from the prayers of the saints on the golden altar before the throne of God). The saints, then, are taking part in a form of heavenly liturgy, their thuribles representing the prayers that they ceaselessly offer to God; Dominic's appearance amongst them signifies his intercession on behalf of the woman who suffers from fever.¹⁰

The description given of Dominic is remarkably similar to those that have gone before, but again displays some development of the figure. Dominic's staff has turned to gold, and he carries a *libellus* upon his arm. The golden staff is clearly a parallel to the golden thuribles the other saints carry; Dominic's not carrying a thurible indicates both that he is the saint at the centre of the heavenly liturgy and that his prayers have been heard. The staff only reinforces his depiction as abbot of the monastery, which we have seen was central to his cult. Yet the *libellus* is a new departure. It is possible that stories of the appearances of French saints, in which they often clutch their *Vitae*, are behind the woman's innovation.¹¹ Alternatively, she may have recalled a splendid liturgy, perhaps at Santiago, in which the procession before the reading of the Gospel with its deliberately displayed book and its accompaniment of incense merged with the account of the Apocalypse in creating a representation of a heavenly liturgy.

Drinking a beverage made from the dust of a tomb was common in France, but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, at this point unknown in Spain.¹² The woman, coming from the Basque country (and possibly from beyond the Pyrenees), may well have been familiar with French practice, and channelled

this information into her dream of the saint.¹³ Given its unfamiliarity in Spain, the authority of a vision may have been necessary for the monks to allow such a innovative therapeutic practice to the woman.

The final vision of the collection concerns a young boy called Iustus, whom his neighbours and servants thought close to death owing to a long illness in which he had suffered from dropsy.

Quadam nocte uidebat in somnis, et ecce!, campus magnus, planus, totus uiridis, diuersis floribus et rosis crispantibus adornatus; et per medium campi, fluuius nimis lucidus; et aqua super argentea relucebat arena. Ad litus uero fluuii stabat uir quidam splendidissimus, uestibus albis indutus; uirga [*sic*] manu gestabat et fluuium percuciebat et hec uerba illi dicebat: 'O puer, si desideras ab hac infirmitate conualescere, quantotius ad cenobium Exiliense, scilicet, ad sanctum Dominicum, festina pergere et ibi cito mereberis sanitatem recipere.' Et hoc dicto, ab oculis eius euauit. (III.39.6-14, p. 524)

One night he saw in dreams, and, behold!, a great meadow, flat, completely green, adorned with diverse flowers and blossoming roses; and through the middle of the meadow, a most brightly shining stream; and the water shone above the silvery sand. At the edge of the river stood a certain most brilliantly shining man, dressed in white robes; he held a rod in his hand and was hitting the river with it and was saying these words to him: 'O child, if you desire to recover from this illness, hurry as soon as possible to the monastery of Silos, that is, to Saint Dominic, and there you will soon merit the return of your health.' And saying this, he vanished from his eyes.

The vision of the paradisiacal meadow is perhaps one of the most common in the Middle Ages. It points to the abode of the saints and, in its mention of roses, of the abode of the martyrs, an association made even stronger by the man's wearing white robes (cf. Apocalypse 7, 9). It was to a similar scene that Satorius, Perpetua's companion in martyrdom, was taken by angels: 'vidi [...] spatium grande, quod tale fuit quasi uiridarium, arbores habens rosae et omne genus flores' (I saw a great expanse, which was as it were like a pleasure-garden, having rose-trees and all kinds of flowers).¹⁴ Similarly Agustus, a child-visionary, the account of whose experiences just before death opens the seventh-century *Vitas patrum Emeretensium*, said: 'Fui in locum amenum, ubi erant multi odoriferi flores, erbe uiridissime, rose hac lilie et corone ex gemmis et auro multe' (I was in a beautiful place where there were many fragrant flowers, the greenest grass, roses, lilies, many crowns of gems and gold).¹⁵

Iustus's dream is linked to his own cure. The account refers to the figure as a 'persona' who is not explicitly named as the saint and who communicates a message. Yet the placing of the figure beside a river is reminiscent of Dominic's own vision of the river which he crossed. The presentation of the figure, then, even though there is no direct identification, links the *persona*

with the saint, who furthermore instructs the boy to go not merely to Silos but to Santo Domingo, since that was what the monastery had begun to be called.¹⁶

We have already seen that the staff is characteristic of appearances of Dominic after the account in II.25.23-24, p. 370; the striking of the water with the staff is reminiscent of Moses striking the Nile with his staff (Exodus 7, 20). The allusion would seem to be desired, given the use of *virga* in both texts,¹⁷ where the *Vita Dominici* had previously used the word *baculum*. Grimaldus explicitly compared Dominic to Moses at I.2.90-148, pp. 170-74. It is therefore possible to see the image functioning on three levels. First, Moses' striking of the water was to turn the Nile into blood, recalling the river of blood which flowed in Dominic's vision: the boy's vision is influenced by the spread of the story of Dominic's vision. We may assume that it had become an important part the saint's biography celebrated by his devotees. The invitation to visit the shrine is couched in a form which links itself to the saint. Secondly, as we have seen, Dominic has been equated with Moses by the hagiographer, and would continue to be so in the cult. This equation, no doubt originating through a spiritual comparison, could only have been strengthened by the attribution to the saint of numerous escapes from the hands of the pagans, just as Moses had led his people from their Egyptian captivity into the promised land. Thirdly, the transformation of water into blood may well foretell the boy's cure: the water which caused the *inflacio* would be re-absorbed into the body, converted into the proper corporeal liquid, blood. In this way we may consider the image to have a psycho-physical import (water transformed to blood); an ideological significance (Dominic as Moses, leading his people free); and an affective element (the child's assimilating himself to the saint who would cure him through having a similar vision to the saint's own famous vision). The exaltation of the saint's power, combined with the symbolic resolution of the malady and with a perceived bond between saint and sufferer, would provide a particularly powerful means of suggestion so that the cure could be enacted when Iustus finally reached the shrine.

It is likely, from what has been said before, that the monks had a role in diffusing the cultic image of the saint. However, the visionaries took from this official image the elements that they required. The clergy might propose objects of devotion to the populace, but it is the nature of popular religion to escape from such patterning, assimilating what is offered into a shape of its own.¹⁸ Even if Dominic's image, in the minds of supplicants, was influenced by devotional statuary, it was anything but static. In sharp contrast to the immobility of the saint's relics, enclosed within their stone shrine, visions of Dominic convey a vibrant, vital conception of the saint's activity, violently engaged in the supplicants' search for health of mind or body.

The saint as one locked in combat with demons was an image which had immense force, and which, to judge from the frequency of exorcisms recorded at the shrine and elsewhere in Spain, represented an important social

phenomenon. The conception of the saint as exorcist exerted its influence even on an illness not primarily associated with the work of the devil. Martinus, who suffered from gout, was attacked by a dog in his vision. Salvator, suffering from *tortio oris*, was cured when a white 'uestiola' climbed up into his lap. The visions of Martinus and Salvator would seem to suggest, through their choice of imagery, that the action of the devil or demons underlay their suffering. Dominic's power was turned against these creatures in spiritual combat.

Grimaldus laid great stress in Book I of the *Vita* of Dominic's struggle against the devil, but his conception was primarily intellectual: there were no infernal snouts to be punched, only deceitful temptations to be resisted. The only confrontations with manifestations of the ancient enemy were on behalf of others. Dominic had cured Garcia Munnionis from epilepsy (whose cause may have been demonic) through arduous fasting and prayer. The saint had put to flight the demon obsessing the anchoress Oria in the form of a serpent through the celebration of the eucharist and the sprinkling of holy water in her cell, and he is depicted in posthumous visions of him as beating up a demon, expelling a snake from a woman's stomach and chasing a ferocious dog, whilst doves or an ermine are visionary representations of his healing *virtus*.

The representations of animals as vehicles or as opponents of the curative power of the saint and his shrine are most unusual, and invite comparison with the pagan shrine of Asklepios (or Aesculapius in the Roman world) wherein animals were also seen as conveyors of health. In the cult of this god, dogs and serpents were harbingers of health. The snake was coiled around Asklepios' staff to form his characteristic symbol, and dogs were kept at his shrines for their healing properties.¹⁹ In contrast to this, dogs and serpents are precisely those animals which are seen in visions as the enemy, and symbolize those things to which Dominic is opposed through his miracles. Dogs and snakes are symbols of the chthonic powers, whose strength exists in the depths of the earth. Serpents dwell underground, and the entrance to Hades was guarded by the three-headed Cerberus.

The snake which Gotina expelled from her stomach when she stepped onto Dominic's territory was described by the narrator as a 'monster'. Oria's vision of a serpent is perhaps more psychologically interesting. Grimaldus presents the appearance of the snake as an artifice of the ancient enemy, who took on the form in which he had deceived Adam and Eve and so brought about the Fall. Yet this snake does not speak, nor does it move. A snake had appeared to Saint Antony of the Desert, along with other fearsome animals, as part of his temptations.²⁰ It is very possible — given the equivalence between the anchoritic and eremitic vocations — that there is more than a chance similarity between Oria's and Antony's visions. But Antony's serpent, like the other animals that appeared to him, tried to attack him. Oria's serpent does not. Finally she has recourse to Dominic, who had enclosed her (1.9.9–32, p. 254–56). Oria's serpent was a reminder of her sinfulness, which would make

any progress in her anchoritic vocation null and void. The serpent was unmoving, just as Oria had chosen the path of absolute stability, to be enclosed within a small cell. Only on her death would she leave it. A crisis in her commitment to her vocation due to her own sense of sinfulness was externalized as a demonic vision; it was resolved by her re-affirming her ties to the charismatic abbot who had accepted her vocation and enclosed her. From the description of her cure — Dominic says mass and then immediately sprinkles holy water in her cell from the window — it would seem that her cell was placed either within or on the outside of the monastery church, and communicated with the latter through a squint or narrow window which usually looked upon the altar.²¹ It is possible that Dominic's success in exorcising the young woman with the eucharist encouraged him to rely mainly upon the sacrament in his subsequent thaumaturgy.

The animals which assist Dominic's cures in visionary form are, in contrast, doves or the *uestiola*.²² The doves are a predominantly Christian symbol, a symbol of the presence of the Holy Spirit. The *uestiola* is 'candida'. Both are symbolic of the heavenly powers, not the chthonic; Dominic is depicted in these visions as being in violent opposition to the earth-bound powers of demons and disease. His beating of a demon in the form of a dog and his expulsion of a devil with many blows express his sanctity in a tradition which stretches back to the acts of the earliest martyrs,²³ a tradition which exerted its influence upon the record of his own life in the first book of the *Vita Dominici* and which can be seen to have continued to affect the course which his cult followed.

The laity continued in their old ways, unlike Dominic and Grimaldus who had abandoned the coarse representations of individual sanctity through the language of physical combat with the devil. The lack of any truly Mozarabic hagiography to speak of indicates that, unlike areas which had long been Romanized, no new model of sainthood, such as the caring abbot, the actively pastoral bishop or the holy ruler with a penchant for living the monastic life, had come to take the place of the models of antiquity.²⁴ However European and forward-looking the historical Dominic might have been, the development of his cult wrenched the saint back into distinctly old-fashioned models of sanctity. Yet the new models he himself represented allowed him to bridge the gap between the Mozarabic past and the increasingly French-ridden present of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century Spanish Church. The depiction of the saint as active — even violently engaged — is most common in the earlier part of the cult, perhaps during the first twenty years. After this time, appearances of Dominic predominate in which the saint is described in a more hieratic fashion. Dominic's sanctity was new to Spain, but in many ways embodied or foreshadowed trans-Pyrenean modes of holiness. Dominic could stand over the divide between conservatism and reform. As such, he was an ideal saint for the period which had seen sweeping liturgical change and a rapid alteration in the religious landscape after the influx of French monks and clerics. He

functioned both as *patronus* of the people that came to his shrine and spiritual guardian of the monks that were gathered in religious life around that shrine.

CONCLUSION: THE SHRINE AS SACRED SPACE

Over a hundred miracles were recorded at Silos during the maximum period of forty to fifty years that compilation of the second and third books of the *Vita Dominici* took. They testify to the enormous popularity of the saint's cult, its ability to draw the sick and suffering from large distances in the hope that they would be cured. The shrine's geographical hinterland was wide; wide also was the range of maladies that might be cured. The cult drew devotees from all classes, although, over time, it became linked increasingly to the rich. The causes of this may be found in Dominic's sponsorship of escape miracles and his accessibility to those, such as Rudericus, who were on campaign.

It has been shown how architectural, geographic, imagistic, ideological and psychological factors could be combined together in a saint's cult. With the devotees' attention focussed upon the shrine housing the holy relics, aspects of the physical setting could reinforce expectations of cure or liberation. The presence of chains around the shrine, hung up by liberated captives, would foster the association of Dominic with liberation from captivity. The position of his shrine near to the altar of Saint Martin and the further dedications of altars to Saints Peter and Nicholas provided a concentration of associative elements around the saint's own *virtus*. The associative power was not limited to escapes; the exorcism of the *demoniaca* from Peñalva, whose demon proclaimed that Dominic and Martin were together forcing it to leave her body, shows the importance of the contiguity of the altars of the two saints in reinforcing the sense of the sacred and the power of the shrine. Moving from the shrine, various thresholds also provided the saint with an opportunity to act: the church door, the stream by the monastery, the chapel of Saint James.

The conception of Dominic as a saint, as being one, even after death, to whom it was given by God to work wonders, allowed laity and clergy to use his tomb as a focus for their own healing. Part of the efficacy of the shrine was undoubtedly in the power of suggestion, the mental/physical effects brought about by the blessing which the beneficence of the saint offered to his devotees. The power of suggestion could be, as seen in exorcism narratives, strengthened by the religious atmosphere of the shrine, its architectural structure and the religious symbols and rites, all of which took place in connection to the cult and which strengthened the power emanating from the shrine. This power could be further strengthened by the recent occurrence of a previous miracle, and some devotees would seem to have been particularly susceptible to a form of curative identification with those pilgrims who had received cures immediately before them.

The actions of the monks or the rhythm of the liturgy could reinforce the latent possibilities of the saint's *virtus*. Whether it was through the imagery of

visions, the spectacular events of an exorcism or the less spectacular — but no less real — healing of a withered hand or a man blind for many years, the power of the saint was set against the powers of psychic and physical disintegration, moral and corporeal disease and approaching death. The saint was the means through whom reintegration of body and soul could be achieved. The hagiographer's insistence on the spiritual benefits of Dominic's intercession as well as the physical cures was not misplaced, since the two formed an integrated unity which was essential for the very existence of the shrine. The saint's ability to undo vengeance miracles is particularly relevant. The vengeance miracle was a consonant punishment for a wilful or thoughtless lack of harmony; Dominic could remedy the sufferer's mistake, return them to health, and thereby show that their sin was obliterated.

Dominic's patronage of escapes was a decisive development in the history of the shrine. His visionary appearances to Servandus and Petrus established him as a saint was not limited to the immediate geographic area of his shrine, or even to Christendom, but could stretch into Muslim lands, thereby establishing himself in the minds of Spaniards as a intercessor specialized in liberating captives. On the one hand, Servandus's arrival at the shrine on the day of the church's consecration ensured maximum publicity for the cult of Dominic as liberator; on the other, the message of Petrus's vision — that Dominic was an active intercessor for captives — increased devotion to him without establishing the necessity of visionary encouragement before an escape. Captives were thereby enabled to attribute escapes to his intercession without there being any vision or clear miracle necessarily to warrant the attribution of their liberation to a supernatural power.

The saint's sponsoring of escapees attracted to him the devotion of nobility and frontiersmen and women. Yet therein lay the beginnings of the decay of the cult. The expanding population of the frontier required churches; those which were dedicated to Dominic could become rivals to Silos, at least on the local scale. Petrus, for example, after his miraculous escape, went first to Toledo, where Santo Domingo el Antiguo, a nunnery, had been founded immediately after the conquest of the city. The nobility were the first to benefit from Dominic's power to cure his devotees at a distance from the shrine; they may have been more prepared to promise gifts and oblations to be given to Silos after their cure. Combined with other factors, the healing at a distance that was available for devotees may well have diminished the readiness of supplicants to embark upon a difficult journey to the shrine unless it were in thanksgiving, thereby depriving themselves of the psychological benefits that proximity to the relics could bring, and therefore lessening the probability of their cure. And so the shrine became quiescent for a number of years. It was reawakened by the most important miracles to have occurred during the period we have just considered: the liberation of captives. These miraculous escapes would dominate the second period of the activity of the saint's thaumaturgic power. Yet the literary heritage of Dominic's cult

received another element in the first half of the thirteenth century: Gonzalo de Berceo's poeticization of the saint's *Vita*. It is to this intellectual tour-de-force that we shall dedicate the following chapter, before plunging into the popular devotion that characterizes Dominic's thirteenth-century escape miracles.

NOTES

1. In contrast, Rudesindus, even at his death around the age of seventy, was probably *c.* 1.8 metres tall, of large stature especially in his day. See José Carro Otero, 'Estudio anatómico-anropológico', in *Ordoño de Celanova: Vida y Milagros de San Rosendo*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, María Virtudes Pardo Gómez and Daría Vilariño Pintos, Galicia Histórica, 11 (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza Conde de Fenosa, 1990), pp. 303–26, at p. 323.
2. 'Quadam namque nocte, solito sopore quieti conticinii adueniente, affuit beatus Dominicus cum magna claritate luminis, obstruso foramini ergastuli, in habitu monachali clausumque captium ex nomine uocauit. Cui ille statim ab ipsa profunditate laci mirans pauensque respondit et quis esset qui se uocaret sollicita inquisitione requisiiuit. Cui uir sanctus cum magna grauitate responsum reddidit humiliterque innotuit dicens se esse *peccatorem Dominicum, quondam Exiliensis monasterii rectorem, licet immeritum et nunc ibi quiescere sepulcro conditum*.' Italics indicate phrases picked up in subsequent visions.
3. '[...] beatus Dominicus adest, cum magno splendore luminis, in habitu monachali, regens suos gressus sustentatione baculi, diligenter obseratis foribus domus, que undique circumdabat lacum retinentem captium. Ad cuius introitum continuo patefactum est obstrusum illius lacus claustrum, omni ex parte munitum ac proprio nomine captium intro iacentem uocauit. [...] 'me scito esse *Dominicum peccatorem, quondam Exiliensis monasterii abbatem*'.
4. No study has been made of Dominic's remains. The staff to support his steps puts one in mind of another abbot, Rudesindus, whose remains have been studied by Carro Otero, and whose final conclusion ('Estudio', p. 326) is the following: 'Antropológicamente se confirma la autenticidad de los restos humanos respecto al personaje a que se atribuye, pues pertenecen a un sólo varón que fallece a los ± 70 años y, ello resulta muy curioso, con problemas patológicos del aparato locomotor que demandarían el uso de un *bastón* aquí incluido como "ajuar" funerario' (From an anthropological point of view, *the authenticity* of the human remains with regards to the person to whom they are attributed *is confirmed*, since they belong to *one man* who died *around the age of seventy* and, something which is quite odd, with pathological problems of the legs and hips which would require the use of a *walking stick* included here as part of the funerary gravegoods). The italics are not mine, but original to the author.
5. The author praised the shrine of Aemilianus, and sought to impugn no deficiency of the saint: 'ad beati Emilianii basilicam, in territorio Vergegii sitam, perrexit, sperans se ipsius meritis perfecte sanitatis donum consequi, quam per beatum Dominicum de integro recipere non meruit. Sed occulto dei iudicio sine aliquo effectu sui desiderii rediit. Nec hoc impossibilitati beati Emilianii ascribere debemus, quem plurimum apud omnipotentem deum ualere patenter probauimus, perplurimis magnarum uirtutum indiciiis prodentibus; sed huius miraculi effectus a deo meritis beati Dominici ad gloriam eius est reseruatus' (II.29.29–36, p. 394–96; went to the church of the blessed Aemilianus, in the territory of Berceo, hoping to gain his full health through the latter's merits, health which he did not deserve to wholly receive through blessed Dominic. But by the hidden judgement of God, he returned without any fulfilment of his desires. We ought not to ascribe this failure to the impotence of blessed Aemilianus, whose great worth before almighty God we have already shown clearly, as the many signs of his power indicate, but that the working of this miracle was reserved by God to the merits of the blessed Dominic for the latter's glory).

6. See Joaquín Peña, OSAR, *Los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Logroño: Ochoa, 1978), pp. 95, 97, 99, 113, 121, for the image of Aemilianus, and especially at p. 101, where he jabs at a devil with his staff as it comes out of the mouth of an energumen.
7. Braulius, *Vita Aemiliani*, §14, p. 20, l. 13 – p. 21, l. 7; tr. Fear, p. 27.
8. 'uenit ad eam in somnis uir quidam splendissimus, statura pusillus, ueneranda canitie et caluus, dicens se esse abbatem, quondam Exiliensis monasterii rectorem' (II.50.5–7, p. 442); 'apparuit illi uir quidam splendissimus, statura pusillus, ueneranda canitie et calbus qui ei alapam dedit' (III.4.10–12, p. 472). Italics indicate common phrasing.
9. Images, to the faithful, are not static, as pointed out in a modern context by Morgan, *Visual Piety*, p. 54: 'To watch the faithful who silently beseech the icon [of Our Miraculous Lady of Cicero] is to witness how interactive this image is. The devout genuflect, pray, and light candles before the image of Mary, offer her flowers and money and speak to her, or simply gaze intently at the eyes and tears of the weeping Mother.'
10. A similar 'heavenly liturgy' can be found in Peter Damian's *De variis apparitionibus et miraculis*, §4, PL 145, 584–90, at 587C3–588D11. That visionary instructions are given to effect a cure is not an unfamiliar motif in saints' posthumous miracles; there exists, for example, the following from the *Miracula Rudesindi*: 'Apud Portugalem in monasterio Fontis Archadie, quidam monachus, Munio nomine, ualde a quaternis urgebatur febribus. Nam cum per unum annum nec per ecclesiarum uisitationem nec per medicorum operationem subleuatur, demum in somnis a sancto Rudesindo amonetur, quatenus si in eius honore flexis genibus dominicalis oratio a cunctis monachis deo fundetur, continuo sanitati redderetur. Quod ita factum est, sicut a quodam honesto nostri monasterii agnoui monacho qui illuc positus tam ab eodem quam ab omnibus monachis hec audisse fatebatur (Ordonius, *Miracula Rudesindi*, §25, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo and Vilariño, p. 198, ll. 909–918; In Portugal, in the monastery of Fonte Arcada [in Póvoa de Lanhoso, twenty kilometres west of Braga], a certain monk, Munio by name, was harshly stricken with quartan fever. Now when, after a whole year, it had been relieved neither by visits to churches nor by the works of physicians, at length he was told in a dream by Saint Rudesindus that if all the monks offered the Lord's prayer to God on bended knee in his honour, he would be restored to lasting health. Which indeed came about, as I learnt from a truthful monk of our monastery who was there, and who said that he had heard it both from Munio and from all the monks).
11. The most famous occurrence is the appearance of the Saint Martin of Tours, smiling and holding his *Vita*, to his hagiographer, Sulpicius Severus, while the latter slept. Sulpicius was woken with the news that Martin had died: Sulpicius Severus, *Epistola* II.3, PL 20, 178–80, at 179A3–5 and 179B4–9. A thirteenth-century image of Saint Lazare holding a book in his left hand is painted in the chapel of Saint-Erige (Auron, St-Etienne-de-Tiné), and can be seen at <http://www.culture.fr/culture/medieval/en/a027.htm> (as at 16 August 2001).
12. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 245, comments that, although incubation was a favoured method of seeking a cure at French shrines, 'd'autres méthodes, telles que le toucher des reliques ou la pière, sont aussi utilisées, mais on rémarque plus particulièrement l'ingestion de nourriture ou de boisson ayant été en contact avec un saint ou avec ses reliques.' The prevalence of this curative method beyond the Pyrenees strengthens the possibility that Maria was familiar with French shrines and representations of French saints.
13. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 49–53; Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, p. 95, notes its importance in the cult of Martin of Tours. The practice was known by the late thirteenth century in Spain: see Anthony Lappin, 'The Thaumaturgy of Regal Piety: Alfonso X and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', *Journal of Hispanic Research*, 4 (1995–96), 39–59, at p. 52.
14. *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, XI.5–6, ll. 10–13, ed. J. Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité, suivi des Actes*, Sources Chrétiennes, 417 (Paris: Le Cerf, 1988), pp. 98–182, at p. 144.
15. *Vitas patrum Emeretensium*, §1, ll. 31–34, ed. by A. Maya Sánchez, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 116 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), p. 8; trans by. A. T. Fear, 'The Lives of the

- Fathers of Mérida', in his *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, Translated Texts for Historians, 26 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), pp. 45–105, at p. 47.
16. At some point between the end of the eleventh century and the second decade of the twelfth century, close to the date at which this narrative was written, the monastery had become known as either *Sancti Sebastiani* or *Sancti Dominici*, and was almost always exclusively referred to as *Sancti Dominici* thereafter. The monastery is referred to solely as *Sancti Sebastiani* in Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación*, doc. no. 21, p. 27 (AD 1085); docs no. 27–30, pp. 31–36 (AD 1096–98); but as 'Sancti Sebastiani seu Sancti Dominici' in doc. no. 32, p. 40 (AD 1118) and docs no. 37–38, p. 46–48 (AD 1125), 47, p. 61 (AD 1135). From the latter document it is clear that Santo Domingo is the name of the town; *Sancti Sebastiani* is only an outmoded formula which is used again in docs no. 48–49, pp. 67–68 (AD 1135–37) and docs no. 52, 53, pp. 70–73 (AD 1142, 1148). After 1125 the abbot is referred to exclusively as *Sancti Dominici* (cf. doc. no. 39, p. 49 (AD 1125; 'abbas Sancti Dominici'); doc. no. 40, p. 51 (AD 1125; ('abbas Sancti Dominici de Silos'); doc. no. 45, p. 59 (AD 1131; the monastery as 'Sanctus Dominicus de Silos'); 'Sancti Dominici' was recognized as the shorthand even in the papal chancery: docs no. 52bis, 53bis, pp. 72, 74 (AD 1144, 1150). We may summarize this evidence by saying that, until the end of the eleventh century, the monastery was known at least legally as 'Sant Sebastián', but popularly as 'Santo Domingo'; by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, the monastery was exclusively referred to as 'Santo Domingo', even when legal precision was required.
 17. Exodus 7, 20: 'et elevans virgam, percussit aquam fluminis' (and raising the rod, he struck the water of the river).
 18. Morgan, *Visual Piety*, p. 134, 'those who purchase popular products, join fan clubs, or listen to mass broadcasting enter into negotiation with popular culture to extract from it what they want or need. Such consumers do not mindlessly conform to patterns of consumption established elsewhere by producers but appropriate the product to their own uses and needs, thereby preserving a degree of agency or self-determination in the construction and maintenance of their worlds.' This is expressed more trenchantly by Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, p. 7, 'For each person's religion has to do with himself and his own autonomous needs. There is a sad disjunction between the recognized needs of clergy, teachers, writers and the needs of those they preach, teach and write for.'
 19. Mary Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1906), pp. 17–28; Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asclepion: the People, their Dedications, and the Inventories* (Amsterdam: Brill, 1989), p. 40. The serpent's connection with healing may also be seen in the caduceus of Mercury or Hermes.
 20. Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, §8, PL 73, 132B5.
 21. On this form of anchorism, see Stephan Borgehammar, 'The Ideal of the Recluse in Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum*', in *In Quest of the Kingdom: Ten Papers on Medieval Monastic Spirituality*, ed. Alf Härdelin, Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, 48 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), pp. 177–202; Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Louis Gougaud, *OSB, Ermites et reclus: études sur d'anciennes formes de vie religieuse*, Moines et monastères, 5 (Vienne: Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, 1928).
 22. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 139, records three occasions on which the saint appeared in symbolic form in a vision: Saint Benedict appeared as a dove (*Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, IX.3); Saint Autbert appeared as a lamb (*Miracula Sancti Autberti episcopi Cameracensis*, II.1, ed. A. Poncet, 'De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 19 (1900), pp. 198–212, at p. 205; and a Saint Nicholas appeared as an oil-lamp (*Miracula S. Nicolai auctore monacho Beccensi*, §13, ed. J.-C. Richard, 'Les Miracula composés en Normandie aux XIe et XIIe siècles', Unpublished thesis, École des chartes, 1975, II, 206–46, at p. 205). As with the symbolic visions of Dominic, the lamb and dove are recognizable Christian symbols; the oil-lamp is doubtless connected to the lamps that burnt before the tomb of the saint.

23. The bibliography of this subject is immense. A convenient summary is provided by Charles Pietri, 'Saints et démons: l'héritage de l'hagiographie antique', *Santi e demoni nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V–XI)*, *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XXXVI, 7–13 aprile 1988, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989), I, 17–90.
24. On the new models, see Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 42–66.

APPENDIX

INTRONIZATUR HODIE DOMINICUS THE OFFICE OF SAINT DOMINIC

The office which celebrates Dominic is present in three manuscripts: London, British Library, ms. add. 30850; Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 18; and Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, ms. 2637.¹ The manuscript in the British Library is an antiphonary from Silos, written in Carolingian script.² The Salamanca manuscript is a missal which may have been copied in Silos for a dependency.³ The San Millán manuscript is also a missal and was originally copied there; it is the only Roman missal to have survived which is in Visigothic script.

The date of the office is of some interest, since it provides us with an important milestone in the cult of the saint, and gives us valuable details concerning how the monastery of Silos chose to represent its former abbot to itself and other coenobitic establishments. Clues to the dating of the office can be found in the summary of the saint's miracles provided for the antiphons of Lauds:

Quindecim caeci orationibus beati viri [...] lumen Dei gratia receperunt.

Septem surdi [...] redditi sunt sanitate.

Viginti energumeni ope, vel intercessione eius, Dei misericordia, à malo sunt invasore liberati.

Laudetur Christus, in cuius virtute mirabili, octo claudos erexit Beatus Dominicus.⁴

Fifteen blind people received their sight through the prayers of the blessed man.

Seven deaf people were given back their health.

Twenty possessed people were freed from the evil invader by his deed or his intercession.

Christ be praised, through whose marvellous power the blessed Dominic raised up eight of the lame.

In the *Vita Dominici*, seven deaf or deaf-mutes are posthumously cured by Dominic (II.3, 12, 40, 42, 45, 60, III.4), the figure given in the relevant antiphon. Yet a total of ten lame, nineteen blind people and twenty-four *daemoniaci* are cured in the *Vita Dominici* — against eight, fifteen and twenty respectively in the antiphons. The eighth miracle to express the cure of

someone who was lame occurs at III.8; subsequent miracles of this type occur only at III.43 and III.46. Rather more precision can be gained by cures from blindness: fifteen miracles had occurred by III.14; the next cures of this type occur at III.23–24. Twenty exorcisms had taken place by III.18; the subsequent expulsion of a demon occurs at III.26. We may therefore say that the office was written after III.18 but before III.23 had occurred. III.18 marks the end of a section of the posthumous miracles written by the same quill (see above, pp. 13–14), and so the office was presumably written immediately after this point. Since the office was included in ms. Aemilianensis 18, which has a *terminus post quem* of 1090,⁵ we may suggest that the office was written in the last years of the eleventh or the very beginning of the twelfth century.

The office for the saint demonstrates the monastery's choice to emphasise certain elements within the broad devotion for Dominic shown by pilgrims, the aristocracy and fighting men. The antiphons which may be used to begin vespers ask for Dominic's protection, and request his help in loving the rewards of heaven.⁶ No miracles are mentioned specifically in this office, but the hymn for the hour does mention how Dominic 'vita, verbo, prodigiis/hic fulsit in Hyspania' (Vergara, p. 453; shone here in Spain through life, word and wonders). The mention of *Hyspania* is echoed immediately in the antiphon for the first night office: 'Beatus Dominicus, nazione Hispanus [...]' (Blessed Dominic, by birth a Spaniard). The first responsory of the hour (which accompanies the reading of I.23, Dominic's death) emphasises his local origins: 'intra Nagerensem provinciam, in vico Cannensi progenie fuit ortus nobili' (Fernández de la Cuesta, §9; he was born of noble stock in the village of Cañas within the province of Nájera). The hymn for Lauds also mentions Dominic as 'velut stella rutilans/sic splendet in Hispania' (Vergara, p. 456; shining like a star thus did he shine in Spain). Dominic's origins in Spain and his importance to the peninsula were therefore important to the monks.

During the first night office, the antiphons and the responses describe Dominic's childhood and youth until his entry in the *eremus*. They emphasise his shepherding (a foretaste of his later shepherding of souls) and his devotion to study. This too is picked up in the hymn for Vespers, which stresses how Dominic gave himself over to useful studies from his very infancy, but links this dedication to his reform of the monastery and, with a pun on 'study', to his ascetism: 'Carnem domare studuit' (he studied [how] to control the flesh).⁷ There is thus an attempt to link Dominic's earliest experiences — shepherding, study, flight into the wilderness — to his rule of Silos.⁸

The second night office continues to recount Dominic's biography through its antiphons and responsories. His decision to descend from the hills is explained as being the imitation of the *Lives* of the saints (and not just Aemilianus); Dominic in the monastery becomes the object of imitation on the part of the other monks. He is described as returning to a *cella*, rather than a priory, and making it overflow in a short time with riches and with monastic observance, and was therefore made prior.⁹ His abandonment of San Millán

was due to his persecution by García, and he was appointed abbot by the will of the king and the judgment of the brethren and people.¹⁰

The elements chosen to be celebrated from Dominic's abbacy are all connected to the marvellous: the first is his vision, in which the details of rivers and bridge are omitted. 'Abbas vero ordinatus, prius secundum deum vivens, eidem coepit adhaerere familiaris. Pro quo in visione, angelorum visitatione et colloquio est confortatus. *Resp.* Tres coronas sibi dantium, et quare darent, per singulas exponentium' (Fernández de la Cuesta, §23; Ordained abbot, living according to God, he began to cleave more closely to him; through this in a vision he was comforted by the visit and conversation of angels. *Response.* Giving him three crowns and explaining why they were giving each one to him). Two miracles follow in successive antiphons. The first is the cure of Iohannes from blindness which emphasises the moment that the cure occurred — during the singing of an antiphon (Fernández de la Cuesta, §24). The second is Dominic's relief of the famine 'sola [...] oratione' (Fernández de la Cuesta, §25; by prayer alone), in which the monks are made to speak a version of the harsh words their predecessors spoke to Dominic: 'Aut nos citius hinc dimitte, aut nobis necessaria tribue' (either send us away from here quickly or give us what is needful). The vision at his death ends the responses: 'Die autem tertio ante suum obitum, a Christo Rege et Regina virginum Maria, visitari meruit, et confortari' (Fernández de la Cuesta, §25; the third day before his death, he was worthy of being visited and comforted by Christ the King and the Queen of virgins Mary). The vision is also recalled in the hymn for terce (Vergara, p. 456). The antiphon for the Canticle provides a summary of Dominic's virtue by concentrating upon his acting through obedience in all that he did.¹¹

Lauds concentrates upon the supernatural power of Dominic. As we have seen, its antiphons detail his posthumous miracles. The most populous of the miracles are included — the *energumeni* and the blind, the deaf and the lame. These were chosen, no doubt, for their neotestamental resonance. Dominic's power to repel demons is alluded to in another hymn written in Visigothic script (*Dominicum patri supero*) which Vergara found in his manuscript of the *Vita Dominici* ('Invisos pelle demones/et tenebrarum principes', Vergara, p. 457; repel the invading demons and the rulers of darkness).¹² The hymn for the day, 'Intronizatur hodie/Dominicus' (Vergara, p. 445; Dominic is enthroned today), in possession of the three crowns and, furthermore, two haloes, since he was a virgin and teacher of the faith. The three crowns and two haloes are perhaps an attempt to reconcile the three crowns that Dominic saw in his vision and the two crowns that the oblates saw carrying him up to heaven. The crowns are again referred to in the hymn for terce ('Beatus iam in gloria/corona gaudet triplici', Vergara, p. 456; the blessed one now enjoys three crowns in glory).

The only posthumous miracle to be singled out is the cure of the young man mute from birth in the antiphon for the procession or prime: 'Cum rediret a

sepulcro beatissimi Dominici, quidam adolescens a nativitate mutus usum loquendi quem natura perdiderat virtute ipsius recepit' (Fernández de la Cuesta, §35; as he was going away from the grave of the most blessed Dominic, a certain young man, mute from birth, received the power of speech, which he had lost by nature, through Dominic's power).¹³ The praise of that author for the miracle (II.40.1–4, p. 422, and especially II.40.70, p. 426, 'De tanto ergo miraculo gratias deo referamus' — for such a great miracle let us thank God) was not individual hyperbole; it was considered to be one of the most important of Dominic's miracles.

The office for the feast of Saint Dominic shows a great interest in the biographical details of the saint, choosing to emphasise his early years above his abbacy. Nineteen antiphons or reponses deal with his time before he reached Silos; only four detail his deeds as abbot. The miracles that are mentioned are those which best express the healing function of the shrine, and one cure from blindness and another from muteness complete the picture. The imagery of the hymns and prayers point to Dominic's spiritual powers to intercede with Christ, and so gain his devotees salvation, at the same time repelling the demonic powers that would snatch their salvation from them. Yet, despite the characterization of Dominic as a soldier of Christ ('Dominici Christi militis/micat corona nobilis', Vergara, p. 457; the noble crown of Dominic, Christ's knight, shines forth), it is nonetheless striking that no mention at all is made of miraculous escapes. Although Dominic's reputation outside the monastery amongst fighting men was built upon just those miracles — and others not recorded by the monks — in which he freed men from their dungeons, it would be fair to guess at some reluctance to adopt this aspect of Dominic's thaumaturgy on the part of his former monastery, perhaps precisely because it was so tied to the powers of the *saeculum* and to those who bloodied their hands in the search of wealth.

NOTES

1. The office has been edited by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, 'Notas paleograficas al antifonario silense del museo británico', in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB*, 2 vols (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1976), I, 233–256, at pp. 245–56; it was reproduced (with some differences) by Vergara, *Vida y milagros del thaumaturgo español*, pp. 452–59. Vergara, although not using a Visigothic exemplar, recorded that it was thought the original was written in Visigothic script (p. 452) — which, of course, ms. Aemilianensis 18 is. In what follows, I shall use Fernández de la Cuesta's version of the office, but Vergara's reproduction of the hymns.
2. Edited by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Antiphonale Silense, British Library Mss. Add. 30.850. Introducción, índices y edición* (Madrid: CSIC, 1985).
3. Walker, *Views of Transition*, pp. 160–61.
4. Fernández de la Cuesta, §28–32.
5. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 145. The missal continued in use until at least the late twelfth century, since a mass for Thomas Becket (†1170, canonized 1173) was added: *ibid*, p. 149.
6. Vergara, p. 452. One of these antiphons is used for the Gospel antiphon in Fernández de la Cuesta's edition (§1, p. 245).

7. Vergara, p. 453.
8. Fernández de la Cuesta, §§2–12.
9. Fernández de la Cuesta, §13–21.
10. Fernández de la Cuesta, §22.
11. Fernández de la Cuesta, §27.
12. The phrasing recalls the other hymn in Visigothic script (*Dominici Christi militis*) which Vergara found in the same manuscript, ‘hoc tuum gregem visita/cuncta pellens fantasmata’ (Vergara, p. 457; visit your flock dispelling all chimaeras of thought). Both hymns were written after the translation of the saint: *Dominici Christi militis* mentions ‘Membra tua felicia/haec retinent basilica’ (your happy relics are held by the church) and *Dominicum patri supero* describes Dominic’s body as ‘translatus’ (translated). These two hymns, then, were probably written for the feast of Dominic’s translation.
13. In Vergara’s edition, p. 452, this antiphon is one of those that may be chosen for vespers; its differences with Fernández de la Cuesta’s §35 are indicated by italics: Cum rediret a sepulcro beatissimi Dominici, quidam adolescens, à nativitate mudus, usum loquendi, *quo carebat*, virtute ipsius recepit.’

PART TWO

Santo Domingo

The cult of Dominic in the thirteenth century and beyond

CHAPTER 7

EL SANCTO CONFÉSSOR GONZALO DE BERCEO'S DOMINIC

La Vida de Santo Domingo, composed by the Riojan secular cleric, Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1195–c. 1260) can be seen as an attempt to transform the figure of the saint and his cult whilst maintaining certain recognizable features. If examined with care, the poem can indicate the manner in which the cult had altered over the century in which no written record survives. The text also presents the reader with an example of how the recitation of a saint's life might have pastoral implications. Ideals are presented to monks and laity, that is, the audience of the *Vida*, ideals of comportment and devotion which are much informed by the mentality of church reformers whose impact through the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was beginning to be felt. I will describe first the surviving manuscripts of the work, and sketch their dependence upon their source, the *Vita Dominici*. I will then go on to consider the evidence in Gonzalo de Berceo's text for the popular basis of Dominic's continuing thaumaturgic fame. I then analyse Gonzalo's use of the saint and his miracles for his own pastoral concerns.¹

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *VIDA DE SANTO DOMINGO*.

The *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* exists in three manuscript copies. The earliest, known as *S*, is held in Silos, and is the earliest extant copy of any of Gonzalo's works, copied in the mid-thirteenth century, and bound, in the sixteenth century, with the *Vita Dominici* and the *Miráculos romançados*. The manuscript is usually termed *S*. A copy was made of *S* in the late thirteenth century; this is termed *H* and is now Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 12-4-1.² In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, another copy of the *Vida*, together with other *cuaderna vía* works, was made for the monastery of San Millán. The manuscript is now Madrid, Real Academia de la Lengua, ms. 4, known as *F*.³ The *Vida de Santo Domingo* is accompanied by other works by Gonzalo de Berceo, namely the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, the *Vida de Santa Oria* and the first few folios of the *Vida de San Millán*.

SH and *F* descend from a common archetype. *S* has, however, been corrected by a thirteenth-century hand, termed *S*². Many of the variants these

corrections bring are unacceptable on metrical grounds, although, in the account of Dominic's death at *VSD* 509c, *S*² has written over scratching 'ol dieron de beber : algun mal vino frido'; *H* follows *S*², as one would expect.⁴ But *F*, which does not follow any of the corrections provided by *S*², gives what was close to the original reading in *S*, 'dizian los otros non : mas era deçebido'.⁵ It has consistently been thought that these variants testified to a five-lined stanza (a form occasionally witnessed in Gonzalo's works);⁶ but, in fact, they are only parallel variants for the same line (the full stanza is given below, at p. 228). The acceptance of one over the other into a critical edition depends upon the status granted to *S*², that is whether it transmits authorial corrections or not. If *S*² were correcting an omission by the first scribe, then there is no reason why the missing line was not written between the existing lines; at most we may say that the version used by *S*² had a four-line stanza as well — if *S*² was using a manuscript and not correcting by sight.⁷

Brian Dutton supposed that there was a further manuscript of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* at Silos, on the basis of a five-line stanza provided by Juan de Castro in his eulogy of Saint Dominic, *El glorioso thaumaturgo español, redemptor de cautivos, Sto. Domingo de Sylos, Hijo del Patriarca San Benito, Abad, y Confesor, su vida, virtudes, y milagros. Noticia del Real Monasterio de Sylos, y sus prioratos* (Madrid, 1688), folio 11v. *SHF* all agree in having a four-line stanza at this point. Castro's version alters the final line of the four-line stanza from 'Sácales los catiuos : a los fadamalientos' to 'Sacales los cativos è sus ferramientos/De guisa, que non avien, nin oro nin argentos'. Dutton believed these lines to be authentic, and furthermore thought that it provided grounds for assuming that the *Vida de Santo Domingo* existed in *Q*, an *in-quarto* volume of some of Gonzalo's works, now lost.⁸

Según la genealogía de los Mss. [...], sería muy posible que *S* y *F*, al copiar a *Z [el arquetipo] omitiesen el verso 734e mientras *Q* lo preservara. (En la copla 509, *S* omitió el verso *d*, mientras *F* omitió el verso *c*. Ambos MSS. conservan cinco versos en 185 y 510.) Las formas *avien* (léase *aven*) y *argentos* (léase *argientos*) parecen garantizar que este verso es genuino, cpse. 364a", *nin oro nin argent* y 370d, *de guisa que non ovo*. Además *argent/argientos* cuadra bien con *falliment* y *fallimiento* (Milagros 633b y 105d) [...]. Las malas lecturas *escarmientos* por *escarnimientos* y *è sus ferramientos* por *a los fadamalientos* en 374bd son también fehacientes, ya que lo ingénuo de las mismas no concuerda con lo ingenioso de un verso 374e falsificado, además con dos lecturas equivocadas. A base de estas razones, incluyo este verso [e] en mi edición.⁹

According to the geneology of the manuscripts, it would be very possible for *S* and *F*, when copying *Z [the archetype] to omit verse 734e whilst *Q* preserved them. (In stanza 509, *S* omitted verse *d*, whilst *F* omitted verse *c*. Both manuscripts retain five verses in 185 and 510.) The forms *avien* (leg. 'aven') and *argentos* (leg. 'argientos') seem to guarantee that this verse is genuine, if one compares the second hemistich

of 364a, *nin oro nin argent* and 370d, *de guisa que non ovo*. Besides, *argent/argentos* fits well with *falliment* and *fallimientos* (*Milagros* 633b and 105d). [...] The incorrect readings of *escarmientos* for *escarnimientos* and *é sus ferramientos* for *a los fadamalientos* in 374d also argues for its trustworthiness, since the ingenuousness of those cannot go together with the ingenuity necessary to make up 374e, which has, besides, two mistaken readings. Basing myself upon these reasons, I include this verse [e] in my edition.

I have cited Dutton's ratiocination at length, because in it we find most of his editorial vices. Building upon a mistaken deduction regarding stanza 509 (which we have discussed immediately above), he was led to imagine that he had evidence for a text of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* from Q. Evidence which should have warned him regarding the trustworthiness of the text is dismissed as 'malas lecturas' (incorrect readings), which he corrects and then uses these corrections to strengthen his argument through appeal to another work by Gonzalo de Berceo — which probably suggested the comparison in the first place. Most striking, of course, is his claim that *é sus ferramientos* (and their irons) is the product of misreading, since were the original reading maintained ('a los fadamalientos', to the unfortunate ones), the final line would not make any particular sense — even glossing over the improbability of *arg(i)entos* as a noun. *Argento* is a rare word, meaning silver or money; but *argentos* is never otherwise found in Spanish. It is presumably to be taken to mean 'silver coins', although the more normal form would be *maravedís de plata* or *dineros*. Dutton's pointing to the similarities that two hemistichs of the final line (374e) have with two lines remarkably close to it (370d, 'De guisa que non ovo', and 364a, 'nin oro nin argent'), is disingenuous on his part; and the use of past tenses ('fazie' for 'faz(e)' at 374b, 'avien' at 374e) cannot simply be glossed over as errors that show that the copyist was incompetent but pure of heart. One example of such an error might count as carelessness, but two strikes at credibility, particularly since the forms of the past tense given are those normal in the thirteenth century, precisely when the use of the past tense to describe Dominic's freeing of the captives would have been unthinkable. Such a retrospective glance could only come from a period in which the Moors in Spain no longer held captives for Dominic to release, that is, after 1492. The lines were perhaps created by Castro to support his eulogy of the saint, which claimed

El blason glorioso de Redemptor de cautivos que le doy, lo tiene tan merecido, como probado: pues passan de doze mil, los que redemidos por el poderoso brazo de este Moysen de la Iglesia deponen como testigos de vista esta verdad. Oygamos tãbien a nuestra Madre la Iglesia en el rezo de este glorioso Santo: Tanta gracia, y tan singulos privilegios (dize) le concediò la Magestad de Dios a Santo Domingo de Sylos en redimir cautivos, que solo por la invocaciòn de su Santo nombre, sacudian los prisioneros el pesado yugo de su esclavitud, y recobravan su amada libertad

[...]. Y esto con tanta gracia y biçarria, que no solamente los sacava libres, y sin costas del cautiverio, y sin que a España le costasse su oro, y plata, sino que la enriqueció de grillos, y cadenas, dexando pobre de hierro, y agotado de prisiones la Moresma. [...] Escuchemos también a nuestro Poeta Berceo que nos dize con harta sal:[...]

He has deserved the glorious title of Redeemer of captives which I give to him as much as he has shown it to be true, since those redeemed by the powerful arm of this Moses of the Church are more than twelve thousand who say this truth as eyewitnesses. Let us also give ear to our Mother the Church in the prayer to this glorious Saint: The Majesty of God granted so much grace and such singular privileges (she says) to Saint Dominic of Silos in redeeming captives that just through the invocation of his holy name, prisoners would shake off the heavy yoke of their captivity and recover their beloved liberty. [...] And all this with such grace and humour that he not only brought them out free, and quit of their imprisonment, and without Spain paying for it with gold and silver, but rather he enriched Spain with shackles and chains and leaving the Moors short of iron and having run out of irons. [...] Let us also listen to our Poet, Berceo, who says to us with a full-measure of wit, [...]

Castro then gave his version of Berceo's verses. Castro, in order to expand his point regarding the number of chains possessed by Silos and other shrines to Dominic and in order to defend the wildly improbable number of men whom he claimed had escaped, altered the reading of Gonzalo's poem. There is sufficient doubt over the genuineness of the extra line to exclude it from any edition or to see it as the product of the Middle Ages at all.¹⁰

COMPOSITION OF THE POEM AND ITS SOURCE

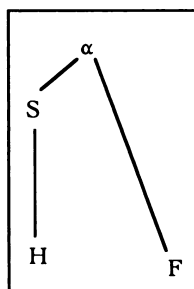
The *Vida de Santo Domingo* is composed of seven hundred and seventy-seven stanzas. However, the explicit in which the poet is named comes not at the very end of the poem, but falls at stanza 757, to be followed by a long prayer to the saint. We may therefore suspect two stages of composition: one in which the material to be versified was completed, and which was rounded off by an authorial verse-signature; and a second in which additional stanzas were added to bring the poem to a perfect number. It is probable that the first version was intended strictly for performance, whereas the extension of the text to seven hundred and seventy-seven stanzas was designed for the written circulation of the text, when the number of stanzas would be more apparent to the reader. At least one folio in the model of the *Vida de Santa Oria* that was copied in *F* had space for seven stanzas on each side.¹¹ Were the *Vida de Santo Domingo* copied into a manuscript with this extension on each folio, the number-symbolism would be most apparent: the text would probably have extended from 1^v–56^v. But the surviving copies of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* do not preserve the number symbolism in any identifiable visual form.

It is difficult to establish what stage of the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Dominici* Gonzalo used. He omits I.17 (p. 286), the cure of Munio Garcia from a year-long fever, and I.19 (p. 290), the tale of the rededication of Santa Maria de Cañas. He places II.22 (pp. 294–300), the account of the famine suffered by the monastery, before his retellings of II.21 (p. 292), the healed leper, and II.20 (p. 292), the dishonest pilgrims (*VSD* 444–62, 463–78, 479–85, respectively). Although we might suppose that Gonzalo's source may not have contained I.19 (an interpolation into the original *Vita*, for which see above, p. 17), the manuscript tradition does not provide any material explanation either for the other omission or for the differing order of those miracle stories included by the poet. We must either assume that Gonzalo is reproducing an earlier manuscript than that which the stemma of the *Vita Dominici* suggests to us, or that he has wittingly omitted one story and re-arranged the others. The latter proposal is not impossible: I.17 concerns a man cured of fever by Dominic's giving him the eucharist. Throughout the poem Gonzalo shows himself unwilling to depict the eucharist as a vehicle for thaumaturgy, and in this story it would be impossible to attenuate the link between the communion of the sufferer and the gaining of the cure as he did habitually with other miracles of this sort (see below, pp. 239–40).

The re-arrangement of I.20–22 may have been motivated by a wish to avoid the impression that no miracles were worked in the last years of Dominic's life: Fernando I, who sent the grain to assuage the monastery's difficulty, died in 1065, Dominic nearly a decade later. This prudence was combined with pastoral or narrative concerns: I.21 allows Gonzalo de Berceo to place a sermon in the saint's mouth which gives advice on correct moral conduct to the laity; I.20 is a humorous story which, in Gonzalo's version, becomes an element of light relief before the saint's death. The conclusion that Gonzalo does not reproduce the arrangement of his source at these points is strengthened by the observation that Gonzalo does not respect the *Vita*'s division of material into books. He divides his account into three books, namely *life*, *miracles 'in vita'* and *posthumous miracles*, essentially dividing Book I into two separate sections. The last book of Gonzalo's poem contains material, in the order found in the manuscripts of the *Vita Dominici*, up to and including some, but not all, of II.26. This narration was incomplete in the manuscript he was using (*VSD* 751). Manuscript variants avail little in establishing the precise manuscript source that Gonzalo used, since he is usually too free in his translation for this form of identification to be secure.

A stemma of the manuscripts of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* is given below (figure 10), which reproduces Ruffinatto's. α represents the first 'clean copy' after the performance copy, which may be identified with Ruffinatto's 'primer portador de variantes, o arquetipo, en la tradición manuscrita de la *VSD*' (first bearer of variants, or archetype, in the manuscript tradition of the *VSD*).¹² Ruffinatto's stemma avoids the fancifulness of Dutton's (*Santo Domingo*, p. 20) in which numerous unnecessary hypotheses are contained.

Dutton thought that the original (*B) was copied into *Z, the ‘primera colección de sus obras’ (first collection of his works), and it was from this text that the *Vida de Santo Domingo* was copied into *S* (c.1240), *F* (c.1325) and **Q* (c.1250–60). There is neither evidence for the presence of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* in *Q* nor for the existence of an initial collected works (*Z) from which *Q* was supposedly copied.



S = Silos, Archivo Monástico, ms. 12.

H = Madrid, RAH, ms. 12-4-1.

F = Madrid, RAE, ms. 4.

Fig. 10: Stemma of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*

PADRÓN DE LA CASTIELLA: DOMINIC, THE LIBERATOR OF CAPTIVES

Central to the conception of Dominic’s *virtus* was his fame as a liberator of captives. This is the most important aspect of his cult for Gonzalo and his audience. The final account in Gonzalo’s narrative is the liberation of Juan Domínguez from the king’s prison in Hita (II.26; *VSD* 731–751), which he narrates even though the ending was cut short by the loss of the final leaves of his exemplar. Dominic had freed a captive during his own lifetime, and Gonzalo makes a special point of using the miracle as a means of explaining how the saint was able to free captives after his death. This technique is used for no other form of miracle in the *Vida de Santo Domingo*. In describing Dominic’s liberation of Domingo de Soto from captivity, Gonzalo notes that the miracle puts others in the shade (*VSD* 352a ‘Desta sazón los otros [mirágu]los | quiérolos fer esquivos’) and informs his listeners that they should remember it as the account of how the saint ‘ganó la gracia | que saca los cativos’ (*VSD* 352c; gained the grace that frees captives). Dominic’s prayers while a hermit take in captives together with the sick, although the latter — historically the major beneficiaries of the shrine — receive only one line of intercession to the captives’ three, lines which, furthermore, stress that their torment is found upon religious difference:

Orava por los enfermos | que diesse sanidad
 a los encaptiuados | que diesse enguedad
 e a la yent pagana | tolliese potestad
 de fer a los christianos | premia e crueldad. (*VSD* 76)¹³

He prayed for the sick that God might give them health, for captives that God might give them liberty and take from the pagans power to harm and oppress Christians.

The prayer which closes the poem gives voice again to the specialization of Dominic as the liberator of captives (*VSD* 763ab, 773b). This was not only Gonzalo's own particular devotion, but had become the means by which Dominic was famed, and the reason for which his *Vida* would be listened to; the poet certainly presents Dominic's particular grace of liberating captives as one which was widely known, accepted and celebrated (*VSD* 352d). According to the contemporary *Historia Translationis Isidori* (written between 1170 and 1235), demons possessing a woman insisted that they would not be ejected from her until Isidore returned to his shrine in León, since 'cum Dominico de Silos captiuis insistit apud Maretaniam liberandis' (he had crossed into the land of the Moors to free captives with Dominic of Silos).¹⁴

Turning to Dominic's posthumous freeing of captives, it can be seen that the release of Serván provided a key miracle for Gonzalo, since he makes this account the turning point of his third book. Unlike other miracles in the final book of the *Vida*, this liberation receives an introductory stanza apostrophizing the audience to listen to a 'precioso milagro' (*VSD* 644a). Gonzalo ends the stanza with the promise, 'veredes al buen padre | en buen precio sobir' (*VSD* 644d; you will see the good father rise in good regard). Dominic's *precio* increases in that, because the cardinal legate was at the monastery, his translation is approved by the pope's proclamation of his sanctity:

Vidieron el confessor | que era alta cosa
que tan grand virtud | fizo e tan maravillosa.
Dicién que tal tesoro, | candela tan lumnosa
devié seer metida | en arca más preciosa.
Maguer que era ante | por precioso contado
desende adelante | fo mucho máspreciado.
Predicólo en Roma | Don Ricart el legado;
fo por sancto complido | del papa ortogado. (*VSD* 674–75)

They saw that the confessor was a exalted creature, who could deploy such great and marvellous power. They said that such a treasure, such a bright candle, ought to be put in a more precious chest. Although before this he was thought to be precious, from then on he was much more prized. Lord Richard the legate told of him in Rome; he was authorized as a full saint by the pope.

Gonzalo connects the translation to papal authorization of Dominic's cult. This is anachronistic; it reflects the rise of a new insistence upon the approval of the pope before a saint's cult could be properly established. Respect for this approval had become universal by AD 1200. Towards the end of the twelfth century in England, for example, papal authorization of a cult was seen as necessary before a saint might be venerated, even in respect of a popularly acclaimed martyr such as Becket.¹⁵ Thus Gonzalo may have been covering up an embarrassing lack in Dominic's reputation, since he had not been canonized by a pope. Dominic had been translated by Simeno, bishop of Burgos, a few

short years after the saint's death. Rather than leave the ecclesiastical recognition of sanctity in its original framework, Gonzalo re-interprets the process, having the pope's proclamation of Dominic's sainthood depend upon the miracles which had come to characterize him most, the liberation of captives. And it is after Serván's escape that Dominic makes a habit of freeing the imprisoned: 'de sacar los cativos | estonz priso el uso' (*VSD* 662d).

In the details of Serván's liberation, Gonzalo increases the suffering of the captive himself, adding forced labour, the Moors' insults and their merciless whipping of the man (*VSD* 647–48), in a manner reminiscent of the stereotypical descriptions found in the later *Miráculos romançados*. The sufferings of captives were of concern to the poet, as shown for example at *VSD* 76cd, cited above. Yet the emphasis given to Serván's misfortune goes hand-in-hand with the change that Gonzalo makes to his prayer. No longer is it the dying gasp of a lonely man, preparing to return his soul to its Creator, but a plea for help, in which Serván's sufferings are due to the fact that he is a Christian. The torments visited on him are due to the enmity felt towards Christians by the Moors (*VSD* 651; cp. II.21.10–17, p. 356). The devotional aspects of Serván's prayer relate principally to the theological distinctiveness of Christianity: the Trinity, a doctrine Gonzalo is keen to stress throughout the *Vida* (cf. *VSD* 650); and the salvific death of Christ (*VSD* 651cd; cf. 656d).

Rather than having Serván rescued as an example of God's mercy on the individual, and the Moorish gaol providing no more than the backdrop to the miracle, the Riojan cleric casts Serván as a man rescued owing to his profession of Christian faith. He Christianizes the miracle in the sense that he turns it into a story about the conflict between Dominic and the Moors, an opposition which was not present during the compilation of the Latin hagiography, but which becomes a strong ideological emphasis on religious conflict in Gonzalo's own work:

Diéronle alta gracia | estos merecimeintos
que faz en los moros | grandes escarnimientos:
quebrántales las cárceres, | tórnalos senolentos,
sácales los cativos | a los fadamalientos. (*VSD* 374)

These merits gave him a great grace, so that he does great harm to the Moors: he breaks open their prisons, sends them to sleep, frees the captives of the accursed race.

In the second escape to be narrated after Dominic's death, Gonzalo likens the Moors who hold Peidro to devils, applying an adjective to them which was often applied to Satan, *renegados* (*VSD* 702d; traitors). The narration of this escape follows the course found in the *Vita Dominici*; but when the captive calls on Dominic to identify himself, Gonzalo takes the opportunity to insert a job-description of the saint at *VSD* 717 (cp. II.25.46–49, p. 372, from which the following is absent):

Dios gran merced me fizo | por la su pñadat
 que me puso en guarda | sobre la christianidat
 que saque los cativos | de la catividat,
 los que a él se claman | de toda voluntat.

God granted me a great gift through his mercy, for he put me on guard over Christendom, that I may release captives from their captivity, those that cry to him with all their hearts.

Dominic's freeing of captives is linked to his guardianship of Christianity. The saint's role in Gonzalo de Berceo's poetry is a continuation of the fundamental change that had occurred at the end of the *Vita Dominici*, where a prayer invoked the saint's protection over the whole kingdom (cited above, pp. 22–23). Dominic has been placed by Christ as a saint who would keep a weather-eye upon the lands of Christians. A particular and specialized expression of this care was his freeing of captives. We have seen that the liberation of captives had an ideological resonance for Christians in the twelfth century. In the first half of the thirteenth century that resonance would seem to have become expressed through Berceo's highly articulate poetry. The liberation of the captive had a symbolic force, and spoke of the safety of Christian lands. The reaction to Peidro's liberation that is imagined at *VSD* 729–30 (cp. II.25.65–67, p. 374) illustrates this particular belief:

Contóles su lacerio | a esos toledanos,
 como era salido | de presión de paganos,
 como se li cayeron | los fierros todos sanos.
 Por poco non li ivan | todos a besar las manos.
 Sonó por Castiella | su virtud sin medida,
 por toda alién sierra | e por Estremadura.
 Rendién al buen confessor | gracias a grant pressura:
 teniése la frontera | toda por más segura.

He told those dwellers in Toledo of his sufferings, how he had escaped from the pagans' prison, how his irons had fallen away from him without breaking.¹⁶ They all almost went to kiss his hands. This boundless power sounded throughout Castile, south of the passes and the border lands. They hurried to offer thanks to the good confessor: they thought that the frontier was now more secure.

The liberation of captives, then, did not only speak of the future liberation of Spain, but of the maintenance of the Christian position in Castile and the conquered territories. In Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*, Vincent of Zaragoza was presented as defending his city from attack in 541.¹⁷ After the conversion of the Visigoths, Vincent was proclaimed as protector of the people of the kingdom — until, that is, that kingdom fell and his thaumaturgic tunic was spirited away to Paris.¹⁸ Now, once again, a Spanish kingdom could

have its protector, its *patronus*. Gonzalo places this significant acclamation of Dominic into the mouth of a blind supplicant at the tomb of Dominic, 'Údasme, padre sancto | padrón de la Castiella' (*VSD* 624b; hear me, holy father, patron of Castile; cp. *VSD* 695c). In the opening stanzas, Gonzalo tells his audience that the *Vida* 'es de Sancto Domingo | toda bien verdadera' (*VSD* 3c; it is about Saint Dominic, all of it completely true), and provides a punning epithet which underlines the equation between escape miracles and protection, 'el que diçen de Silos | que salva la frontera' (*VSD* 3d): he of Silos, as he is called, he who preserves [or crosses] the frontier.¹⁹

Dominic's brief of protection ran to all Spanish Christians: 'vinieron al sepulcro | del confessor onrado/que pora espannoles | fue en bon punto nado' (*VSD* 552cd; they came to the grave of the honoured confessor who for Spaniards was born in a good hour). This would seem to be one of the first times — if not the first — that 'espannol' was used in a Spanish text. It is theoretically derived from twelfth-century Occitan, itself from the hypothetical vulgar Latin form **hispaniolus*.²⁰ Certainly by the beginning of the thirteenth century in the *Poema de mio Cid*, 'Espanna' had taken on strongly Christian overtones.²¹ Gonzalo meant only Christians to fall under the meaning of the word *espannol*: he later describes Dominic as 'temido de los moros | de christianos amado' (*VSD* 761b; feared by Moors, loved by Christians). Indeed, his epic reminiscence in the second hemistich of *VSD* 552c ('fue en bon punto nado', born in a good hour) was perhaps meant to call to mind a national hero like the *Cid*.²²

Just as the prayer for captives that Dominic makes whilst a hermit later comes to form part of his posthumous role as an intercessory patron, so he also prays, in Gonzalo's text, for the defence of Christendom (*VSD* 75ab). Yet, as can be seen from the number of churches dedicated to Dominic, the cult was mainly Castilian, and Dominic was seen as a predominantly Castilian saint (see above, figures 5–7). His rescuing captives guaranteed peace in the Christian lands (cf. *VSD* 772a: 'Ruega, sennor e padre, | a dios que nos dé paz'; pray, lord and father, that God may give us peace), since, if he removed captives from ill-treatment because they were Christians, then he would not allow all Christians to fall beneath the hated Muslim yoke. From the eleventh century warfare against Muslims was justified on the grounds that, according to Pope Alexander II, 'the Saracens were able actively to persecute Christians and expel them from their lands'.²³ It is the liberation from persecution and protection from Muslim incursions, invasion and the total defeat of Christians at their hands which we may glimpse in Gonzalo's attitude towards Dominic.

Although from the modern perspective the success of the *reconquista* may appear inevitable, the danger of military disaster was ever present, and not only in the clash of arms. Famine could present itself as an even more sinister and spectacularly effective enemy than Islamic armies, weakening men and depriving them of the essential mounts to carry on with combat.²⁴ The *Chronica latina regum Castellae* describes in graphic detail how the Christian

advance after the famous victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 was halted outside the besieged walls of Baeza early in 1214 by the onset of famine more severe than the author thought possible

Deficientibus autem uictualibus exercitui et aliis neccessariis, coactus est rex nobilis recedere ab obsidione et redire in terram suam. Tanta siquidem fuit penuria ciborum in expeditione illa, quod carnes asinine et caballine charissime uendebantur in macello. Illo nempe anno tanta fuit fames in regno Castelle, presertim ultra serram et Extremadura, quanta nunquam uisa fuit nec audita in terris illis a seculis antiquis. Moriebantur siquidem homines cateruatim, ita quod uix erat qui sepeliret. Tunc autem firmata fuit treugua inter regem Marroquitianum et nobilem regem Castelle. Pauci siquidem equi et alia pauca iumenta remanserunt in regno Castelle, et hominum pars magna fame consumpta perierat. Mauri e contrario equis, frumento, ordeo et oleo et alii diuersis generibus ciborum multipliciter habundebant.²⁵

With food and other necessities falling short for the army, the noble king was forced to lift the siege and return to his land. Such was the shortage of food on that campaign that the flesh of mules and horses was sold most dearly by the butchers. During that year, so great was the hunger in the kingdom of Castile, particularly over the mountains and in the borderlands, that it had never been seen or heard in those lands from ancient times. Great numbers of men died, such that there were scarcely enough left to bury them. And then a truce was signed between the king of Morrocco and the noble king of Castile, and a large part of our men died of hunger. For the Moors, in comparison, horses, wheat, barley and oil and other different types of food abounded many times over.

For the repugnance rightly felt towards the eating of horseflesh during the Middle Ages, see below, p. 338. Gonzalo de Berceo's prayer for peace at the end of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* is immediately followed by the request for 'salut e tiempos bonos, | pan e vino assaz' (*VSD* 772c; health and good weather, enough bread and wine).

Dominic's cult had become resolutely popular, so much so that a belief abounded, which Gonzalo thought he should confute, that Dominic 'no saca infanzón' (*VSD* 731b; does not free nobles). The nobility would have had the wherewithal to purchase their own freedom; it was the lower orders who would find the burden of captivity could only be lifted by supernatural aid. Furthermore, Dominic was a relatively recent saint, could therefore be considered home-grown in a way that others could not, and so might stand as a symbol for a growing sense of Castilian identity. Secular appropriation of saints to provide national or regional identity was witnessed throughout Europe in the thirteenth century.²⁶ Dominic was a fitting subject for the first hagiography in a peninsular Romance to have been written. He could be made to bear the ideals of national consciousness that partly motivated the adaptation and versification of his life as well as the ideas and motivations of the reformers who sought some amelioration of the Iberian ecclesiastical structure.

DOMINIC AS *EXEMPLUM*

Dominic's cult had gained a national relevance, and had absorbed within itself the desires of the populace for protection from and the defeat of their enemies. He was a saint with a high profile, and his life was therefore of public interest. In his adaptation of Dominic's *Vita*, Gonzalo sought to present the saint as an exemplar of goodness. We may say that the presentation of Dominic was dominated not by the wish to show that Dominic was a saint, but by a pastoral concern to characterize Dominic as an imitable ideal through retelling or inventing practical instances of his goodness. This is a technique which might be described as 'concrete idealization'. The figure of the saint is used to put forward ideal behaviour for each of the various stages of life through which he progresses.²⁷

With regard to Dominic's childhood, Gonzalo de Berceo expands the description given by Grimaldus, taking care to display Dominic's concern for his parents and his fellows. The overall picture presented is one of harmony between the child and his parents, and Dominic's behaviour is that approaching the accomplished monk (cf. *VSD* 12ab and 86c, 'los oios apremidos'). Dominic's next stage of life, the shepherd, is not seen primarily by Berceo as an example of the saint's having taken on a role made venerable by the veterotestamental characters of Abel, Moses and David (cf. *VSD* 26–31, esp. 30cd and *Vita*, 1.2.28–201, p. 166–78), but as a means of expressing the importance of filial piety, careful animal husbandry and respect for private property, which in this case required that Dominic's own sheep should not damage other people's crops (*VSD* 19c, 21b, 23cd; 20ab, 21a, 22–23ab; 20c, 21cd). After the four years spent as a shepherd, Gonzalo describes Dominic's decision to become a priest, expanding the two sentences of the original to seventeen stanzas of his own devising which emphasize the saint's devotion to study, the ascetism which caught the eye of his bishop, Dominic's ordination by the bishop himself and his subsequent activity as a priest: preaching, visiting the sick and almsgiving (*VSD* 46–47). The active life is given more importance than any internal, spiritual experiences.

The poet's presentation of Dominic's decision to become a hermit re-interprets the hagiographer's Old Testament examples (Job and, rather bizarrely, Phineas, son of Eleazar: 1.3.27–80, pp. 184–86) with neotestamental and hagiographic *exempla*: John the Baptist, Antony the Great, Paul the first hermit, Mary the Egyptian, Aemilianus, Felix, and Christ himself after his baptism (*VSD* 55–62).²⁸ Grimaldus's inexpressibility topos regarding the saint's prowess as a hermit in asceticism, fasting and prayer (1.3.94–99, p. 188) is replaced in Berceo's poem by a precise evocation of the difficulties of the eremitic life (*VSD* 68–73) and a detailed account of the beneficiaries of the hermit's prayers (*VSD* 75–79). Dominic's subsequent life in the monastery is a further example of concrete idealization, with a description of devout piety making the monk a true mirror for his fellows (*VSD* 92a). When Dominic

returned from Santa María de Cañas, he had reached the height of sanctity, expressed as the complete fulfilment of the Benedictine rule (*VSD* 120–21).

Gonzalo returns to the conception of sanctity as a fulfilment of the Cassinese Rule in his account of Dominic's vision, particularly with the rationale which is given to explain why Dominic would receive the first crown he was shown.²⁹ In the Latin source, the first crown had been given to Dominic for his perfect following of Christ, his renunciation of the world and all its works, in phrasing which closely echoed the formulas of baptism. In the vernacular, this all-encompassing language is restricted to Dominic's fulfilment of the monastic ideal: 'fustes | casto e buen claustrero,/a la obediencia | non fustes refertero' (*VSD* 240cd; you were chaste and a good monk, you did not shirk the need for obedience). The words used may refer to the Benedictine vows of chastity ('casto'), obedience ('obediencia') and perhaps stability ('claustrero'). The wider sense that the crown is given for the fulfilment of baptismal vows, an obligation that falls on all Christians, is lost, and in its place is inserted the more narrowly-defined monastic ideal as the motive for the gift. The baptismal formulation is tailored to a description of the perfect monk as Gonzalo had previously described Dominic at *VSD* 84–92, 119–21. The effect is to link the crown specifically to Dominic's time as a monk in the monastery of San Millán — rather than, for example, as a hermit, or earlier as a priest —, and, furthermore, to provide a clear historical and biographical progression in the sequence of the crowns offered him, from being a monk, to restoring the church of Cañas, to restoring Silos. This change was perhaps suggested to Gonzalo by the source's use of 'perfecte seculum reliquisti' (1.7.51, p. 240; you perfectly abandoned the world) which suggested the *contemptus mundi* of the monastic vocation.

Allied to the virtues of monastic life were the saint's human qualities of generosity and compassion. Almsgiving was essential to Gonzalo, and to make his point he used the most important miracle that Dominic performed during his life, the liberation of Domingo de Soto from the Moors. Unlike Grimaldus's account, where the offering of the eucharist effects the miraculous delivery, Gonzalo attributes the freeing of Domingo to the prayers which are said, and which are carried to heaven and to the ears of the Most High by 'la sancta caridad' (*VSD* 368b; holy charity). The donation of the horse to Domingo de Soto's relatives gives wings to Dominic's prayer, a link which was nowhere to be found in Grimaldus's original. Gonzalo closes his account with the information that:

Sennor Sancto Domingo | complido de bondad
porque fo tan devoto | e de tal caridad
por sacar el cativo | de la captividad
dioli dios bona gracia | como por eredad. (*VSD* 373)

Lord Saint Dominic, full of goodness, since he was so devout and of such kindness, to him God gave the inalienable gift of grace to release the captive from captivity.

Furthermore, Gonzalo makes the point that, in the first miracles worked in favour of laypeople, Dominic invited those who had come to ask for a cure to stay in the monastery's guest-house, and ensured they had to eat (*VSD* 299d–300ab, 344cd; cf. also *VSD* 408c). Compassion as an aspect of the saint's personality is repeatedly stressed by the poet. The sick are brought not to be laid at Dominic's feet as in the Latin (I.10.6–7, p. 258; I.11.19–20, p. 262), but placed before the monastery's door (*VSD* 298b, 340a); Dominic's response is immediate (*VSD* 299c, 343bc; cf. 331cd), and he leaves the monastery to succour them. Gonzalo emphasises Dominic's strict enclosure in his monastery whilst stressing his readiness to assist the afflicted. His consideration is exemplified in his keeping his prayer for María de Castrocisneros short so as not to keep her attendants waiting (*VSD* 304b), and he weeps at the plight of Domingo de Soto, held prisoner by the Moors (*VSD* 363a). His gift of a horse to help with the man's release is given in spite of the monastery's poverty (*VSD* 364).

Dominic's compassion and generosity combine with humour in a story taken from the oral tradition of the shrine, the miracle 'de los puerros', or of the leeks (*VSD* 377–383).³⁰ One night, peasants desirous of the produce from the monastery's kitchen garden attempted to steal leeks, but only managed to pull up weeds and dig the soil. Instead of exacting exemplary vengeance upon the malefactors, Dominic invited them to eat in the refectory with the monks as a recompense for their labour. The tale which Gonzalo recounts was popular throughout medieval Europe. A version is included in the late thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* as one of the miracles of Saint Felix.³¹ Its attribution to Dominic builds upon pre-existent conceptions of the saint, dependent upon both literary and, no doubt, folk memories of his character. Thus Dominic's humour is underlined in a story taken from the Latin *Vita* (*VSD* 479–84; I.20, p. 292), wherein the saint played a joke on dishonest pilgrims who ask him for clothes having already hidden their own. Dominic 'por poco non ridié' (*VSD* 481a; almost began to laugh) since he immediately saw through their trick and sent one of his monks to fetch their own clothes, which he gave back to them.

Presented as a corollary to Dominic's compassion for the sick and suffering is his concern about the laity's moral health. Twice Dominic instructs those he cures not to sin again (*VSD* 313cd; 350c; only once mentioned in the Latin, I.10.23–26, p. 258). He preaches to the assembled multitude at Monterrubbio de Demanda in order to inform them how to be saved (*VSD* 464a). This significant expansion of the details and motivation of Dominic's preaching is but one of the many manners in which Gonzalo expresses the saint's Christ-likeness. Rather than placing Dominic within a tradition of exegesis of the Old Testament, as Grimaldus was at pains to do, Gonzalo alters his source to provide examples in which Dominic follows in the footsteps of the Jesus of the New Testament. María de Castrocisneros's praise of Dominic for curing her is rejected by the saint (*VSD* 311–12), a reaction reminiscent of Jesus' rejection

of praise from the rich young man, 'Quid me interrogas de bono? Unus est bonus, Deus' (Matthew 19, 17; Why do you call me good? One alone is good: God; cf. Mark 10, 18). Gonzalo maintains the detail that the leper who comes to implore Dominic's thaumaturgy falls at his feet, just as does the leper to Christ at Matthew 8, 2.

A distinctly personal note of moral concern in Dominic's character is struck in his confrontation with King García. Dominic, in Gonzalo's version, shows himself more worried over the danger that the king might fall into sin than by the damage that would befall the monastery (*VSD* 147d) since García's sin would be taken into account on the Day of Judgement (*VSD* 139d, 141cd). Whilst Dominic in the *Vita* was standing up for the reformers' conception of property, Gonzalo was writing when such revolutionary ideas had triumphed completely; he could therefore display Dominic confronting the king with the latter's manifest wrongdoing, and, furthermore, present a pastoral side to the saint, in that he was trying to prevent the king from sinning and being eternally damned, rather than, as in the original life, asserting a concept of the Church antithetical to García's traditional beliefs.

Gonzalo de Berceo, no less than the Latin *Vita*, throughout his descriptions of Dominic's activity emphasises the saint's power to keep the devil from himself and those in his care (*VSD* 17d, 48c, 68cd, 102b, 124cd). Dominic's power to defeat the devil is brought out at length in Berceo's final prayer to the saint at *VSD* 761cd, 762c, 763d, and especially *VSD* 766–70. Dominic, when alive, is categorically superior to the devil. In the vision which Dominic witnesses after taking charge of Silos, the repeated instructions to persevere in the *Vita* are reduced to the instruction to beware of the devil as the vision begins and a mention of perseverance at the end of the vision (*VSD* 238cd, 243ab). No mention is made of the 'demon fornicationis' (cf. I.7.59, p. 242; the demon of fornication) against whom the saint is instructed to struggle. The devil that is mentioned at *VSD* 238d is a thief, not one to battle against. Actual struggle against the devil is hinted at *VSD* 250ab, after the vision has ended, but only to point out that any ideas of struggle with the devil could not apply to Dominic: 'Assaz querié la carne, | el diablo con ella, tollerlo del buen siesto | meterlo a la pella' (The flesh, and the devil too, wished greatly to take him from his fine rest and begin to fight with him). Dominic has already advanced far from such mundane difficulties in his holiness (*VSD* 250cd).

Central to Gonzalo's view of the saint is that he no longer has to struggle; central to the vision as originally told was the importance of continued struggle, of perseverance to the end, no matter the brilliance of the thaumaturgy that the man might show. All in all, Gonzalo's view of the saint was that of the fulfilment of a contemporary's definition of the perfect Christian:

In fidei sinceritate.
In Dei et proximi caritate.
In contemplationis claritate.

In concordis unitate.
 In mentis et corporis sanctitate.
 In helemosinarum largitate.
 In confessionis integritate.
 In vera humilitate.
 In mentis et corporis castitate.³²

Sincerity of faith; charity to God and neighbour; clarity of contemplation; unity of concord; saintliness of mind and body; generosity in alms; completeness in confession; true humility; chastity of mind and body.³³

MODERNIZATION AND NORMALIZATION

The figure of Dominic is, in Gonzalo's hands, a combination of the active life in his compassion, preaching and almsgiving, and an overflowing, exalted spiritual presence in his immunity from the devil and temptation when alive and his powerful protection of his devotees from the devil's clutches once dead. A further facet of the poet's presentation of the saint can be found in his consistently contemporary perspective on the saint's deeds and their context. When presenting Dominic's education for the priesthood, Gonzalo depicts early thirteenth-century norms of education, referring to the saint as an 'infant' when he goes to school (*VSD* 37a, 38a), and describing him through diminutives (*VSD* 34a, 'pastorçiello', little shepherd; 36a 'monaçiello', little monk), even though Dominic was at this point around the age of eighteen. Gonzalo, at the end of his versification of the *Vida de San Millán*, identified himself as one who 'en San Millán de Suso | fue de ninnez criado' (*VSM* 489b; was brought up from childhood in San Millán de Suso),³⁴ which, combined with *VSD* 36a, 'Diéronle sus cartiellas | a ley de monaçiello' would indicate that some sort of primary education for diocesan priests was provided by the local monastery. It is clear that Gonzalo envisaged Dominic as living at home during his schooldays: 'Vinié a su escuela | el infant grand mannana;/non avié a deçírgelo | nin madre nin ermana' (*VSD* 37ab; the child came to his school early in the morning; neither his mother nor his sister needed to tell him to do so). The young student did not necessarily have to take up residence in the monastery as if it were a boarding school. We have, then, perhaps an autobiographical note in the poem where the poet's own experience, in so far as it could be identified with Dominic's, was used. The devotion to learning which Gonzalo expresses explains his having omitted the *topos* of the saint's spurning of worldly letters (I.1.34, p. 164, 'mundanarum studia literarum despiciebat').

The prophetic nature of Dominic's vision of the crowns is removed completely by the poet. The third crown, offered to Dominic in the *Vita* for his future restoration of Silos (cf. I.7.63, p. 242), is no longer promised but already achieved in the *Vida*. The foretelling of the monastery's future greatness is lost, since it was unnecessary: the monastery was already very great indeed when Gonzalo was writing, and he assumed that this state of

affairs had obtained immediately that Dominic's abbacy began. The vision no longer has the air of a test, but is presented as a consolation. The rivers are no longer symbols of the judgement to come, but white as crystal and red as wine. The river of crystal is a feature of heaven (cf. Apocalypse 22, 1, 'Et ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae, splendidum tanquam crystallum, procedentem de sede Dei et Agni'; And he showed me the river of the water of life, shining like crystal, flowing from the throne of God and the Lamb).³⁵ The river of wine might be seen as evoking the highly pleasurable surroundings of the land of Cockayne. If 'parrales', as Dutton thought, refers to the monastery's own vineyard, then the imagery would be doubly homely.³⁶ Even in the mid-sixteenth century vines were still cultivated in the Rioja Alta to a height of a thousand metres; the monastery of Silos is 982 metres above sea-level.³⁷ Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, any memory of viticulture at Silos had been lost.³⁸ Dominic does not have to cross the bridge, but is met half-way by the angelic figures.³⁹ They cease to be connected to the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement, since Gonzalo changes their garb from white robes with gold belts and prefers to describe how they had 'los pechos orfresados, | mangas e cabeçones' (*VSD* 232c; their cuirasses, their sleeves and their helmets worked in gold).

Gonzalo updates the devotion to saints expressed by the poem. Dominic's mission to restore the church of Santa María de Cañas is preceded by prayer before the shrine of Aemilianus, through which Dominic expresses his devotion to the Virgin and to the Benedictine rule (*VSD* 99–103). In his confrontation with García, he relies heavily upon the reputation of Aemilianus as patron of the monastery. Dominic threatens García with a vengeance miracle performed by the saint (*VSD* 155cd), which serves to dissuade the king from taking any of the monastery's treasures (cf. *VSD* 156). Dominic, in this crisis, also prays before the saint's shrine (*VSD* 158b–161). This filling-in of the story goes quite against the record of the *Vita* and, it would seem, Dominic's own devotions.

The saint's Marian devotion is enlarged in line with contemporary trends.⁴⁰ Dominic's vision is no longer Christocentric. His second crown is not given by God as a reward for the restoration of the church of Cañas, his devotion to the Virgin and his virginity, but is, rather, 'won' for, and sent to, him by 'mienna Sancta Maria' (*VSD* 241a; my Lady Holy Mary). The motivation for the gift of the crown given in the Latin *Vita* is subsumed by Gonzalo under a unique agent, the Blessed Virgin, who expresses her gratitude to Dominic for restoring her church at Cañas. Gonzalo records Dominic's devotion to the Virgin when he is sent out to that church (*VSD* 103), but omits it as a motivation for Dominic's reward; devotion to the Virgin had presumably become so common and widespread that it was no longer held to be a sign of holiness and did not need visionary approval to recommend it to others.

Part of the modernization of Marian devotion was the omission of any reference to Dominic's virginity. This was perhaps partly due to the lack of a

Romance abstract noun or masculine adjective derived from *virginitas*, but also to Gonzalo de Berceo's aversion to writing about virginity at all. In adapting a comparison between Dominic and the proto-martyr Abel, Gonzalo includes the fact that both were shepherds, but omits what was the more important feature for Grimaldus, that the saint and the patriarch were both virgins (*VSD* 26, against I.2.3–41, pp. 166–68). This avoidance of the mention of virginity as an ideal may itself be due to the fall in the number of oblates accepted by monasteries in the thirteenth century. Recruits generally were of a more advanced age, and virgins would have been proportionately less common.⁴¹ Virginity would consequently not have been attractive as an ideal for these men, and chastity a more possible goal.

In Grimaldus's record Dominic showed a high degree of awareness of his own sanctity, even proclaiming it prophetically and displaying what was, by the thirteenth century, unseemly curiosity in whether he had worked a miracle. Gonzalo consequently diminishes or alters the import of such accounts. Dominic's narration of his vision — which, we should recall, proclaimed his sanctity — is not ended by an exhortation to do good (I.7.68–70, p. 242), but by the saint swearing his monks to secrecy: 'De más bien vos ruego | pídovoslo en dón/que yaga en secreto | esta mi confesión' (*VSD* 247ab; Moreover, I beseech you well, I ask it as a gift from you that this confession of mine may remain secret). The *topos* is found in the thirteenth-century *Legenda* of Dominic of the Preachers (†1221) written by the Galician Petrus Ferrandi: 'beatus Dominicus [...] adiuratus enim ab ipso fratre Reinaldo fuerat, ne hoc in vita sua alicui revelaret, sed secretum sub confessionis sigillo servaret' (brother Regnaldus had the blessed Dominic swear that he would not reveal this to a soul, but to keep it under the seal of confession).⁴² Both texts use the word *confessio*/*confesión* to describe this communication of a vision, giving the requested secrecy a canonical basis.

The prohibition placed on the making public of visions was a defence against the danger of pride, and provides a corollary to Dominic's not allowing any 'vana gloria' to take hold of him due to the vision (*VSD* 249ab). Although Dominic did recount one vision, he humbly remained silent over others — or so the poet adds to his source (*VSD* 248).⁴³ Dominic's prophecy of the greatness of the monastery, uttered quite consciously by the saint after returning from the translation of the Ávila martyrs, Vicente, Sabina and Cristeta, is given almost word-for-word in translation. Yet Gonzalo adds the detail that 'maguer lo profetava | él no lo entendió/que esta prophecía | en él mismo cayé' (*VSD* 284cd; although he prophesied it, he did not understand that this prophecy referred to himself).⁴⁴ In line with these thirteenth-century *mores* connected to the miraculous, Gonzalo completely omits Dominic's hurrying to inspect the hand of a servant of the monastery in order to verify whether a miracle had taken place after he had offered a mass for the man's cure (*VSD* 443; cp. I.18.20–25, p. 288). The poet similarly transfers the saint's curiosity over Domingo de Soto's escape to the captive's relatives, who establish

themselves that the time that he had escaped was precisely when Dominic said mass for his release. According to Grimaldus, Dominic's close questioning of the man revealed that the escape had occurred synchronously with his offering of the mass and that it was therefore miraculous (*VSD* 372ab; cp. I.12.13–17, p. 266).

Gonzalo also updates Dominic's activity to follow the norms established by the Fourth Lateran Council. Dominic exercises his ministry through the sacraments, and displays a particular interest in confession. He inserts the detail of the anchoress Oria's confession of her sins as part of the exorcism Dominic performs (*VSD* 332a), and also adds to Grimaldus's account that Dominic instructed the laity at Monterrubio to confess to a priest if they should fall into sin (*VSD* 466ab). In the exorcism of a woman from Peñalba, it is with the beginning of the ritual of exorcism, and specifically the reading of the adjurations (*VSD* 691b), that the demon's possession of the woman begins to end, but it is only after the exorcist has given permission for the demon to leave that it may (*VSD* 697d; cp. II.24.31–33, p. 368); this addition is probably suggested by the biblical passage concerning the Gerasene demoniac in Mark 5: 12–13, 'Et deprecabuntur eum spiritus, dicentes: Mitte nos in porcos ut in eos introeamus. Et concessit eis statim Iesus. Et exeuntes spiritus immundi introierunt in porcos' (And the spirits entreated him, 'Send us into the pigs, so that we may take refuge there'. And Jesus immediately allowed them. And the unclean spirits, on coming out, entered the pigs). By using this reminiscence, Gonzalo increases the power and stature of the exorcist, allowing him a dramatic role not provided in the *Vita Dominici* (cf. *VSD* 693a, 694, 697) together with a position of power over the demon which the latter, in the Latin life, expressly denied: 'O homo, omitte me tuis inportunis adiurationibus affligere' (II.24.26, p. 366; O man, stop afflicting me with me your impertinent adjurations).

Whereas Gonzalo stresses the importance of sacraments and ordained ministers, he plays down the connection between sacrament and miracle. Thus Juan de Silos is cured of his blindness, not of a sudden at communion, but after a blessing by the saint who makes the sign of the cross on Juan's eyes using hyssop dipped in holy water (*VSD* 348ab), that is, using sacramentals rather than sacraments. Similarly, in the Latin *Vita*, Dominic's use of the sacrifice of the mass freed Domingo de Soto from his captivity. But this sacramental element is characteristically diminished in Gonzalo's account through his invention of Dominic's vigilling prayer before the altar and the combined prayers of the other monks (*VSD* 366c–67d; cp. I.12.27–29, p. 268). For Gonzalo, the liberation of the captive — like any other miracle — was not a mechanistic response to the offering of the eucharist for the captive's release. His concern to diminish the role of the sacrifice of the mass in thaumaturgy may well have its roots in a wish to discourage the use of the host in magical rites. Disquiet about this behaviour, at times linked to heretical groups, was evinced in the Fourth Lateran Council with stipulations on the

proper safeguards to be kept for the reservation of the host.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Dominic's actions may have seemed as though they were 'tempting God', forcing divine intervention in the manner that ordeals were seen to do, and these were effectively banned by Lateran IV.⁴⁶

Gonzalo's conception of the miraculous is thus radically different from that shared by Dominic and Grimaldus. The sacraments are no longer used to call forth a miracle directly. For the eleventh century, the example of Dominic's visions and prophecy were signs of divine intervention. Grimaldus explicitly divided his narration of Dominic's life in Book I between history and thaumaturgy, and it was in the latter section that Dominic's vision and prophecy were included. Gonzalo began his second book (which dealt with the *in vita* miracles) with I.9, after the accounts of both prophecy and vision. He therefore demoted these two wonders from the miraculous as it was canonically understood. Indeed, the role played by the vision is radically different in the two works. For the author of the *Vita* it marked a concrete turning-point in the life of the abbot and was the start of Dominic's miracles. Gonzalo's separation of vision and prophecy from thaumaturgy points to a division between the internal life of the saint and his external miracles. The vision is no longer seen as the defining moment of Dominic's life, characterizing all that comes after it. Grimaldus saw a fundamental change in Dominic after his vision, and so could compare it to the vision which had spurred Saint Martin to be baptised (I, VII, 78–85, p. 242–44). Gonzalo uses the comparison, but makes Dominic the equal of Martin (*VSD* 252) — quite contrary to the intention of the earlier author.

The appearance of the saint in visions is also normalized. Almost all of the details that Gonzalo gives of the vision that Serván experiences follow the Latin faithfully, with minor additions such as the simile employed to describe Serván's breaking of his shackles, 'non moldrié más aína | aios en el mortero' (*VSD* 659d; he would not crush garlic in a mortar more quickly). One detail which Berceo changes is, however, significant to our purposes. Dominic does not appear in monkish garb, 'in habitu monachali' (II.21.25, p. 356) but instead shows himself as 'un omne blanqueado,/como si fuesse clérigo | de missa ordenado' (*VSD* 654ab; a man dressed in white as if he were a priest — cf. *VSD* 718b). As with the exorcist before the saint's tomb, as, perhaps, with the downgrading of virginity, the poet's clerical concerns outweigh any allegiance to the monastic life. Dominic appears in priestly robes because the most important aspect of his life was his priesthood. The depiction of Dominic may also owe something to the statuary of the shrine, for later visions report him as appearing in white robes, and these later recipients of visions clearly have the Silos statues in mind.⁴⁷

In the second posthumous escape miracle, that of Peidro, all of the imagery is brought up to date. As we have seen, this miracle can be interpreted in a spiritual key as signifying the liberation of a man imprisoned and weighed down with sins. Gonzalo maintains this allegorical meaning but modernizes the

imagery. Allusions to the Psalms are dropped: no longer is the captive kept in a grave-like pit of clay, but is imprisoned in a *silo*, a *cueva* (VSD 704d; 708b). The Moors, as we have noted, are cast as devils (VSD 702d). Whilst some of the audience might no longer be able to appreciate the high religious allegory, low or popular conceptions are used to convey a similar idea. Hence Gonzalo adds the detail that Peidro's relatives pray for him to God and Saint Dominic (VSD 705). It would have seemed natural, at the time Gonzalo was writing, that the man's relatives would have prayed for him to the saint. However, the Latin author clearly shows how Dominic was sent in answer to the captive's own prayer to God (II.25.15–19, p. 370). Prayer for a captive was similar to the prayer for a departed soul in purgatory, a link that had been made by Gregory the Great; freedom from captivity was an image of release from purgation.⁴⁸ Some form of redemption is envisaged in the prayers of Peidro's relatives, for they pray for their 'presso peccador' (VSD 705c; imprisoned sinner). Imprisonment was seen as a fitting image for hell and purgatory: the 'labrador avaro' (miserly ploughman) in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* is 'cautivado' (captured) by the demons when he dies; a lustful monk is taken by demons into 'presón' (II. 273b, 163d; prison).

Dominic speaks harsh words of reprimand to the captive in the Latin: 'Miser, cur teipsum neglegis? Et quamobrem hunc teterrimum lacum non egrederis? Et quare te pristina libertatis ignavia pressus minime conaris?' (II.25.28–30, p. 370–72; Wretched man, why are you forgetful of yourself? And how is it that you do not climb out of this most horrible well? And why, weighed down by sloth, do you not make the slightest effort to regain your former freedom?). Gonzalo presents a kinder Dominic: 'Peidro, —dixo— affuérçate, | olvida lo passado' (VSD 710b; Peidro, he said, take heart, forget the past). Dominic is helping Peidro to escape from the 'ciega presón' (VSD 706b; blind prison) of his faults and failings. Blindness is, of course, a common metaphor for sinfulness, for sin blinds one to the light of truth, that light by which Domingo's appearance is characterized.⁴⁹ Gonzalo's more circumstantial depiction of Dominic's appearing in which the captive first sees a bright light and only later can distinguish a 'forma de omne' (VSD 709a; cp. II.25.23, p. 370), is perhaps intended to recall the Harrowing of Hell, for the first Latin redaction of the Gospel of Nicodemus describes how 'supervenit in forma hominis Dominus maiestatis' (the Lord of Majesty came in the shape of a man).⁵⁰ Christ led the patriarchs and prophets from limbo to the delights of heaven, from the place to which original sin had condemned them until Christ's saving death could free them; Dominic could lead Peidro from the prison of his sins to liberty.

THE DEPICTION OF DOMINIC'S MIRACLES

Grimaldus considered some events to be miraculous which Gonzalo de Berceo did not. The monk also emphasised certain miracles that Dominic performed

as being designed to show the saint's abbacy as divinely favoured and promising protection to the lands and income of the monastery, and health, spritual and physical, to its monks and monastic servants. Berceo's Dominic is quite different. The poet reinterprets the miracles that favoured the monastery in quite another light. Thus the rather dramatic and affecting cure of one of the monastery's servants from a swollen hand, with its description of Dominic's fondness for the man, his deep emotional concern for the man's cure, his saying of mass with other monks for the labourer and his desire to verify whether a miracle had taken place (I.18.20–25, p. 288), is reduced to a simple, uninformative stanza (*VSD* 443). The final miracle during Dominic's life, the food rations sent by Fernando I to remedy a famine in the monastery's locality, is moved from its climactic position before Dominic's death to before his sermon at Monterrubio (*VSD* 444–62, 497; cp. I.22, pp. 294–300).⁵¹

Yet perhaps the most striking alteration is Gonzalo's account of the vengeance miracle that befell Garci Munnoz (*VSD* 419–432), an elaboration which probably owes much to the juglaresque tradition around the shrine in its highly dramatized account of Garci Munnoz's treachery, that is, thieving of crops (cf. *VSD* 419c, 420a). In the original Latin, Garci Munnoz spent his time stealing his neighbours' harvest, but it was only when he turned his attention to the monastery's own cereals that Dominic summoned him and warned him to desist from his iniquity (I.15.4–9, p. 278). In Gonzalo's version the emphasis of the miracle is moved away from the protection of the monastery's own possessions to a general tale about the importance of right-dealing: Garci Munnoz heads for the hills in a bid to escape justice, but is caught stealing again and is about to be hanged when, inexplicably, Dominic arrives at the scene of execution, has Garci Munnoz released and tells him not to steal any more, a warning which the 'loco malastrugo' (*VSD* 423a; unfortunate madman) heeds not, preferring to return to his damnable ways. As a proof of his continued treachery, the crops which Garci Munnoz had begun to harvest illegally were brought to Dominic (*VSD* 424, cf. I.15.9–15, p. 278). Gonzalo does not mention that the altar upon which Dominic placed the crops as a sign of the injustice was that of the monastery's patron and protector Sebastian (I.15.14, p. 278), and, although he has Dominic give a short speech before the now-stricken Garci Munnoz about the importance of repentance and the thief's approaching death (*VSD* 429–32), Gonzalo does not narrate Dominic's hearing the man's confession and giving him communion, nor his subsequent death and honourable burial (I.15.33–40, p. 280). Were the integrity of the work not guaranteed by the total number of stanzas (seven hundred and seventy-seven), one might be tempted to think of a textual lacuna. Gonzalo emphasises Dominic's virtuous compassion rather than the vengeance miracle. A reason for this may be found in the favour in which certain types of miracles were held by the papal curia. Benedicta Ward notes that in canonization procedures of the early thirteenth century, 'miracles had to be both edifying and authenticated, and this double pressure had the result of producing

fairly stereotyped lists of miracles, almost all of which were cures. Cures could be attested; they were also counted as more edifying than accounts of vengeance by the saints'.⁵²

Much less emphasis is placed upon Dominic's role as patron of Silos by Gonzalo. His miraculous cures, too, are much less dramatic. No healings are presented as being instantaneous at the shrine. Ananía de Tabladillo, instead of being cured as soon as he prayed before the tomb (as in the *Vita*, II.2.14–17, p. 324), receives a gradual cure, being first cured of his withered arms but needing to recuperate his strength before he can travel home (*VSD* 554–56). Peidro de Aragón must wait for a while before he can walk again, even though his pains have ceased (*VSD* 547c–548b). A cure which occurred at the reading of the Gospel (II.3.16–18, p. 326) is detailed as occurring gradually throughout the mass (*VSD* 567–69), and another that occurred at the very moment that the devotee presented an offering after hearing mass (II.7.9–11, p. 332) is described by Gonzalo as taking place gradually during the mass after offerings had been promised and only completed afterwards (*VSD* 588–89). This diffusion of the miracles over time removes the emphasis upon the mass as a vehicle for thaumaturgy which the historical Dominic clearly insisted upon. This dilution of the miracle over time runs counter to both what one would intuitively expect, and to twelfth-century practice. Thus in the second *Vita* of Saint Bernard of Clairveaux, various miracles reported in the *Vita prima* were presented as having occurred more quickly and therefore as more miraculous. The *Vita secunda* was written by Geoffroy of Auxerre after the failure of the first in the canonization process.⁵³ But the mid-thirteenth-century papal curia showed themselves much more suspicious of instantaneous cures, and Berceo's rewriting of the miracle stories is aimed at reflecting the scepticism that was abroad in the highest intellectual circles regarding the miraculous. An unnamed Roman cardinal in the early 1240s remarked to Albert of Cologne, bishop of Armagh, that he found it difficult to accept that accounts which claimed that Saint Martin of Tours had resurrected three people, thereby implicitly criticising Edmund of Abingdon's hagiographer, Eustace of Faversham, for having suggested a similarity between the two saints on that basis.⁵⁴

Gonzalo consistently downplays the narrative interest and drama of the exorcism narratives. In his treatment of *in vita* miracles, Gonzalo significantly alters Grimaldus's depiction of the illness suffered by García Munnoz of Gumiel, who was cured by Dominic of epilepsy through fasting and prayer. Grimaldus expressed uncertainty over the origin of the disease — either natural malady or a form of demonic possession (I.14.16–20, p. 274). Gonzalo avoids this dilemma. He prefers to explain the sickness as 'gota' which took the poor man 'al corazón', leaving him unconscious (*VSD* 399ab). In other words, it was not serious epilepsy, since such an illness affected the ventricles of the brain. Some medieval authors identified the obstruction of the arteries to the brain as the least grave form of epilepsy.⁵⁵ The Riojan cleric ascribes the

opinion that the illness might have been caused by demonic possession to 'muchos omnes' (*VSD* 400d), and subsequently omits the comparison with the energumen cured by Jesus and the latter's explanation of his disciples' lack of success in casting out the demon (since it could only be expelled by fasting and prayer). This precept underlay Dominic's own actions in curing the man (I.14.11–13, 31–32, pp. 274, 276; cf. Mark 9, 13–28, and above p. 66). All in all, Gonzalo does what he can to distance himself — and his listeners — from any diagnosis of García Munnoz's epilepsy as being due to demonic possession or as being as serious as it was in Grimaldus's graphic description.

When dealing with Dominic's posthumous miracles, Gonzalo unites three exorcism miracles into one (*VSD* 636), even though two of these (II.18–19) are tales of particular interest (see above, pp. 136, 139, 141, 144). Moreover, in Gonzalo's description of the possession of Diago de Celleruelo, the narrative details are significantly altered to lessen the gravity of the possession; Diago, in Gonzalo's poem, no longer runs around 'uelut equus celer' (II.17.5, p. 348; like a speedy horse), possessed all of the time, breaking his bonds like the Gerasene demoniac. Rather, he is possessed frequently, and can only be held back from hurting others or himself by being chained. All the same, he still speaks wildly (*VSD* 627–28). Some of these elements are taken from subsequent exorcisms (*VSD* 627c: II.18.6, p. 350; *VSD* 628b: II.19.3, p. 352), as is the desire of his relatives for his death (*VSD* 629c: II.19.4–7, p. 352). According to Grimaldus' account, when he was taken to the shrine, bound in chains, he was thrown before the tomb and the demon, with a horrible shout, left the man for dead; the monks, coming upon the scene, raised him to his feet, and prayed to God and to Dominic for his health; the man recovered and returned home (II.17. 12–23, p. 348). With Gonzalo, on the other hand, Diago is placed immediately into the hands of the monks who, following the example of Dominic, remove the chains and hold vigils and rogations for the sick man (*VSD* 632–33). The different sequence of events in the two texts suggest that Gonzalo de Berceo had more humane ideas concerning the treatment of the possessed that those of a century earlier.⁵⁶ Furthermore, in Gonzalo's version it is the monks' prayers which deliver the man from his possession, not proximity to the saint's tomb.

In contrast to Diago, most pilgrims are depicted by Gonzalo as coming to Silos of their own accord. In a later account of a possessed woman from Peñalba (II.24; *VSD* 679–699), the poet's working methods can also be clearly seen.⁵⁷ In the woman's initial vision of the Archangel Michael, Gonzalo is as insistent as was the Latin hagiographer that it was the *form* of an angel which appeared to the woman ('forma': *VSD* 681c, 685c; 'imagen': *VSD* 682b; cf. 'species': *Vita*, II.24.5, 24.14; 'aspectus': II.24.6, p. 366), but, in contrast to his account of Diago, he does not change the possessed woman's wandering in the countryside since it is essential to the story (*VSD* 680b, 681a; cf. II.24.2–4, p. 366). Yet he does change the source's narration of how the possessed woman reached the shrine. In Grimaldus's account the possession

of the demon becomes so severe that it nudges her relatives into catching, chaining and leading her to Silos, without the possibility of their knowing of the prophecy of the angel, since the demon had rendered her mute (II.24.15–21, p. 366).⁵⁸ Gonzalo, in contrast, presents the woman as a pilgrim herself, thereby producing a causal link between the appearance of the angel and the expulsion of the demon, a connexion not present in the Latin. Gonzalo thus avoids the seeming contradiction between the instruction of the angel, ‘Si desideras [...] liberari [...] quamtotius festina pergere ad monasterium Exilicense’ (II.24.8–10, p. 366; If you wish to be freed, hurry as quickly as possible to the monastery of Silos), and the woman’s inability to perform the action because of the gravity of her possession. By lessening, as with Diago, the severity of the demoniacal possession, he could grant to the *demoniada* from Peñalba a certain self-determination. The poet goes even further, and depicts the woman fasting before the tomb during a whole week, whereas the Latin recorded her arrival on the Saturday evening and her cure on the Sunday (*VSD* 689ab; cp. II.24.21–23, p. 366).⁵⁹ The woman’s week-long stay before the tomb is not characterized by the possession that had afflicted her in the past, since it is only on the Sunday that she is tormented by the demon (*VSD* 690), and only then does a monk begin to exorcise her with suitable success.

Gonzalo’s constant reduction in the severity and drama of the possessions in his source is most probably due to the prevalent suspicion in thirteenth-century intellectual circles that demonic possession was often feigned, a theme continued by sixteenth-century humanists. An awareness that the symptoms of demonic possession might be adopted to deceive others or because individuals had deceived themselves is mentioned thrice in the *Vita prima Francisci* by Thomas of Celano: I.25–26 (§69–70) — where Francis himself is suspicious of supposedly demonically possessed individuals —, and especially III.2 (§138), where Thomas notes, after retelling a couple of liberations from demonic possession posthumously worked by Francis, ‘Verum quia illud hominum genus saepe solet implicare deceptio falsitatis, de hiis nos breviter expedientes ad maxima transeamus’ (‘but because people of that kind are often victims of self-delusion, we will not dwell on the matter. Let this brief account suffice, and let us pass onto things of greater importance’).⁶⁰ For the humanists, the simulation of demonic possession could be motivated by desire for personal gain, as in the following passage from the mid-sixteenth-century *Lazarillo de Tormes*:

el negro alguacil cae de su estado [...] y comenzó a bramar y echar espumajos por la boca y torcella, y hacer visajes con el gesto, dando de pie y de mano, revolviéndose por aquel suelo a una parte y a otra.⁶¹

that poor sergeant fell in a trance, giving himself such a blow against the ground [...], stretching out his body with great abundance of foam at his mouth, making strange visages, and striking the ground both with hand and foot, tumbling up and down from one side to another.⁶²

A pilgrim's desire to request a cure or decision to travel to the shrine was an important expression of piety for Gonzalo de Berceo, and led him to alter the details with which his Latin text provided him. He inserts a leper's request to be healed at Monterrubio as well as his coming of his own accord to Dominic (*VSD* 475–76; cp. I.21.4–5, p. 292, 'interea presentatur ei quidam leprosus, ulceribus plenus, atque eius prosternitur pedibus'; meanwhile a leper, covered with ulcers, was presented to him, and he prostrated himself at Dominic's feet). Gonzalo also emphasises Juan de Silos's assiduity in shouting to the saint from the door of the monastery (*VSD* 340c–42d; cp. I.10.5–9, p. 258).

The desire of pilgrims to come to the tomb is repeatedly underlined in Gonzalo's account of posthumous miracles. Pilgrimage is expressly of the supplicant's own volition (María de Agosín: *VSD* 579a, cp. II.6.6, p. 330; a woman from Enebreda: *VSD* 607a, cp. II.12.4–6, p. 340). Another María de Agosín asks to be taken to the tomb rather than, as in the Latin, being advised to go to the tomb by her family (*VSD* 623a; cp. II.26.6, p. 346). Gonzalo even puts into the mouth of a paralysed woman the desire to be taken to Silos, when, in the Latin, she was in a coma (*VSD* 584d; cp. II.7.4–6, p. 332).

As a corollary to the individual's express act of faith in the saint, Gonzalo inserts the information as to who brought the supplicant to the shrine: relatives and servants at *VSD* 553a, charitable 'omnes bonos' (good men) thrice (*VSD* 593a: Cid, a pauper; 600ab: Sancho; 623c: María de Agosín). Such kind-hearted men are an important expression of social and religious solidarity. To include their help in his narration, Gonzalo contradicts his source at *VSD* 593a, since it was the relatives of Cid, the pauper, who brought him at II.8.7–8, p. 334, and María de Agosín, according to II.16.6–12, p. 346, came alone. Gonzalo also attributes the cure of Sancho to the prayers of the 'omnes bonos' in the following miracle (*VSD* 600cd) although in the *Vita* it was Sancho's prayers and faith which were alone the reason for his cure (II.9.6–11, p. 336). Gonzalo's alterations are undoubtedly motivated by his own concern for the poor, his insistence upon almsgiving and works of mercy (*VSD* 467–69). In separating devotees from their relatives' assistance and making them depend on others, Gonzalo was attempting to create a compassionate family around the figure of the saint, the 'padre' as he is repeatedly called (e.g., *VSD* 575c, 618b), a family which can take in the poor and needy. Therefore, rather than being swept along by a tide of pilgrims, the blind Sancha de Cornejana is led by the person who usually guided her (*VSD* 574ab; cp. II.5.4–6, p. 328). This detail may have been borrowed from the miracle immediately preceeding Sancha's cure, which was that of a blindman who had come to the shrine 'puero gressus illius regente' (II.4.2, p. 328; with a boy to guide his steps), and whose cure was summarized by Gonzalo in four uninformative lines (*VSD* 571), omitting the boy, the man's groaning before the grave, and his cure as he stood up from prayer, perhaps troubled at the theatrical nature of the supplicant's cure and the consequent danger that the man's blindness had been feigned.

When supplicants reach the tomb, Gonzalo places his emphasis not on their internal state of prayerful faith, but on the external devotional practices that they carry out. Thus, although the laying of candles before the tomb in an attempt to draw forth a miracle is recorded only once in the *Vita Dominici* (III.33.8, p. 510 — not present in Gonzalo's source text), it is inserted into several accounts (*VSD* 553bc, 556d, 587c). As he had with those who came to ask the living Dominic for help, Gonzalo places prayers into the mouths of those who attend the shrine (*VSD* 576, 618–19, 624). There is also a prayer of thanks (*VSD* 595–96). He shows them with tears in their eyes to express the intensity of the emotion either in praying for a miracle or after becoming the beneficiary of the miracle (*VSD* 554d, 568b, 579b, 610b). Similarly, the blind Pelayo, whilst Dominic was alive, 'enpeçó a plorar | tan aturada ment/que facié de grand duelo | plorar toda la gent' (*VSD* 392cd; began to cry so forcefully that he made everyone cry from great grief). Gonzalo de Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* is awash with tears, and some of the weeping is epic indeed: 'plorando de los oios, | contendí en orar' (*VSD* 579c; weeping from her eyes, she tried to pray). The phrase is reminiscent of what is now the opening line of the *Poema de mio Cid*, 'De los sos oios | tan fuertemiente llorando' (from his eyes so fiercely weeping).⁶³ Sigal notes the presence of weeping at eleventh-century French saints shrines: 'Ces larmes étaient contagieuses et il n'était pas rare de voir, autour d'un pèlerin en prière, les assistants, saisis par l'émotion, se mettre à pleurer à leur tour.'⁶⁴ I am led to wonder whether Gonzalo de Berceo is importing French modes of devotion into his poem.

Those individuals that surround the supplicant have a much more important role in Gonzalo's narration than in the Latin source. Domingo de Soto's relatives are not described as wandering desperately in the attempt to raise funds but as being inspired by divine providence to visit Dominic (*VSD* 359). The cure of María de Castrocisneros is worked partially through the prayers of her relatives. Although the Latin records how Dominic poured wine which he had blessed into the mouth of the unconscious woman, who immediately recovered (I.11.25–29, p. 262), Gonzalo describes Dominic's asking her relatives to pray for her (*VSD* 305a), after which she rouses herself sufficiently to ask for something to drink (*VSD* 306c). Dominic then asks for some mulled wine which he blesses and gives to her, after which she recovers (*VSD* 307a–308b).

Reaction to the descent of miraculous power is characterized by thanks being offered to the saint and the deity, as in the Latin, but also by an offering being made to the monastery (*VSD* 569c; cp. II.3.17–20, p. 326). Mass may sometimes be heard (*VSD* 580c; cp. II.6.7–9, p. 330). However, it must be stressed that some miracles do not record any offering other than that of repeated thanks (e.g., *VSD* 596b), a detail which contradicts a view that this type of addition was motivated by a desire to fill the monastery's coffers; as noted above, Gonzalo expressly dissociates a cure from the offering that, in his source, had brought it about (*VSD* 587–98).

VULGARIZATION

Gonzalo de Berceo's version at times represents a coarsening of the elegance of the Latin *Vita*. Folkloric and popular elements are inserted. The latter may be found in the evocations of epic poetry. When Dominic wakes from his vision, he blesses himself, just like the Cid after his vision of Gabriel.⁶⁵ Folkloric elements may be found in the depiction of the exorcism of a demon: 'exió el suzio malo, | más pudient que ciguda' (*VSD* 698c; the dirty evil one left, more foul-smelling than hemlock). Demons in the late twelfth-century *Miracula Zoyli* left behind a foul smell when abandoning their victims.⁶⁶

The motivation of individuals is simplified or misplaced. When Dominic is deposed from his position as prior by the abbot of San Millán, Gonzalo de Berceo explains the latter's motivation as follows: 'era, como creemos, | de embidia tocado' (*VSD* 167b; he was, as we believe, touched by envy), which represents the Latin in a simplified form. Grimaldus's text had spoken of the prelate's being struck with envy, not in a general way, but with a precise motivation, that of Dominic's daring to stand up to the king, upon whom the abbot depended for his position and whose servant he was. The psychological insight is acute: the abbot's envy is excited both by Dominic's sanctity and by his doing exactly what his superior dare not do:

Iterum rex, uidens constantiam beati uiri, de eo sermonem consiliumque habuit cum cenobii abbate, uolens eum a gradu prepositure deponere et a monasterii habitatione expellere. At uero abbas, comperta regis intentione atque uoluntate et iam percussus in secreto cordis mortifero iaculo inuidie pro tam admirabili uiri constantia et sanctissima conuersatione, cum consensu regis, eum et a gradu prioratus iniusto et dampnabili iudicio deposuit et ab abitatione proprii monasterii expulit. (I.5.380–86, p.220)

Again the king, seeing the blessed man's constancy, spoke to and took advice from the abbot of the monastery about him, wishing to depose him from the office of *prepositus* and expell him from the monastery. And indeed the abbot, having grasped the king's intention and desire and already struck in the depth of his heart by the deadly arrow of envy for the admirable constancy and the most holy life of the man, with the consent of the king, by an unjust and damnable judgement deposed him from the office of prior and expelled him from his lodgings in his own monastery.

Such simplification also touches the figure of the saint. The presentation of Dominic's first vision as a resolution of crisis is removed; the vision is no longer the beginning of his thaumaturgy but is merely a consolation for his sufferings, primarily those received at the hands of King García (*VSD* 223cd), deprived of any climactic importance in the saint's life, and, perhaps more importantly, devoid of the narrative tension found in the *Vita*. When the vision has been taken from his eyes, Dominic confesses that he found his will

changed: 'tenía, dios lo sabe, | la voluntad cambiada' (*VSD* 244d). As Gonzalo has already presented Dominic as the ideal monk in all things, it is difficult to see how such a radical change of heart could be brought about. The apparent contrast can be explained by assuming that Gonzalo sought to present Dominic as a type of Everyman, in order to impress upon his audience what effect the vision should have, just as, for example, at the beginning of his *Vida de Santa Oria*, he comments that her visions should change the listener's hearts: God 'li mostró en çielo | tan grandes viñones/que devién a los omnes | canbiar los coraçones' (*VSO* 24bc; showed her in heaven such great visions that they ought to change men's hearts). That this is Gonzalo's intention is confirmed by Dominic's exhorting his monks not, as in the Latin, to continue with pious works and to remain in the service of God so that they may be saved, but to compare the riches of heaven to this and hence not follow the poverty of this present existence (*VSD* 246). The appeal to true riches, whilst not being unsuitable for a monastic audience, would clearly be more effective for an audience whose primary concern was precisely the amassing of riches and who were preoccupied by temporal concerns.

The message of the vision is moved away from the spiritual significance dear to Grimaldus. In his *Vita*, the vision foretold the restoration of Silos and the winning of a people for God (I.7.63, p. 242). Gonzalo places this promise at the end of the vision, where the three instructions to persevere are united into one stanza; and, rather than allowing the phrase to refer to the monks, he reinterprets it as applying to those who come to Silos in search of miracles: 'Avrán por ti repaire | muchas gentes lazradas,/que vernán sin conseio | yrán aconsejadas' (*VSD* 243cd; many suffering people will have succour through you, those who will come without counsel will go away well comforted). Gonzalo's emphasis falls not on the earlier hagiographer's concern with monastic virtues and salvation, but rather on Dominic's thaumaturgy.

Although Gonzalo de Berceo was at pains to diminish the drama of miraculous cures at the shrine, he increased the miraculous nature of the escape of Peidro from his Moorish prison. Rather than the finely nuanced account of the Latin, wherein the vision provided encouragement to escape but no certainty, leaving all to the captive's prudence and sagacity, Gonzalo has the saint describe how Peidro was to escape in minute detail, taking the elements from the actual description of the escape in the Latin *Vita* (*VSD* 720–24; cp. II.25.50–58, p. 372 and II.25.60–65, p. 372–74). Such an approach inevitably diminishes the captive's own initiative, his need for courage and faith regarding the truthfulness of the vision. The poet augments the miraculous and prophetic element of the narration but in so doing destroys the psychological intricacy of the experience. Grace, for Gonzalo de Berceo, works all by itself; his characters do not have to struggle in their co-operation with it. Miracles bring heaven close, they de-problematize, simplify and idealize the situation. It is a view of miracles akin to the world of Marian devotion. A miracle solves a situation and the participants' role is to be awestruck. As

Saugnieux wrote, 'Chez Berceo [...] le miracle [...] est voulu par Dieu, il entre dans les desseins de la Providence, il est nécessaire, justifiable, et donc naturel', a view which, in essence, is fundamentally Augustinian.⁶⁷

Up to this moment, we have considered slight additions and alterations by the poet, the minor nipping and tucking that might be expected of any translator with the cloth of his original. Such *sfumature*, however, fade into insignificance before the violence done to the very moment of Dominic's death. For Dutton, this massive alteration was 'una aportación imaginativa del poeta' (an addition from the poet's imagination),⁶⁸ although Gonzalo de Berceo's imagination here was decidedly limited, and stereotypically similar to the account of the *transitus* of San Millán which he also added to his source (*Vida de San Millán*, 296–309). The description of heaven given in both these works is disappointing from a poet who, according to some, was capable of wholly inventing the visions of Santa Oria.⁶⁹ In this section of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* the author does not, as Suszinsky claims, 'eliminate the description of the transit of the saint's soul to heaven',⁷⁰ he substitutes it with completely different one.

Whilst Grimaldus's account bears the marks of an eye-witness, Gonzalo de Berceo's strays into novelization. The hagiographer's caution and balance must have seemed unduly careful to Gonzalo, for whom there could be neither doubt that the crowns in the children's vision were those that Dominic had earlier been promised nor uncertainty that his soul would have been carried aloft to a rejoicing heaven. Whereas for Grimaldus the *visio puerorum* was the final piece which made sense of one man's life and struggle, and on which he could present the monks' belief in Dominic's sanctity as hinging, Gonzalo could dispense with it, for the fact of Dominic's salvation was taken for granted. He therefore described to his listeners not a mysterious, visionary suggestion of beatitude, but the concrete welcome offered to the saint by the normally invisible crowd of witnesses. It was commonly assumed in the thirteenth century that angels would be on hand to guide a soul to heaven, particularly if that soul be a saint's, and it was angels, and not crowns, who bore Dominic into heaven.⁷¹

In this passage, Gonzalo has produced an interpretation of a difficult text for the benefit of his audience, making the imagery less unusual, more prosaic. The crowning of Dominic, is relegated to two lines (*VSD* 522cd), which constitute the first part of his being welcomed into heaven. There is no mention of the child-oblates whose vision characterized the saint's final moments. The description of heaven itself is organized on strictly historical lines: first come the patriarchs, then the Apostles, then the hosts of martyrs (*VSD* 523). Only after these have greeted Dominic do the confessors, that is, male saints, rejoice that Dominic is to join their ranks.

The only saints mentioned are Benedict and Aemilianus; the first because he was the author of the rule which Dominic followed in Silos; the second because he was the founder of the monastery in which he had been prior, and

on whose behalf (according to Gonzalo de Berceo) he came into conflict with the king of Navarre (*VSD* 127–181). The absence in Grimaldus's account of any devotion on the part of Dominic to Aemilianus and the lack of any reward for his defence of the saint's monastery is here made good by Gonzalo. Dominic's death in his hands is no longer charged with anguish and mystery. It is as archetypal as San Millán's.⁷² Gonzalo can assure his listeners, 'non vidiestes meior' (*VSD* 521b; you have never seen better).

THE DEPICTION OF THE MONKS

Gonzalo de Berceo shows a certain degree of idealism in his depiction of the monks. There are two aspects to his presentation of those in closest contact with Dominic. The first is Gonzalo's depiction of their relation to Dominic; the second is the poet's conception of the monks as helpers and successors in Dominic's role as intercessor.

When Dominic arrived at Burgos, the good King Fernando was put in mind of the decayed monastery of Silos. But that decay was no longer — as in Grimaldus's harsh estimate — due to the sins and negligence of the inhabitants (I, VI, 63–64, p. 232), but to the sins of the whole kingdom (*VSD* 202–203). For Gonzalo, the upkeep of monasteries depended primarily upon the goodwill and donations of the crown and nobility. This view is reinforced by the attribution to Fernando and other laymen of the material restructuring of the monastery (*VSD* 220), whilst Dominic's task is simply to reform his monks, something which he achieved immediately due to his own ability and the natural good-heartedness of his subordinates (*VSD* 216). Their response to Dominic's vision is also characterized by the very best of qualities. Keeping his instruction to observe a confessional secrecy over the details of the vision, the monks do not simply remain silent, but acquit themselves as good 'poridaderos', avoiding the censure of being bad 'mestureros' (*VSD* 251cd).⁷³

Gonzalo de Berceo's desire to present the monks as exemplary characters comes under most strain in moments of conflict within the monastery. The major crisis to befall Dominic's abbacy, the famine which almost caused the monks to abandon the house completely, is turned into a story of communal constancy. Grimaldus depicted a straightforward confrontation between Dominic and his monks (see above, pp. 59–60). Gonzalo, in contrast, describes how the cellarer comes to tell the abbot of the crisis; the abbot then summons the monks before matters can get out of hand and exhorts them to trust in God (*VSD* 446–48). Dominic, in the Latin *Vita*, did not reply to his querulous flock, but, rather, groaning and weeping, prayed inwardly (I.22.14–17, p. 294). Gonzalo's Dominic goes before the altar of the church to pray, a habit insisted upon throughout the vernacular translation: cf. *VSD* 300cd, 409.⁷⁴ Moreover, according to Gonzalo, Dominic is undisturbed by the famine: he omits the saint's weeping, although in another passage he inserts Dominic's weeping in compassion at *VSD* 363. He does not allow any

challenge to Dominic's authority, thereby removing the sense of crisis and the psychological conversion from anxiety to trust in God which occurs in the *Vita* when Dominic sees a dove looking for food in a dung-heap (1.22.26–27, p. 296). In Gonzalo's version, Dominic and his monks sail through the difficulty with able management skills. Gonzalo's motivation in his changes to the story is to present Dominic as acting as closely as possible to the archetype of abbots, Saint Benedict, who acted in exactly the fashion that Dominic is claimed by Gonzalo to have acted when faced with a famine.⁷⁵

A more fundamental difficulty for the poet's view of the monks was provided by Grimaldus's account of Dominic's death, where the most senior placed monks of the monastery assumed that Dominic was raving in his final illness. This narrative is changed almost beyond recognition. Gonzalo has Dominic offer his monks a series of 'last words' (*VSD* 494–502), a hagiographical *topos* also found in the *Legenda* of Dominic of the Preachers. It is to the monks of Silos, gathered around the abbot on his deathbed, rather than to the prior and dispenser, that Dominic reveals that 'grandes uéspedes' (*VSD* 505a; important guests) would be arriving. Unfortunately, the neat ambiguity in Dominic's phrase in the *Vita* is not followed in the vernacular: the 'rey e la reína' are to arrive 'con grand cavallería' (*VSD* 505b; with many knights), a detail Gonzalo has added to his source, together with, and in parallel to, the news that the bishop was to arrive 'con buena conpañía' (*VSD* 505c; with a large retinue). The picturesque touch, however, is not accounted for in the vision. No 'grand cavallería' is hinted at when Dominic retells his nocturnal vision. Epic reminiscence, the dignity due to the princes of the Church, or the dreary demands of rhyme led Gonzalo to distort Dominic's words in such a fashion that its relation to the vision that Dominic later claims to have experienced can only tangentially be described as 'prophecy'.

The news that such guests were due was greeted by the monks with amazement (*VSD* 506a). They knew that the king and queen could not possibly arrive within such a short space of time. Dominic foretold their arrival on the fourth day; the monks know that Alfonso and Inés 'non podrién en sex días | allá seer uviados' (*VSD* 506d; they could not arrive there in six days), a temporal specification absent from Grimaldus's account. Yet Gonzalo delays the expression of dissent until *after* the four days had elapsed: 'mas non sabién del rey | nuevas nin nul mandado;/avié entre los monges | por esto grand roído' (*VSD* 508d–509a; but they had not heard any news or any word of the king; there was much quarrelling amongst the monks because of this). Whilst Gonzalo must allow dissent its place — it is vital to the story —, he gives no hint that, according to Grimaldus, it was precisely those highest placed who doubted Dominic's instructions at the very moment they were given. For Gonzalo, some monks doubt only when it would seem impossible not to doubt, after Dominic had apparently been proved wrong. The faint-heartedness of a few weaker brethren is paralleled at other points in the poem by such stereotypical reactions, some doubting, the others 'más maduros,

[...] tenían que estos dichos | balleros non serién' (*VSD* 285cd; more mature thought that these words would not turn out to be worthless), or 'algunos de los fraires | teníanlo por verdad;/diçién algunos dellos | que era vanidad' (*VSD* 438ab; some of the monks thought it true, others said that it was meaningless). Finally, the result of Dominic's explanation is not to increase his monks' understanding, but rather to increase wonder and repentance: 'los que ante dubdaron | todos venia pidieron' (*VSD* 513d; those who doubted before all asked for his forgiveness), just as at *VSD* 461c, 'los que ante dubdaron | después se repintieron' (those who doubted before repented later).⁷⁶

When we turn to the monk's role in miracles, we are on firmer, although no less idealized, ground. The monks, even whilst Dominic is alive, are depicted by Gonzalo as sharing to a certain extent in his thaumaturgic powers, and, in contradiction to the Latin source, fast with Dominic in order to free García Munnoz de Gumiel from his sickness (*VSD* 413c; cp. I.14.28–30, p. 276). The poet further alters the conclusion to the cure of García Munnoz to emphasise the role played by the brethren of the monastery in what he claims was the most glorious of all the miracles Dominic worked: 'con sus bonos christianos,/que bien le ayudavan | como bonos ermanos' (*VSD* 418cd; with his good Christian men, who helped him greatly like good brethren; cp. I.14.31–40, p. 276, where the miracle is recorded as being simply the most arduous). After Dominic's death, the monks take over his mantle of compassion for the sick and suffering, holding daily intercessions for the pauper, Cid, an involvement not to be found in the Latin (*VSD* 594b; cp. II.8.9–10, p. 334); they respond to the weeping of the blind María de Agosín with the determination to help her (*VSD* 579d, cp. II.6.7–8, p. 330); they are struck with compassion for the three *demoniadas* whose cures are related as one, and whose cures are expressly due to the prayers of the monks (*VSD* 642; cf. II.18.16–20 and II.19.13–16, p. 352; II.20.5–6, p. 354). The monks, as we have seen, unchain and hold vigils and rogations for Diago (*VSD* 632–33; cf. II.17.12–23, p. 348). The drama has disappeared, the cure is no longer worked by the overwhelmin *virtus* of the relics lying in the tomb but by the prayers of the monks, working in tandem with Dominic's intercession. Indeed, the monks now stand for Dominic.

These changes indicate how importantly the conception of monks as intercessors stood with Gonzalo de Berceo. The role of monks, in the classic three-fold division of society, was to pray.⁷⁷ The purpose of the monastic vocation was to offer up prayers, and the fates of the kingdom and its monasteries were interdependent. Gonzalo puts the following words into Fernando I's mouth as he muses on the dereliction of Silos:

Es por un monesterio | un regno cabtenido,
ca es días e noches | dios en elli servido:
assí puede seer | un regno maltraído
por un logar bono | si es esperdecido. (*VSD* 204)

A kingdom is upheld by a monastery, since day and night God is served in it: a kingdom may thus be brought low by a good place if it is left to ruin.

THE PURPOSE AND DATE OF THE *VIDA DE SANTO DOMINGO*

It is usual to begin the consideration of a text with consideration of the reasons for its having been written and the time at which it was composed. I have chosen to place such considerations at the end of my analysis of Gonzalo de Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* to avoid *a priori* assumptions. Only once a comparison between the vernacular text and its acknowledged source has been carried out is it possible to approach the thorny questions of date and purpose. Gonzalo explicitly states his purpose: his poem is a work motivated by devotion to the saint.

De facer est trabaio | ovi muy grand deseo; [...]
 Sennor Sancto Domingo | yo estó bien creído
 por est poco servicio | que en él he metido
 que fará a Don Christo | por mí algún pedido. (*VSD* 757c–758c)

I desired greatly to write this work. Lord Saint Dominic, I believe firmly, will, for this little service that I have put into it, ask Christ for something or other on my behalf.

If this reason is the only valid one, any further investigation is pointless. I see no option other than allowing the explanation that the poem is a work of personal devotion unmotivated by external circumstances to stand against the various possibilities which will be adumbrated below.

A dating which has been advanced, and which, *faute de mieux*, has become accepted, is Dutton's suggestion that the *Vida de Santo Domingo* was composed to be given as a gift by the monastery of San Millán to Silos on the occasion of the renewal of the *carta de hermandad* in 1236, which re-affirmed fixed obligations of fraternity between the two monasteries.⁷⁸ There is an air of verisimilitude about his having been commissioned to write a translation of the *Vita Dominici* as part of the formalities that would have surrounded the re-affirmation of the links between Silos and the Riojan monastery, since Gonzalo was named in 1237 as one of the priests of Berceo, a village close to the monastery of San Millán.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Dominic is depicted as being particularly devoted to the patron of his original monastery and this may be a reflection of the bonds between the two monasteries, bonds which had only been recently established: the first *carta de hermandad* was signed in 1190; the monastery of Silos had previously established an *hermandad* with the cathedral of Osma (1132) and perhaps with that of Sigüenza (1120–50).⁸⁰ Finally, the assumption that medieval hagiography, and Gonzalo de Berceo's work in particular, was motivated almost exclusively by propagandistic purposes in the service of greedy monasteries has led critics to assume that there must have been an economically self-interested motive in its composition which must

equally be tied to the poet's involvement with the monastery of San Millán; the only place where these interests overlap is the renewal of the *hermandad*.

The three supports to the 1236 dating may be challenged at a number of levels. The first doubt that arises against any connection of the poem to the renewal of the *carta de hermandad* is that Gonzalo worked from a surprisingly deficient manuscript were his composition connected to such an important occasion for the monasteries concerned. Furthermore, were the *Vida de Santo Domingo* designed as a gift for the monks of Silos, then Gonzalo's treatment of Dominic's miracles would surely have raised eyebrows. The miracles which deal with the protection of Silos are downgraded: the cure of Juan de Silos's swollen hand is given only one uninformative stanza; the story of García Munnoz is altered significantly; the resolution of the famine is moved from its climactic position at the end of Dominic's miracles *in vita* to a more humble position; the tales of the dishonest pilgrims and the unstolen leeks — which was not in his source — are used as examples more of the saint's humour than his concern with the monastery. Exorcisms are made less spectacular: the possessed are afflicted much less severely, and the role of the tomb is diminished whilst the role of the exorcist is highlighted; the narrative interest of some tales is discarded completely. Other miracles, too, suffer the same downgrading of their more spectacular elements: miracles do not happen immediately; they are not connected to specific thaumaturgic moments, such as the mass or prayers, at the shrine; they involve the family and friends of the afflicted and not just the *virtus* of the saint's *praesentia*. Miracles do not emphasise donations to the monastery. A work which so thoroughly downgraded the power of Dominic's tomb in respect of cures and exorcisms could not but be considered by the monks at Silos as an unhelpful, not to say Greek, gift.

It is true that, as noted above, Gonzalo de Berceo departs from his Latin text to include a tale from the oral tradition of the shrine, the miracle of the leeks (VSD 387–83); but it is clear that his motive for doing so was not to glorify Silos but to provide an interesting and amusing tale for his listeners. It is even clearer that his major interest, and that of his prospective audience, was in Dominic as a liberator of captives. The escape-miracles are the only ones in which Gonzalo does not lessen the dramatic scope or the saint's *virtus*. Dominic freed Juan Domínguez from Medinaceli during his own lifetime; Gonzalo introduces this miracle by informing his listeners that this account will tell them 'cómo ganó la gracia | que saca los cativos' (VSD 352c). The escape-miracles from the posthumous accounts are the only ones to have introductory stanzas as a signal of their importance to the audience. The primary purpose of the composition of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, far from being flattery of the brother-house of Silos, was to present Dominic as the liberator of captives — indeed, given the emphasis that Gonzalo lays upon this aspect the saint's thaumaturgy, we may go as far as to say that the poem's primary purpose was precisely to explain the holy abbot's reputation as the liberator of captives.

Dutton's arguments for the dating and purpose of the *Vida* must therefore be rejected. We have seen that Gonzalo was aware of an oral tradition about the Silos shrine, and that he was prepared to include such a tale in his account; yet he fails to mention a miraculous liberation which occurred in the very year that the *carta de hermandad* was signed, 1236. This tale is the first narration in the vernacular shrine-book from Silos, *Miráculos romançados* (1: 5–7, p. 39); it may have taken place too late for inclusion in the *Vida*.⁸¹ Yet there was another tale which had become known at Silos shortly after 1232, and would have been ripe for inclusion had the *Vida de Santo Domingo* been composed in conjunction with the renewal of the *carta de hermandad*, for it gives a key role to Fernando III, detailing how a Muslim vassal recounted his sighting of Dominic to him.

Era de mill dozentos .LXX. annos, sabbado en la noche ante del gallo, ocho días de mayo, salí Mahómat, adalil de Córdoba, con grant conpanna de moros e iva correr [...] a tierra de christianos, e él, passando por la puente de Alcolea, dos leguas aquent de Córdoba, encontró en medio de la puente un omne con muy grant claridat. Et dixo el moro en latín, '¿Qui va y?' Dixo'l la claridat, 'Yo só Santo Domingo de Silos'. Dixo el moro, '¿Dó vas?' Dixo Santo Domingo, 'Vo a Córdoba a saccar cativos'. El moro fizo tornar la conpanna e veno a Córdoba ante que fues de día, e tenia en un carçel quinze christianos, e metiólos a todos en el cepo de pies e las cadenas a las gargantas, e las esposas a las manos, e echósse sobre la carçel con su conpanna, e a quantos moros sopo que tenién cativos embióles dezir que los guardassen, que Santo Domingo era en la villa. Et ellos guardáronlos con muy grandes prisiones. Quando fue el día, [...] cataron la carçel e non fallaron y ninguno, ni los fierros, e embiólo dezir a los otros, e cataron los suyos e non fallaron ninguno. Et contaron que fallaron esse día menos ciento e çinquenta e .IIII. cativos que sacó Santo Domingo de Córdoba. A cabo de dos annos que esto contesció, veno este moro sobredicho con las parias al Rey don Fernando a Burgos, e preguntó al Rey don Fernando qué santos avía en su regno. Dixo el Rey, 'Avenos Sançiago, Sant Fagunt e otros muchos'. Dixo el moro, '¿Quál es aquel que sacca los cativos?' Dixo el Rey, 'Santo Domingo de Silos'. Dixo el moro, 'Sennor, ésse, e dizir't e lo que me contesció con él. Una noche salía de Córdoba con mi conpanna que iva a correr a tierra de christianos, e passando la noche por la puente de Alcolea vi muy grant claridat e pregunté qué era, e díxome que era Santo Domingo que iva a Córdoba a sacar cativos.' E contó el moro al Rey todo como'l contesció con Santo Domingo, assí como escripto es desuso. Et dixo el Rey, 'Mándote que vayas pora el su monesterio e que veyas como yaz e toda su casa'. Et el Rey dio'l qui'l guiasse, e veno el moro aquí, e entró en la eglesia e vio aquella figura de la imagen de Santo Domingo que está sobre'l su altar. Et dixo que en aquella figura le viera la noche que'l encontró en la Puente de Alcolea. Et el Rey don Fernando contó todo esto como gelo dixiera aquel moro. (MR 2: 36–79, p. 42–43)

In the year of 1230, on Saturday before midnight, on 8 May, Mahómat, captain of Córdoba, was leaving the city with a large company of Moors and they were going

to raid [...] Christian lands, and, passing over the bridge of Alcolea two leagues this side of Córdoba, he met in the middle of the bridge a man with a great brightness about him. And the Moor said in Romance,⁸² 'Who's there?' The brilliance said to him, 'I am Saint Dominic of Silos'. The Moor said, 'Where are you going?' Saint Dominic said, 'I'm going to Cordoba to free captives'. The Moor had his company about turn and came to Cordoba before day broke; he had in his dungeon fifteen Christians, and he placed them all in shackles with chains around their throats and cuffs on their hands, and went to sleep, with all of his company, above the dungeon, and to as many Moors as he knew possessed captives, he sent word telling them to guard them, for Saint Dominic was in the town. And they guarded them with fierce restraints. When day broke, they looked in the dungeon and they found no-one there, not even the irons, and he sent word to the others, and they looked at their own captives, and found none. And they counted that day one hundred and fifty-four captives missing who Saint Dominic had freed from Cordoba. Two years after this happened, the aforesaid Moor came to King Fernando at Burgos with the *parias*, and asked King Fernando what saints he had in his kingdom. The king said, 'We have Saint James, Saint Facundus, and many others'. The Moor said, 'Which is the one who frees captives?' The king said, 'Saint Dominic of Silos'. The Moor said, 'My lord, that's the one, and I will tell you what happened to me regarding him. One night I was leaving Cordoba with my company as I was going to raid Christian lands, and passing by night over the bridge of Alcolea I saw a very great light and I asked what it was, and it said to me that it was Saint Dominic going to Cordoba to free captives.' And the Moor told the king how it had befallen him with Saint Dominic, just as it is written above. And the king said, 'I order you to go to his monastery and to see where he lies buried and all his church'. And the king gave him someone to guide him, and the Moor came here, and entered the church and saw that shape of the image of Saint Dominic which is above his altar. And he said the he had seen him in that shape on the night that he encountered him on the bridge of Alcolea. And King Fernando told all this as that Moor had told him.

The king was in Burgos in 1233, so the story is perfectly possible, although there has almost certainly been a degree of inflation in the number of captives spirited from their dungeons.⁸³ And October 1233 saw an unprecedented burst of interest from Fernando III in the monastery of Silos. He granted one concession of salt, confirmed the jurisdiction of the abbot of Santo Domingo over the town of Silos, and further confirmed a document from Queen Urraca's reign before finally taking Santo Domingo de Silos under his protection, all over the space of a week.⁸⁴ He issued one further confirmation of a donation of Alfonso VIII and a decision over a dispute the monastery had with San Pedro over the limits of their lands from Clunia (Coruña del Conde) at the end of November.⁸⁵

Gonzalo de Berceo makes a jokey reference to Tello Téllez de Meneses, bishop of Palencia and founder of its *studium*, at line 325d of his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.⁸⁶ He must have known the prelate reasonably well, and his

Milagros must have been written for an audience who would appreciate such an in-joke. A document signed by the poet in 1228 at Bañares, some five kilometres from Santo Domingo de la Calzada, shows that he was involved in the business of the bishop of his own diocese of Calahorra, Juan Pérez. Pedro Catedra has suggested that, during this time, he performed some function in that troubled bishop's curia.⁸⁷ Both Juan and Tello were connected to the implementation of the Lateran reforms then being enforced by the papal legate, John of Abbeville, during his stay in the peninsula between March 1228 and October–November of the following year.⁸⁸ Gonzalo's access to the court may have been through his episcopal contacts.

1233 would seem to be a propitious year for the composition of the *Vida*: a Moorish vassal turns up with a good yarn about one of the kingdom's saints, who until then was far from Fernando's mind, since the two saints he names, 'Sançiago e San Fagunt', were far more exalted than Domingo de Silos. Fernando presumably became interested in the subject of Dominic, as his grants to the monastery and his interest in previous royal donations show ('inveni privilegium ab illustrissima domna Urraca, regina, sine sigillo et cum signo conditum in hunc modum' ...; I found the privilege by the most illustrious Lady Urraca, queen, without a seal and with a *signum*, arranged in this fashion ...).⁸⁹ We may presume that the king also became interested in the saint's history, and particularly his role of redeeming captives: he would later dedicate a chapel to Dominic in Seville after his conquest of the city in 1248.⁹⁰ The preamble to Fernando III's taking of Silos under his protection has a certain similarity to the thoughts of Gonzalo's Fernando I when considering placing Dominic at the head of the decayed monastery: 'Regali nempe convenit magestati sancta queque loca diligere, honestos viros religiososque manutenere et honorare, eosque et sua a pravorum incursibus defensare' (it befits royal majesty to cherish holy places, to honour and maintain religious men, and defend them from the attacks of evil men; cf. *VSD* 202–207, 219–21).⁹¹

If the *Vida* was written for the king's court, why did its author not recount the miracle that had sparked off Fernando's interest? This is difficult, but it may be explained by slavish fidelity to his source, the *Vita*, which he respected even in its lacunae. Besides, the most recent miracle was recorded in Silos where it probably sparked off the collection of the *Miráculos romançados*, and, if the chief intended audience was Fernando III, Gonzalo could be sure he already knew the story, since he was its source. The changes the poet wrought to the scene of Dominic's meeting with Fernando I could well have in mind an audience which included Fernando III. Fernando I is explicitly inspired by God to grant Dominic the rule of the monastery of Silos (*VSD* 199c); to make this even clearer, Gonzalo alters the order of the narration of *Vita Dominici* 1.6. In the original, a holy and faithful priest, Licianus, made his prayer for a reforming abbot (ll. 1–48, p. 228–30); Dominic went to King Fernando I (ll. 49–54), who consigned Silos to his care. Dominic's movements were part of providence and were inspired by the prayer of Licianus in

the decrepit monastery. In Gonzalo's altered sequence, Dominic arrives at the king's palace and remains with the king. Liciano's prayer is then narrated, followed by the divine inspiration of the king to do 'una cosa que ante | non avié comedida' (VSD 199d; something that he had not thought of before). Gonzalo, in altering the narrative, shifts the emphasis to the benefit of the king's reputation: he is a 'princep de bona vida' (VSD 199c; a ruler of an upright life). The inclusion of the final miracle — even though it was deficient — to prove that Dominic did free the nobility from captivity would therefore have a particular importance to his initial audience. His concern with heresy (VSD 77, 774ab) and his connected insistence upon the Trinity (VSD 534–35), fit well with the early 1230s.⁹²

Gonzalo de Berceo, I suggest, composed his *Vida de Santo Domingo* for royal consumption in Burgos during the summer or early autumn of 1233, perhaps at a certain degree of speed, to be performed to a mixed audience of laypeople and clerics, although perhaps with an even wider audience in mind. Such a setting would account for his vulgarization of his source on the one hand and his punctilious concern with the niceties of canon law, Roman councils and canonization procedures.

With such a mixed audience in mind, the second stanza of Gonzalo's poem deserves some form of comment, since it is here that he sets out his programme for the work:

Quiero fer una prosa | en román paladino
 en qual suele el pueblo | fablar con su vezino,
 ca non só tan letrado | por fer otro latino:
 bien valdrá, como creo, | un vaso de bon vino.

I wish to write a poem in clear vernacular, in which the people are wont to speak with their neighbours, for I am not as lettered as to be able to write anything in Latin: it will be worth, I think, a glass of good wine.

The juglaresque tone is unmistakable: the *juglar* at the end of the *Poema de mio Cid* is instructed to say 'El rromanz es leído, datnos del vino' (the poem is read, give us wine).⁹³ Yet the whole stanza of VSD 2 is an intriguing humility-*topos*. As Wright has shown, 'completely and emancipatedly vernacular writing — such as [...] that of Berceo, who read Latin sources — implies a skilled level of Latinity in the writer until such time as, in the late thirteenth century, writers were explicitly trained in the writing of naked Castilian.'⁹⁴ The form that Gonzalo de Berceo chose to write in — when he could have composed a saint's life in Cidian epic metre — was ferociously *letrado*. By choosing to follow in the steps of the *Alexandre's* poet and compose his verse in the same metrical structure, 'a sílabas contadas' (by counting syllables), he was adopting a non-vernacular form which had its previous existence amongst a clerical elite.⁹⁵ However the initial verses of the *Alexandre* should be quoted in order to give a proper contrast between

Berceo's programme of composition and that laid out by the author of the earlier poem:

Sennores, si quissiéredes | mi servicio prender
 queriavos de grado | servir de mi mester:
 deve de lo que sabe | omne largo seer;
 si non podrié en culpa | y en riepto caer.
 Mester trayo fermoso | non es de ioglaría,
 mester es sin pecado, | que es de clerizía;
 fablar curso rimado | por la quaderna vía
 a sílabas contadas | que es grand maestría.⁹⁶

My lords, if you would take my service, I would willingly use my skill: a man should be generous with what he knows; if not, he could fall into guilt and blame. I have a beautiful skill, it is not of minstrels; it is a faultless skill, for it is clerical; to speak in rhyme through the fourfold way, counting the syllables, for it is a thing of great ability.

The poet sets up a clear distinction between his fourfold-rhyme and syllable-count verse and the form of poetic expression in the vernacular associated with the *juglares*.

What Gonzalo de Berceo does in his initial verses is to blur that distinction. He presents himself as a vernacular poet, going about the business of providing a *gesta* of the saint. He describes himself as a 'ioglar', not without a touch of irony, and makes various references to his *singing* of the tale — and singing is generally understood to have been the mark of the *juglar*, whilst *cuaderna vía* was read aloud (VSD 759d, 775b; 614b, 752c). Berceo was attempting an elision between the two forms of verse which, until then, had remained distinct. But this was a merely momentary persona for Berceo, for we find him writing at the end of his life, in the *Vida de Santa Oria*, that he was a *versificador* (line 184a) who did not know how to compose epic *cántares* (line 19c). He presents himself as a *trobador* in *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* 232a. Gonzalo's unusual choice, that of casting himself as a *juglar* whilst composing in learned style, argues first for his having already composed some works in that style before taking on a work of the magnitude of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*; and secondly, for some around him to appreciate the humour of his appropriating an inappropriate persona.

Tello Téllez, bishop of Palencia and guiding force behind its *studium*, was celebrated for not only his learning but also his enthusiasm in educating his clergy,⁹⁷ something to which some of translations associated with Gonzalo de Berceo's name could clearly have lent themselves — such as the handbooks on the Last Judgement, on the Mass, even of the Marian poetry. Bishop Tello described his parish clergy as 'pre aliis regionibus inscii litterarum' (uneducated, above other countries, in reading)⁹⁸ and received the right to use part of the diocese's tithes to educate those clergy in 1225.⁹⁹ If Wright is

correct, and we should understand these complaints to rest upon the rural clergy's inability to read Latin correctly, that is, with one sound attributed to each letter, then Gonzalo de Berceo's poetry, with its newfangled syllabic count and horror of elision between vowels, may have had a role in introducing reticent clerics into the rigours of Latin pronunciation so that they might celebrate the mass with convenient decorum.¹⁰⁰ Gonzalo's claim to be writing in *román paladino* has the air of the reformer to it, echoing the spirit, if not the language, of the sermonary of Jean d'Abbeville, Gregory IX's legate, who had left the peninsula after pressing forward the cause of reform only four years earlier.¹⁰¹ It also matches the spirit of Fernando III's chancery, whose move to Romance was fully established after 1230.¹⁰²

It is not fanciful, then, to say that a young, perhaps rather ambitious poet, was encouraged to produce a poem for Fernando in the vernacular, balancing both learning and clarity with verse-form and expression. The *Vida de Santo Domingo*, much more than the archaic *Poema de mio Cid*, was the expression of a new age, composed by a *litteratus* who wrote in Romance, composing poetry under the metrical standards of Latin whilst using a form of the vernacular, and therefore explicitly recognizing each as a distinct linguistic system.¹⁰³ The story which kindled Fernando III's interest in Dominic could describe a Moor speaking 'en latín', that is, in Romance, where the only distinction that is made is that which obtains between language spoken by Christians and the Muslims' *arábigo*. The *Vida*, in contrast, self-consciously distinguishes between Romance and Latin:

Caeció y un ciego | de qual parte que vino
non departe la villa | muy bien el pergamino,
ca era mala letra, | encerrado latino.
Entender no lo pudi | par sennor San Martino. (*VSD* 609)

There came a blindman, the parchment does not reveal the town whence he came very clearly, for it was a bad script, obscure Latin. I could not manage to make it out by lord Saint Martin!

Having established a probable date for the composition to the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, we may now consider its chronology in relation to Gonzalo de Berceo's other hagiographies, and in particular to the *Vida de San Millán*. Forty years ago, Frida Weber de Kurlat published an article in which she argued that the *Vida de San Millán* pre-dated the *Vida de Santo Domingo*.¹⁰⁴ In her article, she identified numerous traits within the text and structure of the two hagiographies. Drawing attention to *VSD* 334, she notes how the stanza draws together both Dominic and Millán. Dominic had expelled a devil which was tormenting a young anchoress:

Oímos esto misme | de sennor sant Millán
que fiço tal miraglo | yo lo leí de plan:

de casa de Onorio | segudó un satán
que facié contiencias | más suzias que un can.

We hear the same thing as this about Lord San Millán who performed such a miracle, I read it clearly: he shook a satan [i.e., devil] from Honorius's house, who did droppings dirtier than any dog.

Since Gonzalo de Berceo here says that he read the text concerning San Millán, Weber de Kurlat assumed that this implied that the *Vida de San Millán* had been written earlier than the *Vida de Santo Domingo*; 'lo leí de plan' was to be understood as 'I read it [*scil.*, to you] clearly [i.e., aloud]'. Secondly, she argued that, since the *Vida de Santo Domingo* was longer than the *Vida de San Millán*, it should also be later: 'la mayor extensión dentro de la producción del mismo autor, se ha tomado en cuenta como signo de haber sido compuesta con posterioridad' (greater length has been taken into account as a sign of having been composed later).¹⁰⁵ Thirdly, Weber de Kurlat noted that both *Santo Domingo* and *San Millán* are divided into three books; yet it is only at stanzas 533–35 of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* that Gonzalo gives an explanation for such a division in that the three books as a division of a single *obra* is an image of the Trinity. For Weber de Kurlat, the *Vida de Santo Domingo* offered an amplification of themes and techniques that had been more succinctly dealt with in the *Vida de San Millán*, 'y ya sabemos que el arte medieval es el arte de la *amplificatio*, no de la *abbreviatio*' (and we are already aware that medieval art is the art of *amplificatio*, not that of *abbreviatio*).¹⁰⁶ As an example of this expansion, Weber de Kurlat points to the use that Gonzalo de Berceo makes of short, stanza-length prologues to introduce miracles in the *Vida de Santo Domingo* whereas this is not the case with the miracles in *San Millán*, which are told without the narratorial padding. On a more stylistic level, she notes the prevalence of periphrasis to refer to the saint (e.g., as 'el varón sancto', 'el sancto confessor') in *San Millán* when compared to *Santo Domingo*, and the more varied linguistic and narrative description of cures of paralytics to be found in the latter.¹⁰⁷

None of these arguments are entirely convincing. In the first instance, Gonzalo, at stanza 334 of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, merely informs his audience of a similarity between the story he has read to them and another tale to be found in the *Vita Aemiliani* — which he found clearly stated there (hence 'yo lo leí de plan'). Gonzalo was taking the story from a source; he was not inventing it. There is no sense in which this line must (or can) be construed to mean that his listeners had heard his *Vida de San Millán* before they heard his versification of the life of Saint Dominic. One would expect, in any case, some construction with the verb 'acordar' (to remember) were the poet pointing out that his listeners had already heard the story from him.

Secondly, and rather obviously, the individual length of the works depends much more upon the length of the source material rather than the experience or otherwise of the poet. The *Vida de Santo Domingo* is longer because its

source is much more voluminous — and, one must say, much more stylistically adventurous.

Thirdly, that Berceo explains why the *Vida de Santo Domingo* is divided into three books and leaves the division of the *Vida de San Millán* into three books without any justification does not signal that *Santo Domingo* was composed later in time. The *Vidas* are divided into three books because that was, by Berceo's time, the expected structure for a saint's life (*conversatio, miracula in vita, miracula post mortem*). Gonzalo de Berceo is not, in the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, giving an explanation for why he should adopt such a division. He is, instead, providing a symbolism for it. The reasons for his providing such a symbolism have nothing to do with chronology but much more to do with the audience for whom he was writing. Alleging that this symbolism is 'amplificatio' is a misuse of the term; stressing that medieval art is an art of 'amplificatio' and not 'abbreviatio' is breathtaking in its generalization and inexactitude. As we have seen with Gonzalo de Berceo's treatment of the *Vita Dominici*, at times he amplifies his material but at times he prunes it with all the enthusiasm of a vinedresser.

Fourthly, the greater or lesser use of periphrasis and increased or decreased linguistic variation may respond to a number of stimuli, possibly the least of which is chronology. Berceo, in the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, had more than one narration of a cure of paralysis to present. His material forced variation upon him. The stylistic concerns of the author must be tied to the context in which he is writing; Weber de Kurlat implicitly assumed that this variable could be held constant between the two works. It cannot. As we have argued above, Berceo was writing for an audience trained to appreciate literature when composing the *Vida de Santo Domingo*; yet the *Vida de San Millán* would seem to have been written for the local Riojan peasantry, yeomen and townsfolk. Simplicity in that case would no doubt be a virtue. Implicit, too, in Weber de Kurlat's argument is the assumption that Berceo learnt 'on the job', as he wrote, spinning a national literature from his own entrails where before there was a *terra nullius* or a *tabula rasa*. As we have seen, the very fact of Berceo's writing in the 'naked Castilian', to use Wright's phrase, was a sign of an excellent education, in which he would have been thoroughly immersed in the possibilities of rhetoric.

Finally, as we have already noted, Gonzalo de Berceo uses one-stanza introductions for the miracles he describes during Dominic's lifetime; he abandons these introductions for all but escape-miracles when he turns to Dominic's posthumous miracles; they are absent both from San Millán's miracles *in vita* and those *post mortem* — respectively Gonzalo's Books II and III.¹⁰⁸ Here, if anywhere, there is the sign of an evolution in style. But it is precisely in the opposite direction to that posited by Weber de Kurlat. Berceo, at least within one work, would seem to move from using the one-stanza introduction for all miracles, and then to limit his use of them to give dramatic resonance to certain events. In this point, at least, we may claim that there is

some evidence which points to the *Vida de Santo Domingo*'s having been composed before the *Vida de San Millán*.

We may review our conclusions concerning the *Vida de Santo Domingo*: it is an early work by Gonzalo de Berceo, probably written for the consumption of the royal court and connected to a renewed interest in the cult of Dominic of Silos. The work shows a concern with the niceties of canonical legislation and due process together with a desire to depict the saint and his monks as ideals of thirteenth-century holiness, diminishing or completely removing any elements from the *Vita Dominici* which would go against this impression. The reasons for its production are not to be found in any supposed links that the poet may have had with the monastery of San Millán, and the *Vida de Santo Domingo* was probably written before that of the patron of the Riojan monastery.

The early thirteenth-century interest in Saint Dominic as liberator of captives would, in the last quarter of that century, turn into a remarkable crop of escape miracles which were recorded in the vernacular at Silos. Over seventy escapes were retold in the *Miráculos romançados*, and these accounts tell us much regarding popular devotion to Dominic. In the next chapter, we shall consider the ideological construct of the cult in second half of the thirteenth century, and then, in the chapter following, the role that the shrine recorders played in the organization, structuring and preservation of the tales told to them by captives and others.

NOTES

1. The very title of this chapter, 'Sancto Confessor' is an indication of Berceo's Latinate and therefore learned diction. As Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 25 n. 8, observed, 'En los 18 hemistiquios primeros de *Santo Domingo*, donde *confessor* es la última palabra, siempre hay que leer *confessor*, mientras en los 18 casos donde ocurre como rima, lógicamente hay que leer *confessor*. Esto no ocurre en ninguna de las demás obras de Berceo' (In the first 18 hemistichs of *Santo Domingo* in which *confessor* is the last word, it must be read with the accent upon the penultimate syllable, whilst in the eighteen cases in which it occurs in rhyme-position, it must logically be read with the accent on the final syllable. This does not occur in any of Berceo's other works). Further details of Berceo's learned pronunciation are to be found in Brian Dutton, 'Some Latinisms in the Spanish *Mester de Clerecía*', *Kentucky Romance Quarterly*, 14 (1967), 45-60. An exception to the rule enunciated by Dutton is 72d, where 'confessor', although at the end of the first hemistich, cannot be scanned other than *confessor*. The various forms of the epithet are the following: 'el confessor' (325a, 673a), 'est' confessor' (372d), 'del confessor' (562c, 754c); 'al confessor' (564d, 600c, 643c, 750c); 'del buen confessor' (592c), 'al bon confessor' (605a), 'al buen confessor' (730c), 'el bon confessor' (611a), 'el buen confessor' (621a, 634c, 663a); 'el sancto confessor' (671b).
2. According to John D. Fitz-Gerald, ed., *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos par Gonzalo de Berceo. Édition critique* (Paris: Bouillon, 1904), p. xviii, the *Vida de Santo Domingo* reaches up to folio 17^{VB}, and is then followed, in the same hand by a story of the *Caballeros de Finjosa* of the twelfth century, which reaches to the beginning of folio 18v, and is then followed, still in the same hand, by the last of the *Miráculos romançados*, which reaches to folio 18^{VB}. An eighteenth-century note in the margin reveals, 'Este milagro se a de poner a los 26 milagros romançados que estan al principio.' As Fitz-Gerald

concludes, 'De ceci nous dédirons qu'à un moment donné, avant que les feuillets ne fussent numérotés (car ils sont numérotés de 1 à 18), il y avait des feuillets au commencement qui contenaient des *milagros romanizados* de Pero Marin. Cet état de choses n'existaient plus, bien entendu, à l'époque où Sánchez s'est servi du ms.' Since only twenty-six *miráculos* (out of a total possible number of ninety-one) are referred to, it is probable that the work had suffered material loss in the preceding centuries — perhaps two gatherings. The final *miráculo* of the *Miráculos romançados* was recorded at Silos in AD 1293. It is edited by María de los Llanos Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad de los *Miráculos romançados* de Pedro Marín (1232–1293): el territorio y la esclavitud granadinos', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 21 (1991), 69–97, at p. 95. *Miráculo* 92 is recorded in no other manuscript of the *Miráculos romançados*. The *Vida de Santo Domingo* in H was probably copied to accompany the *Miráculos romançados* (whose penultimate *miráculo*, 91, was recorded in 1287), and therefore dates to any of the seven years between 1287–93. The inclusion in the manuscript of the tale relating to the *Finojosa* family — whose tomb was built in the Silos cloister — indicates that the book was probably designed for recitation to pilgrims in order to inform them of the salient parts of the monastery, both epic and cultic.

3. A description of these manuscripts is given by Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, pp. 18–20; by Aldo Ruffinatto, ed., *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos de Gonzalo de Berceo*, Colección Centro de Estudios 'Gonzalo de Berceo', 3 (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1978), pp. 53–55; and Claudio García Turza, *La tradición manuscrita de Berceo con un estudio filológico particular del MS. 1533 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BN)*, Colección Centro de Estudios 'Gonzalo de Berceo', 4 (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1979), pp. 19–26, 50–55, 60–65. For the date of F, see Lappin, ed., *Berceo's 'Vida de Santa Oria'*, pp. 263–64.
4. But with errors: 'el que dieran a beber : algund mal vino frio' ('ol' has been misread as 'el' and an explicatory 'que' inserted; 'frio' has suffered a lenition of the 'd' from 'frido').
5. Alonso Andrés, ed., *Berceo: Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos. Edición crítico-paleográfica del códice del siglo XIII* (Madrid: Padres Benedictinos, 1958), p. 61, notes that 'Este verso sobre raspadura más corta baja la cual unas treinta letras, cuyo original parece: "Dicien los otros non mas que era deçibido". La letra es de S² en lo sobrescrito y la lectura del original es muy difícil y dudosa' (This verse over shorter scratching beneath which there are some thirty letters, whose original version seems to be: 'The others said no, but that he was deceived'. The hand which has overwritten the scratching is S²'s and the reading of the original is very difficult and doubtful).
6. Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 22; Teresa Labarta Chaves, ed., *Gonzalo de Berceo: Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Clásicos Castalia, 49 (Madrid: Castalia, 1972), p. 161.
7. Ruffinatto, ed., *La Vida de Santo Domingo*, p. 203, ignores the question completely, placing the reading of S² for 509c into the apparatus criticus without comment. Germán Orduna, ed., *Gonzalo de Berceo: Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Biblioteca Anaya, 86 (Salamanca-Madrid: Anaya, 1968), p. 145, does not mention manuscript variation.
8. See Juan Carlos Bayo, 'Problemas de la transmisión textual en los *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*', in *Text and Manuscript in Medieval Spain: Papers from the King's College Colloquium*, ed. by David Hook, King's College London Hispanic Series, 5 (London: King's College, 2000), pp. 51–78; and Anthony Lappin, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Berceo's Works', in *Text and Manuscript in Medieval Spain*, pp. 21–49.
9. Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 22.
10. Andrés, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. xxxviii, was much more cautious regarding the dating of the copy of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* that Castro claimed to have used, merely offering the possibility that it was, at most, sixteenth-century. There is, furthermore, some uncertainty in his expression as to whether this stanza first appeared in Castro's text (before its publication in 1688) or in that of Luis de Ariz, abbot of Valvanera (†1624), in his *Historia de las grandezas de Avila* (Alcalá, 1607): 'Esta copia [scil. del poema de Berceo] que ellos usan nos es conocida por las particularidades que encierra y por la anotación enigmática que el P. Ariz nos da, describiéndola con estas palabras, que saca lo que copia: "... de lo que halla escripto en la *Historia antigua de Santo Domingo* escripta

- por Megia." De ella saca trozos de Berceo y luego Castro, hasta 48 coplas enteras. Ni uno ni otro indican claramente de qué época es la copia o la historia antigua' (this copy [scil. of Berceo's poem] which they use is known to us through the particular readings it contains and by the enigmatic note which Fr Ariz gives us, describing it with these words, that he takes what he copies '...from what he finds written in the *Ancient History of Saint Dominic* written by Megia'. From it he takes sections from Berceo and then Castro, upto forty-eight complete stanzas. Neither one nor the other indicate clearly from what period the copy or ancient history is). It is unclear from Andrés's words whether Ariz is copying Castro, or Castro is independent of Ariz. Andrés assumes that 'Megia' is the name of the copyist of Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo*, but this is not necessarily the case. It is passing strange that the poem should be called an *Historia*, and it may well be that there is an intermediate prose text which purported to be a history of the saint's life and which quoted Berceo's work, attributed to the highly suspect 'Megia'. Works supposedly recounting the life of Dominic were claimed to have existed (such as that by his Catalan disciple, Armengol of Ripoll — for whom see above, Chapter Two, n. 27 at pp. 76–77). These forgeries never have existed and were, rather, invented by authors as a means of enriching their own imaginative work and giving it a pseudo-historical basis. A similar process took place in the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Vid, where one José Bravo in the mid-seventeenth century invented both a poem by Gonzalo de Berceo and a note he claimed was contained in the *Miracula* of Saint Dominic of Silos, to the effect that Dominic of the Preachers had been born a Guzmán and professed as a Premonstratensian canon (neither of which was true): see Anthony Lappin, 'On the Family and Early Years of Saint Dominic of Caleruega', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 67 (1997), 5–26, at pp. 6–15. It should be noted that no independent evidence for the existence of José Bravo has come to light, and he may well be the figment of someone else's imagination.
11. See Lappin, ed., *Berceo's 'Vida de Santa Oria'*, p. 18.
 12. Ruffinatto, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 63.
 13. All quotations of the *Vida de Santo Domingo* are taken from my forthcoming edition.
 14. *Historia Translationis Sancti Isidori*, VI.5, ll. 20–21, ed. Estévez Sola, p. 177, and pp. 135–36 for the date, which is probably towards the later of those two extremes.
 15. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 185, and pp. 188–89.
 16. The words 'todos sanos' refer to the irons. In Peidro's vision of Dominic, the latter informed him that when the time came for him to escape he would see his shackles lying on the floor (*VSD* 723cd). That the shackles fell from the captive even though they did not break is another miraculous element in the escape.
 17. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, III.29, ed. Krusch and Levinson, pp. 125–26.
 18. Olivier Guillot, 'Les saints des peuples et des nations', in *Santi e Demoni nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V–XI)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 36, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989), I, 205–51, at p. 218 and p. 219 n. 43.
 19. The significance of *salvar* may be seen in a passage from the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, §19, ll. 17–24, ed. Brea, pp. 54–55, where the name of a castle, Salvatierra, is seen as a presage of events: 'Saluauit enim terram totam per illud castrum Dominus dupliciter, quoniam aduentus regi Marroquitani in nullo alio nocuit terre in anno illo, cum multa dampna inferre potuisset; preterea captio Salue Terre fuit occasio precipua belli gloriosi quod comissum est in anno sequenti in Nauas de Tolosa, in quo per uirtutem crucis Christi uictus est rex Marroquitanus' (The Lord saved the whole land through that castle in two ways, because the arrival of the king of Morocco did not damage the land in any other way, when he could have wrought much harm; furthermore, the capture of Salva Tierra was the principle pretext of the glorious battle which was fought the following year in Las Navas de Tolosa, in which, through the power of Christ's cross, the king of Morocco was defeated).
 20. Germán Colón Doménech, 'Occitanismos', in *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, 3 vols (Madrid: CSIC, 1959), II, 153–192, at p. 155. The form 'espannón' may have preceded it; or, conversely, the form may have been itself an augmentative reaction against the

- pejorative connotations of the diminutive 'hispaniolus'; the normal Latin form was 'hispanus'; 'more hispanico' was used by Jiménez de Rada according to José Antonio Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1954), p. 537. 'Hispani' meant only Spanish Christians for the author of the *Carmen de Almería*, ll. 1–2, ed. Castro Guisasaola, p. 48, 'Convenere duces Hispani Francigenaeque: Per mare, per terras Maurorum bella requirunt' (trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 250, 'The leaders of the Hispanic and French peoples arrived together; by land and sea they seek to do battle with the Moors').
21. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Cantar de mio Cid*, 3 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1945), II, 668. Cf. Maravall, *El concepto de España*, pp. 505–14.
 22. 'En buen ora fuestes nado', 'que en buen punto nació', *Poema de mio Cid*, l. 266 and ll. 294, 3068, ed. Michael, pp. 98, 99, 275. The phrasing entered into the *cuaderna vía* repertoire: Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, III, 768.
 23. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 77, citing Alexander II, *Epistolae*, §101, PL 146, 386–87.
 24. Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 106.
 25. *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, §26, ll. 59–72, ed. Brea, p. 66.
 26. Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: the Saints in the Italian City States*, International Library of Historical Studies, 4 (London: Tauris, 1996), p. 135, 'The identity of the chief patron, to whom the commune would require its citizens and subject communities to render ceremonial obedience, was established by 1200'. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 48, notes that it was legally established that the standard of Saint Lambert should be carried into battle by the Liegeois by the second half of the thirteenth century, and that the standard of Saint Corneille, taken from his shrine, was probably carried into battle by the local inhabitants of Ninove.
 27. On Berceo's representation of sanctity, see Ángeles García de la Borbolla, 'El ideal de santidad en la obra hagiográfica de Gonzalo de Berceo', *Hagiographica: Rivista di Agiografia e Biografia della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medio Evo Latino*, 4 (1997), 155–77.
 28. A similar list was given regarding 'Gerald of Salles, who died in 1120 but whose *Life* was written in the thirteenth century, [who] was compared to John the Baptist, Paul, Hilarion and above all Christ' (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought*, p. 183). John the Baptist was considered to be the founder of monasticism by many of the early Fathers and was held up as an exemplar of the monastic life: *ibid*, p. 175.
 29. A comparison between the Latin and vernacular regarding this section has been made by Olivia Suszynski, *The Hagiographic-Thaumaturgic Art of Gonzalo de Berceo: the Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Colección Blanquerna (Barcelona: Hispam, 1976), pp. 100–102; and Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, 203–206; Arturo M. Ramoneda Salas, 'Comparación entre la "Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos" de Berceo y la de Grimaldo', tesina bajo la dirección de Dr. José Fradejas Lebrero (s. d., s. l., held by Abadía de Silos, Biblioteca, BL-a/7-12), p. 93.
 30. This text was probably not present in a lost manuscript of the *Vita Dominici* (see below, p. 403). Both before and after his narration of the miracle, Gonzalo points towards oral sources at the shrine: Dominic 'fizo más de bienes | que non diz la leyenda' (VSD 375b; performed more good things than the hagiography says), and at VSD 385–86 he writes:

Si de oír miráculos | avedes grand sabor,
 corred al monesterio | del sancto confessor:
 por oio los veredes, | sabervos an meior
 ca cutiano los façe, | gracias al criador.
 Y fallaredes muchos | que son end sabidores,
 siquiere de mancebos, | siquiere de mayores.
 Deçirvos an mil pares | de tales e meiores:
 qui sacarlos quisiere | busque escrividores.

If you have great pleasure in hearing miracle-stories, run to the holy confessor's monastery: you will see them with your eyes, you will have more pleasure from them, for everyday he performs them, thanks to the Creator. You will find many people there who know of them, whether youths or old men. They will tell you of thousands, like these and better: whoever wishes to collect them, let him get hold of scribes.

- When Berceo again invokes an oral account in the *Vida de San Millán*, he points his listeners to an oral source, which, this time, is formed by the trustworthy monks of San Millán themselves, 'personas coronadas | que son bien de creer' (*San Millán*, 487d; tonsured men of consequence, who are trustworthy). For similar invocations of the authority of witnesses, often monks, see Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes', pp. 151–53.
31. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*, §19, ed. by T. Graesse (2nd edn, Leipzig: Arnoldiana, 1850), p. 103, 'Excolebat autem sanctus Felix hortum, quidam vero olera ejus rapere cupientes, dum furtum se facere cogitabant, tota nocte hortum diligentius excolebant, mane autem a sancto Felice salutati peccatum suum confitentes ad propria redierunt' (Saint Felix tended a kitchen garden; some people, wishing to steal its fruits, whilst they thought they were stealing, tended the garden most carefully; in the morning, greeted by Saint Felix, they confessed their sin and went home). The humorous aspects have been added to the version recorded of Dominic.
 32. Pelagius Parvus, a Portuguese Dominican, † c.1250, cited by Maria Cândida Monteiro Pacheco, 'Exegese e pregação em dois autores portugueses do século XIII: Santo António e Frei Paio', in her *Santo António de Lisboa. Da Ciência da Escritura ao Livro da Natureza*, Temas Portugueses (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1997), pp. 71–82, at pp. 80–81 (the article was first published as 'Exégèse et prédication chez deux auteurs portugais du XIII^e siècle: saint Antoine et frère Pelagius' in *De l'Homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale. Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 juillet 1992)*, ed. J. Hamesse and X. Hermand, Université Catholique de Louvain, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales: Textes, Études, Congrès, 14 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993)).
 33. Trans. by R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, 14 (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p. 30.
 34. For *criado* meaning 'student (of a master)', cf. *VSD* 59d, 'el maestro fue bueno | e nutrió buen criado'; the line refers to Saint Aemilianus and his hermit teacher, Felix.
 35. The white found in crystal was, for Berceo as for his contemporaries, a colour associated with the heavenly: in his *Vida de San Millán*, the eponymous saint and Santiago both appear to do battle on steeds which are whiter than crystal (*San Millán*, 438a). Concerning the white river, Berceo may have mistaken the *lactis* of the original for *lapis*, a relatively easy mistake to make given his expressed unfamiliarity with the Visigothic script in which

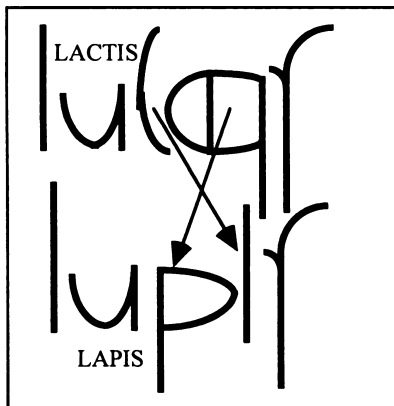
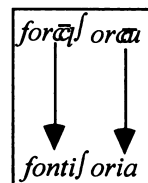


Figure 11 (left):
lactis and *lapis* in Visigothic script.

Figure 12 (below):
Fortis orta vs. *Fontis oria*.



- his original was undoubtedly written (cf. *VSD* 609bcd), since the letter 'c' and the ligature 't-i' form what is close to an inverse-image of the letters 'pP' (see figure 11). A similar misreading would seem to lie behind *VSD* 581c, 'natural de Fuent Oria', where the Latin bears 'ex uilla qui dicitur Fortis orta' (II.7.1, p. 332; cf. Valcárcel, p. 333, note 1). The *r* of *fortis* was read as an *n* and the *t* of *orta* as an *i* (see figure 12). According to José Cortés, 'El mundo poético de Gonzalo de Berceo en la *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* (The Poetic World of Gonzalo de Berceo in the *Life of Saint Dominic of Silos*)', unpublished PhD. thesis, Florida State University, 1972, p. 95, Berceo used red and white because 'no conoce más que estos dos colores, los del vino de su tierra natal, tinto y blanco' (He knows only these two colours, those of the wine of the land where he was born, red and white). For further ruminations upon Berceo's relationship to Rioja wine, see Cortés, pp. 80–85.
36. Brian Dutton, '¿Ha estado Gonzalo de Berceo en Silos?', *Berceo*, 16 (1961), 111–14, at p. 12; but there is no reason that it should.
 37. José J. Bautista Merino Urritia, 'El retroceso y el cultivo de la vid en la Rioja Alta y su límite actual', *Berceo*, 11 (1956), 425–28, at p. 425; Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 1.
 38. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 2 n. 1 cites the manuscript by Abbot Gerónimo de Nebreda, *De el monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, sus principios y sucesos* of 1578, which describes Silos in the following terms: 'Esta rodeado el lugar de grandes montes, altos y muy asperos collados y esteriles peñas; por lo qual es la tierra muy esteril de pan y totalmente de vino, si bien abundante de ganados, yelos, nieves y frios, bien sana por la pureza de los ayres' (The place is surrounded by large mountains, high and steep hills and barren peaks; because of this wheat is very scarce in the land and wine completely absent, although the land abounds in flocks of sheep, frosts, snowfalls and cold, [and is] quite healthy through the purity of the air).
 39. Weber de Kurlat, 'La "visión" de Santo Domingo', p. 499 n. 24, rhetorically asked whether Dominic's being met mid-way on the bridge was '¿símbolo de la vida todavía en curso, que no ha llegado a la vida eterna?' (a symbol of life still being lived, life which has not reached eternal life). It thus removes any idea of the judgement to come.
 40. An increase in Marian devotion at Silos was witnessed over the twelfth century, where the presence of the Virgin in the sculpted bas-reliefs of the cloister became more prevelant, the last two of which focus on her: cf. Walker, *Views of Transition*, p. 78.
 41. See Vauchez, *La Spiritualité au Moyen Age*, p. 89.
 42. Petrus Ferrandi, *Legenda Beati Dominici*, §36, ed. by M.-H. Laurent, OP, in *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici*, Fasc. II, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, 16 (Rome: Ordo Praedicatorum, 1935), pp. 209–60, at p. 236.
 43. The practice of increasing the number of visions of saints is witnessed in some thirteenth-century hagiography. Thus Constantine of Orvieto, when composing his life of Dominic of the Preachers, included a description of a revelation made by God to Dominic that Reginaldus had been cured by Dominic's prayers, a description which is lacking from his sources. See Constantinus Orvetensis, *Legenda Beati Dominici Confessoris*, §32, ed. by M.-H. Laurent, OP, in *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici*, Fasc. II, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, 16 (Rome: Ordo Praedicatorum, 1935), pp. 286–352, at p. 309, 'servum Dei Dominicum, in oratione absentialiter positum, Deo sibi revelante non latuit' (it was revealed by God to the servant of God, Dominic, who was praying somewhere else). The detail is not found in Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. by H.-C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici*, Fasc. II, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, 16 (Rome: Ordo Praedicatorum, 1935), pp. 1–88, at p. 53, or Petrus Ferrandi's *Legenda*, ed. Laurent, p. 237.
 44. Perhaps a recollection of Saint Benedict: Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.16, ed. de Vogüé, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 260, pp. 184–86.
 45. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 17–18. Contemporary miracles concerning the eucharist were recorded by Caesarius of Heisterbach in his *Dialogue on Miracles*, tr. H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1929), II, 111–19.
 46. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 18–19.

47. See pp. 228 and 355, below.
48. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.58.1, ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 265, p. 196.
49. See Richard Terry Mount's summary of medieval teachings on light by the time of Berceo: '(1) light is the principle of being and excellence; (2) it is the substantial form of the universe that provides it with its continuity; (3) it is the highest and noblest of corporeal things; and (4) it is the principle by which the intellect understands. Everything good is of the nature of light or is light itself. Light takes the forms of uncreated spiritual light (God), created spiritual light (the celestial host), intellectual light, and corporeal light', in his 'Oria's Second Vision and María Rosa Lida's Emendations', *Crítica Hispánica*, 3 (1981), 159–64, at p. 160.
50. *Evangelii Nicodemi pars altera, sive Descensus Christi ad Inferos, Latine A* (V.3), in C. Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia Apocrypha sive de Evangeliorum Apocryphorum origine et usu* (The Hague, 1851), pp. 368–395, at pp. 377–378.
51. The depiction of Dominic's miracles is considered by Fernando Baños Vallejo, 'Lo sobrenatural en la Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos', *Berceo*, 110–11 (1986), 21–32. Since Baños Vallejo does not compare the vernacular with the Latin, his conclusions differ from mine, although he rightly comments, at p. 31, in the light of *VSD* 684, that 'hay que admitir cierta intención propagandística en los milagros de the Vida de Santo Domingo, pero es por lo menos imprudente afirmar que esa sea la única o siquiera la primordial finalidad de la obra' (one needs must admit a certain propagandistic intention in the miracles of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, but it is at the very least imprudent to affirm that this is the only or even the principal end of the work).
52. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 191.
53. Adriaan H. Bredaro, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History*, trans. by Reinder Bruinsma (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), pp. 47–48; Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, p. 73.
54. Bishop Albert was head of the papal commission of inquiry into Edmund's sanctity, and recorded his experiences in his *Historia canonizationis*: see C. H. Lawrence, *Saint Edmund of Abingdon: a Study of Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 15, 18, and 47. Edmund was canonized in 1246, following the judgement of a commission which included the Spanish canonist, Vincentius Hispanus, as well as John of Toledo, Robert Grosseteste and Alexander of Hales: C. H. Lawrence, *The Life of Saint Edmund by Matthew Paris* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1996), p. 97.
55. See Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, pp. 56–56, and esp. pp. 124–25.
56. Cf. Suszynski, *The Hagiographic-Thaumaturgic Art*, pp. 153–54.
57. For the previous discussion of this passage, see Suszynski, *The Hagiographic-Thaumaturgic Art*, pp. 162–66; Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, pp. 247–48.
58. Although Berceo depicted Diago as being chained, he balked at thus depicting Ofresa, an earlier *demoniada* (*VSD* 614–15; cp. II.14.4, p. 342). A wish to distinguish between the treatment proper to males and females may also have provided a motivation for his alteration to the present tale.
59. The exorcism in Berceo's formulation bears a marked similarity with the account in the *Miracula Rudesindi*, §32, ed. by Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilarinho Pintos, p. 210, ll. 1046–1055, 'Cum autem post multum temporis spatium esset multipliciter his etiam incommotis et cruciatibus fatigata, diuina miserante gratia audiuit et diuina eam reuelatio monuit ut ad sepulcrum sancti Rudesindi episcopi quantocius deueniret et ibi per ipsius suffragia reciperet a domino sanitatem. Quid plura? Venit Galleciam, quesivit monasterium, inuenit locum, pulsauit et intrauit, ibique per dies aliquot in orationibus et uigiliis perseverans salutem quam diu optauerat gloriosi Rudesindi meritis impetrauit et sic operante Christo incolumis ad propria remeauit' (And when, after a long while, she had been worn down by these many discomforts and torments, through the merciful grace of God, she heard and was advised, through a divine revelation, that she should go as quickly as she could to the grave of the holy bishop Rudesindus and there, through his intercession, she would receive her health from the Lord. What more? She came to Galicia, she asked for the monastery, she found the place, she knocked and entered, and remaining there for some days in prayers and vigils, she received the health so long desired through the merits

- of the glorious Rudesindus and thus, though Christ's doing, she returned home cured). The addition may otherwise be a recollection of the exorcism detailed in *Vita Dominici* II.32, in which the *inergumena* was forced to fast every day except Sunday. This is unlikely, since the manuscript that was Berceo's source did not include this miracle.
60. Thomas de Celano, *Vita prima Sancti Francisci*, ed. by Eduardus Alenconiensis, OFM Cap., *Sancti Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, additis opusculis liturgicis* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc., 1906), pp. 3–152, at p. 142, ll. 24–26 (and, for 1.25–26, p. 70, l. 17 – p. 71, l. 11, esp. p. 70, ll. 25–27); Thomas of Celano, *The First Life of Saint Francis of Assisi*, trans. by Christopher Stace (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2000), p. 136 (and pp. 68–69 for 1.25–26); for another translation, see *Saint Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies*, trans. by Marian A. Habig (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973), pp. 227–355, at pp. 238–87 and pp. 346–47).
 61. *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, §5, ed. by R. O. Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963), pp. 48–49, ll. 104–08.
 62. *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniarde*, trans. by David Rowland of Angelsey (1st edn, 1586), ed. by Keith Whitlock, *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2000), p. 151.
 63. *Poema de mio Cid*, l. 1, ed. Michael, p. 75.
 64. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 130–31.
 65. *Poema de Mio Cid*, l. 410, ed. Michael, p. 108.
 66. *Miracula Zoyli*, §§9 and 13, at pp. 501, 503–04.
 67. Joel Saugnieux, 'Culture populaire et culture savante dans l'œuvre de Berceo (problèmes de méthode)', in *II Jornadas de estudios berceanos. Actas*, Berceo, 95–96 (Logroño: Servicio de Cultura de la Excmá Diputación Provincial, 1978), pp. 65–84, at p. 76; cf. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 3.
 68. Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 229.
 69. For a discussion of this point, see Lappin, ed., *Berceo's 'Vida de Santa Oria'*, pp. 26–31.
 70. Suszynski, *The Hagiographic-Thaumaturgic Art*, p. 128.
 71. For example, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 138cd; *Vida de San Millán*, 302ab.
 72. On the topic of the 'good death' in medieval hagiography, see Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Mediæval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 59. Dominic's death is described and compared with that of San Millán with reference to the vernacular accounts alone by Andrew M. Beresford, "'Exir d'este mal siglo": a Study of the Relationship between Death and Female Sanctity in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Verse Hagiography', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1997, pp. 51–54.
 73. Another epic resonance (or at least language with which the aristocracy would have felt at home): cf. *Poema de Mio Cid*, l. 267, 'Por malos mestureros | de tierra sodes echado' (ed. Michael, p. 98; by evil counsellors are you exiled from the land).
 74. A practice favoured by Berceo's contemporary, Saint Dominic of the Preachers (†1221), as recorded on a stone in the choir in front of the altar of Santa Sabina in Rome.
 75. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, II.21.1–2, ll. 1–16, ed. de Vogüé, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 260, p. 198.
 76. See Henry Mendeloff, 'La disensión conventual en Berceo', *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cueva*, 30 (1975), 249–58; Mendeloff inexplicably fails to mention this section of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*, although he does discuss, at pp. 253–56, Dominic's experiences when given the care of Santa María de Cañas and his later removal from San Millán.
 77. See Vauchez, *La Spiritualité au Moyen Age*, pp. 36–37.
 78. See, for example, Aldo Ruffinatto's 'Nota introductoria' to his edition of *Santo Domingo* in Gonzalo de Berceo, *Obra completa*, ed. by Isabel Uría Maqua, Clásicos castellanos, nueva serie (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1992), pp. 253–56, at p. 253. The *carta de hermandad* was first signed in July 1190; for both documents, see Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954–1254)*, doc. n.º 77, pp. 111–12, and doc. n.º 131, pp. 198–200.
 79. García Turza and García Turza, *Una nueva visión*, doc. n.º 47, p. 88 (AD 1237).

80. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954-1254)*, doc. n°. 46, p. 60; doc. n°. 34, p. 43, although the existence of the latter has been doubted by R. Molina Piñedo, 'La hermandad entre el cabildo catedral de Sigüenza y el monasterio de Silos', *Wad-Al-Hayara*, 7 (1980), 223-28; yet Sigüenza is a region in which devotion to Dominic was highest during that period (see fig. 5), and so there is nothing *prima facie* against such an alliance.
81. There is a problem with dating this miracle: the date at the beginning of the account is given as the equivalent of AD 1232, and Pelayo the captive was imprisoned for four years. As shown below (pp. 372-74), most of the dates that begin accounts in the earliest part of the *Miráculos romançados* signify the date of capture. On this reckoning, Pelayo escaped in 1236. Some dates do indicate the date of escape, however, and Pelayo's capture is not detailed in the account, which would mean that Pelayo escaped in 1232 after four years of servitude — a dating which can only strengthen my argument that Berceo was not composing this work in close connection to Silos. The miracle would seem to have subsisted in the monastery's oral tradition before it was given permanence in a written form, and so Berceo was writing without recent first-hand knowledge of the shrine.
82. On the probable meaning of 'latín' as Romance, see Roger Wright, 'Latin and "ladino"', pp. 265-76. It is most unlikely that the Moor spoke Latin to a figure that surprised him, although were he in fact to have done so, the elegance of his mind, if not his practical sense, would be highly admirable. One may compare the 'moro latinado' of *Poema de Mio Cid*, l. 2667, ed. Michael, p. 252, who is a undoubtedly a Moor who understands Romance.
83. The number recalls the one hundred and fifty-three fish taken by Peter after Christ's resurrection, according to John 21, 11; but one hundred and fifty is simply ten times the number of captives Muhammad claimed to have lost. He may himself have gilded the lily. He did not convert to Christianity after seeing the statue, so the story must be true — but see below, p. 377, for the evolution of the story at Silos.
84. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954-1254)*, doc. n°. 117-20, pp. 176-83 (10/15-viii).
85. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954-1254)*, doc. n°. 121-22, pp. 184-88 (30-ix).
86. A. García Solalinde, 'Gonzalo de Berceo y don Tello', *Revista de Filología Española*, 9 (1922), 398-400; Brian Dutton, 'Gonzalo de Berceo: unos datos biográficos', *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. by Frank Pierce and Cyril A. Jones (Oxford: Dolphin, 1964), pp. 249-54.
87. Pedro M. Cátedra, 'Del sacrificio de la misa: edición y comentario', in Gonzalo de Berceo, *Obra completa*, ed. by Isabel Uría Maqua, Clásicos Castellanos, nueva serie (Madrid: Espasa Calpe - Gobierno de la Rioja, 1992), pp. 933-1033, at pp. 937-38.
88. Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, pp. 20-34, and, more recently, 'A Papal Legation and its Aftermath. Cardinal John of Abbeville in Spain and Portugal, 1228-1229', in *A Ennio Cortese*, ed. by Domenico Maffei, 2 vols (Rome: Il Cigno, 2001), II, 236-56, particularly p. 249 and n. 63 for his sojourn at Calahorra (before the beginning of June, but probably after the end of March). The document at Bañares was signed 21 June 1228, when the legate had already gone to Burgos (he issued a document in San Pedro de Cardena on 8 June). Gonzalo de Berceo's reappearance as priest of Berceo in a San Millán document of 1237 was immediately after Juan Pérez's death in Rome during the January of that year.
89. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (954-1254)*, doc. n°. 119, p. 180; cf. 122, p. 187.
90. Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 208. There is also a parish church dedicated to Dominic in another of Fernando's conquests, Córdoba: Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 322.
91. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación*, doc. n°. 120, p. 182.
92. Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, pp. 11, 69, 146-47, 268.
93. *Poema de mio Cid*, ll. 3734-35, ed. Michael, pp. 310-11.
94. Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 8 (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982), p. 244.
95. Francisco Rico, 'La clerecía del mester', *Hispanic Review*, 53 (1985), 1-23, 127-150, esp. pp. 21-23.
96. Stanzas 1-2, *El libro de Alexandre. Texts of the Paris and the Madrid Manuscripts prepared with an Introduction*, ed. Raymond S. Willis (Princeton, New Jersey-Paris:

Princeton University Press–Presses Universitaires de France, 1934), p. 2; I quote the Medinaceli manuscript with corrections.

97. Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, p. 147.
98. Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, p. 31.
99. Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, p. 245.
100. That is, by seeing first their own vernacular treated in such a fashion, they would be able to distinguish more clearly between the pronunciation of Romance and that of the Latin texts they were expected to read in public. Wright has suggested that early French was written for Germanic speakers familiar with the pronunciation of Medieval Latin to become accustomed to the pronunciation of French Romance, in *Late Latin and Early Romance*, p. 123; see also his 'The purposes of the glosses of San Millán and Silos', in his *Early Ibero-Romance: Twenty-one Studies on Language and Texts from the Iberian Peninsula between the Roman Empire and the Thirteenth Century*, Juan de la Cuesta Hispanic Monographs, Estudios lingüísticos, 5 (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1994), pp. 209–19, at p. 216.
101. 'Hoc opus [...] non sermonem exactum vel subtilem prurientibus scolarium auribus promittentes sed quasi rudes omelias rudibus rudi proponendas', Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B.15.21, quoted by Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, p. 49, note 1; my italics.
102. See, most recently, Roger Wright, *El tratado de Cabreros (1206): estudio sociofilológico de una reforma ortográfica*, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 19 (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2000), esp. pp. 99–122, and also his *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 238, 258.
103. Cf. Wright's description of Juan Díaz (†1246), chancellor to Fernando III, in *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 257–59, and furthermore the Silos document recorded in Clunia (Coruña del Conde), concerning the border dispute over Uranave, the results of the *pesquisa* being in Romance, the penalties and signatures in Latin, both languages clearly differentiated between each other: Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación*, doc. n.º. 121 (29–XI–1233), pp. 184–86.
104. Frida Weber de Kurlat, 'Notas para la cronología y composición literaria de las Vidas de Santos de Berceo', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 15 (1961), 113–30.
105. Weber de Kurlat, 'Notas para la cronología', p. 115 n. 9.
106. Weber de Kurlat, 'Notas para la cronología', p. 117.
107. Weber de Kurlat, 'Notas para la cronología', pp. 123–30.
108. Weber de Kurlat, 'Notas para la cronología', p. 123.

CHAPTER 8

SANTO DOMINGO QUE SACO LOS CAPTIVOS THE DOMINIC OF THE *MIRÁCULOS ROMANÇADOS*

The key witness to the cult of Dominic is provided by the *Miráculos romançados*, a shrine-book offering a roughly chronological record of the miracles attested at the saint's tomb. The collection itself is not a literary work in the same way that both the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis* and the *Vida de Santo Domingo* might be said to be. Yet, in its own way, the *Miráculos romançados* are as striking and important a collection as the equally unwieldy *Cantigas de Santa Maria* assembled under Alfonso X. The vast majority of narrations concern escapes, either from the Moors (sixty-six in total) or from Christian ministers of justice (five). There are, moreover, three cures, two miracles connected specifically to the tomb-cult, and one miracle which illustrated the saint's protection of the monastery's flocks.¹ The liberations and cures are not spread uniformly throughout the period that the collection covers, but are most common between 1277 and 1287, with forty-four miracles being recorded in 1285. The existence of the *Miráculos* has been linked to the chronic instability of the frontier after the arrival of the Marinids from North Africa in 1262.²

The text is currently extant in three manuscripts: Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 12 (*S*, containing the copies of the *Vita Dominici* and the *Vida de Santo Domingo* also denominated by that letter); and Madrid, Real Academia de la Lengua, ms. 5 (*M*). A fragment containing only *miráculo* 92, which is not contained in either of the other manuscripts is preserved in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. H-18 (*H*), folio 18, after the *Vida de Santo Domingo* by Berceo, with a note associating it to a copy of the *Miráculos romançados* that at one time were included at the beginning of the codex.³ The inclusion of the single narration of a miracle in *H* after a separate, but related, work, is evidence to show that the collection had closed in 1287. Although *miráculo* 92 supposedly took place in 1284, it was reported at the monastery in 1293, indicating that no miracles had come to the notice of the monks during the six and a half years between the recording of *miráculos* 91 and 92. The copying of *S* and the lost *H*, then, probably took place after 1287 but before 1293.

Although it would be tempting to situate the copying of *M* also to between 1287 and 1293, *M* suppresses an account contained in *S* (52: 2253–2279, pp.

119–20), no doubt because its fabulous details and folkloric air made it unsuitable for inclusion in a collection that aimed at truthfulness, or at least verisimilitude. *Miráculo* 92 is another tale of dubious pedigree, and so it was undoubtedly excluded for exactly the same reasons as Dominic's miraculous duelling over captives with a hapless and incredibly stupid Moor, the fictional Aboaçan of Granada (52: 2256–59, p. 119; see below, pp. 289–90). Furthermore, the language used in *M* points strongly towards a fourteenth-century date for its copying.⁴

Historians recognize the capital importance of the information the *Miráculos* offer regarding the conditions of captives held by Moors during the late thirteenth century.⁵ The accounts can cast light on the rise of religious orders such as the Trinitarians and Mercedarians whose task it was to redeem captives from what were clearly earthly hells.⁶ Captives' lives were overshadowed by the constant terror of beatings and whippings, tortures at times motivated by the desire to increase their servility, at times intended to break them, physically and psychologically, into agreeing to an inflated redemption price with the sole aim of bringing enormous profit to their owners. The details that the *Miráculos* yield to the historian are valuable, since the seizure of captives by Moors was 'so persistent and ordinary [...] that individual instances of capture rarely elicit much notice beyond allusions in chronicles and wills'.⁷ The accounts show the misery in which captives lived, the unremitting and degrading labour that was forced upon them, their constant hunger since they received food poor in quality and exiguous in quantity, their constant wearing of irons, their nocturnal imprisonment in insalubrious dungeons and filthy cisterns where they would be further bound to stocks or chained with others.

The captive's lot was unhappy, their treatment inhumane, their lives miserable. Yet the description of the captives' state was not the primary reason for the recording of those details now so eagerly sought by social historians; such details were incidentals, taken down for a purpose other than the end for which they are now used. The purpose of these accounts was to show, as the title of the work explicitly reads, 'cómo sacó Santo Domingo los cativos de captividad' (ll. 1–2, p. 39; how Saint Dominic freed the prisoners from captivity) through, in the main, miraculous means. The background of Muslim-inflicted misery is merely that: a background, against which the miraculous may shine out. Yet of the two historians to have taken a postivist view of the collection, Cossio dismissed the miraculous element and Martínez Carrillo fails to mention it.⁸ And with good reason. Since their aim has been to display the historicity of the details, the supernatural and marvellous can find no place within such a frame. Regrettably for projects such as theirs, proper consideration of the miraculous element in the accounts leads to a considerably different view regarding the trustworthiness of some incidental details. Martínez Carrillo regards *miráculos* 68 and 75 — accounts of the same escape from the Moors — as 'absolutamente complementarias' (wholly complementary), but of which standard, unfortunately, they fall far short, as we shall

see.⁹ In the present analysis of the *Miráculos romançados*, I concentrate on the extraordinary aspect. To this end, I shall consider the conception held of the saint by his devotees; the purpose and function of the shrine in this latter stage of the cult and the nature of the supernatural liberations, as revealed through the comparison of accounts of captives who escaped together. I end with a discussion of the ends to which such miracle stories might be put. In the following chapter I will discuss the more mundane subjects of the role of the shrine recorders in compiling the collection and their ordering of the narratives provided by captives.

THE IDEA OF SAINT DOMINIC AMONGST HIS DEVOTEES

The *Miráculos romançados* were not written with the intention of disclosing an understanding of the saint. They were written with the ideological and religious intent of preserving and publicising the 'mighty deeds' that were being worked at the time. Yet the conception of Dominic and his *virtus* is the *sine qua non* of the whole *opus*. The saint's marvellous freeing of a prisoner gave that captive's sufferings a significance which required that they were recorded and which, furthermore, produced the circumstances by which they could be recorded. Although the first two narrations in the collection date from the 1230s, the majority of accounts are from a short period in the final third of the thirteenth century. The escape-miracles which form the *raison d'être* of the collection are highly structured. They are not the unbidden account given by returning captives and taken down word-for-word by an amanuensis who acted as a medieval dictaphone. The narratives are the end products of an interaction between shrine-recorders and former captives, the result of the precise questioning of the freed captive by the monks at the shrine, an interrogation which might be best considered a de-briefing. The details established by this method were only then put into a sequential narrative. At times the supernatural events narrated would be normalized to conform to an established canon of expectations, although the recorders do not seem to have concerned themselves with harmonizing accounts of the same escape.

Dominic's thaumaturgic activity had, by the late twelfth or thirteenth century, come to be specialized in the liberation of captives. This specialization gathered around itself the particular nexus of related beliefs concerning the activity and intervention of the saint which we have seen expressed by Gonzalo de Berceo. Interest remained high even after Gonzalo had composed the *Vida de Santo Domingo*: a hand in the Silos copy of the vernacular hagiography was careful to rubricate 'El primer cativo que sacó en su vida' (The first captive he freed during his life) and, of the three posthumous miracles that the same hand chose to rubricate, two are concerned with the liberation of captives: 'Commo sacó a Servant de cativo' (How he freed Serván), and 'Por esta razón cantan tibi laus quando viene cativo' (For this reason *Tibi laus* is sung when a captive arrives).¹⁰ Notions of Dominic as

liberator of captives and protector of Castile were expressed by Fernando III, Alfonso X and Sancho IV; these constructions of the saint's sanctity were reflected in the attributes Dominic held for the populace, but given wider and more far-reaching expression.

Fernando III identified Dominic specifically as the liberator of captives, and associated that function with the monastery and with the saint's tomb, as we have seen in the tale of Mahómat's vision of Dominic (2: 63–64, p. 40). The future Alfonso X, with good humour and no little irony, pardoned an *escudero* who had managed to evade his guards and reach the tomb.¹¹ Sancho IV did the same for a cleric accused of counterfeiting and murder.¹² The concept of Dominic as an authentic liberator of captives reached the highest figures in the land. Those who claimed Dominic's assistance in evading their guards and reaching his tomb were pardoned their crimes, even by local justices (54: 2444–49, pp. 124–25).

Yet Dominic had a higher calling, and this was displayed in his treatment of Alfonso X, who visited Silos on his way to quell a rebellion in the Basque country in 1255.¹³ According to the account in *miráculo* 4, he prayed on his knees during mass at the shrine. After mass was over, he rose, and placed his hand upon the tomb, saying, '¡Ay, sennor Santo Domingo! Pídote merçet por aquella gracia que dios quiso poner en ti de fazer mucha merçet a la christiandat, que ruegues al nuestro Sennor que me ayude contra los mios enemigos. Et si tú me ayudas, prométote que dé a la tu casa un don qual non dio rey en este monesterio' (4: 187–93, p. 44; Oh, lord Saint Dominic! I beg your mercy for that grace which God placed in you to do much good for Christendom, that you ask our Lord to help me against my enemies. And if you help me, I promise you that I shall give your house a gift such as a king has never given in this monastery). Dominic was invested with a particular power, a *gracia*, which extended over Christian lands, and which was specifically given to him by God. The king slept in the infirmary that night, and, towards dawn, received a vision in which Dominic appeared to him in a bright light.

Dixo, 'Don Alfonso, ¿dormides?' Dixo el rey, 'No, ¿e qui sodes vós?' Dixo, 'Yo só Santo Domingo.' Dixo el rey, 'Ay, sennor, datme acá essas manos e besárvoslas é.' Santo Domingo tendió el braço e dixo, 'Don Alfonso, estat muy pagado, ca lo que me anoche rogastes acabado vos lo é del nuestro Sennor Iesu Christo.' Dixo el rey, 'E sennor, ¿cómo me conviene a mí bevir con los reyes que están çerca de mios regnados?' Dixo Santo Domingo, 'Don Alfonso, ¿leyestes vós el psalterio?' Dixo el rey, 'Sí, leí.' '¿Pues non leystes en el segundo salmo, "Reges eos in virga ferrea et tanquam vas friguli costringes eos"? Assi vos conviene a vos bevir con los reyes e con los príncipes que tenedes redor de vos.' Dixo el rey, '¿Fata cuánto tienpo será esto conplido que vos lo rogué que pidiesses a dios?' Santo Domingo mostró-l una verga en que avía en ella tres torçeduras, e dixo-l, 'Don Alfonso, a cabo d'estas tres torçeduras será conplido.' Dixo el rey, '¿Será fata tres annos?' Dixo Santo Domingo,

'Fata .iiii. lunationes conplidas será todo conplido lo que a mí rogastes.' Despertó el rey, e vio que era el alva, e mandó que lamassen al abbat.

He said, 'Don Alfonso, are you sleeping?' The king said, 'No, and who are you?' He said, 'I am Saint Dominic.' The king said, 'O, lord, give me here those hands and I will kiss them.' Saint Dominic held out his arm and said, 'Don Alfonso, be very happy, for that which you asked me for last night I have gained for you from our Lord Jesus Christ.' The king said, 'And lord, how should I live with the kings that are near to my kingdoms?' Saint Dominic said, 'Don Alfonso, have you read the psalter?' The king said, 'Yes, I have.' 'Then did you not read in the second psalm, *Reges eos in virga ferrea et tanquam vas friguli costringes eos* (Psalm 2, 9: You shall herd them like sheep with a crook of iron and break them in pieces like earthenware)? You should live thus with the kings and princes that you have around you.' The king said, 'After how long will this be achieved for which I prayed you to ask God?' Saint Dominic showed him a stick in which there were three twists, and said to him, 'Don Alfonso, at the end of these three twists it will be accomplished.' The king said, 'Will it be after three years?' Saint Dominic said, 'After three full cycles of the moon all that you asked me will be accomplished.' The king woke and saw that it was dawn, and ordered that the abbot be called.

Dominic appears with a rod, a *virga*, recalling the visions from the *Vita Dominici* wherein the saint appeared with his *baculum*, his abbatial staff. Yet in Alfonso's vision this staff was not a support for the saint's steps, but rather the instrument of prophecy. There may have been some oniric, imagistic interference from Moses' staff and Dominic, as the liberator of captives, had already come to be compared with Moses himself, carrying a *virga* (see above, p. 203). Alfonso may well have heard the account of the latter vision earlier during his stay. But the *virga* that Dominic holds also refers to the *virga ferrea* which the saint advises Alfonso to take as his model. The image, if it has been suggested by previous visions, has in any case been significantly redeployed. Biblical precedent is used to establish the ideal of the king's behaviour. Yet the rod with its three twists, each signifying a cycle of the moon, is most intriguing for a monarch whose own astronomical interests are well known.¹⁴ The cycles of the moon are caused by its rotation around the earth; the twists themselves mirror that motion. The twisted rod may have perhaps been suggested by the central pieces of the west gallery of the Silos cloister, which is composed of four columns which twist around each other from the base to the capital above.¹⁵

The short time in which the crisis was to be resolved was clearly beyond the king's wildest conscious dreams. Dominic acted as a mighty intercessor for Alfonso's plight, achieving more than the monarch dared ask. The saint is cast as the protector of Alfonso's kingdom, assuring its and his survival and prosperity. It was a pattern that Alfonso would take and apply to the Virgin, with disastrous effects for his own sanity and for his kingdom.¹⁶ Dominic had become a saint whose explicit role was the protection and promotion of the

kingdom in a manner similar to that in which he protected and promoted his monastery. Dominic was *patronus* of Castile, together with the frontier lands. This was the view espoused by Gonzalo de Berceo. The events of the 1230s had fixed such a conception in the hearts of the ruling elite, a belief in the saint's power which was perhaps reinforced by the performance of the Riojan cleric's poem to Alfonso on his occasional journeys through Silos.

The elite's view of Dominic's role was not isolated from more general currents of devotion. The ideological importance of his liberations is plain to see in both Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* and the *Miráculos romançados*, in which the *virtus* of the saint elides with his protection of Christians and, more importantly, Castile. Miraculous liberation was also linked, almost subliminally, to the ideal or the idea of the conquest of Moorish lands. This link was never explicitly expressed, but it is everywhere implicit. Fittingly, it is represented in the *Miráculos romançados* in the form of a dream. During the night of 17 March 1285, Domingo de Merlán, after prolonged torture by his Muslim owners, 'sonnava contra la mannana que oyé tanner muchas canpanas en la mezquita mayor, e dizia-l una boz, "Domingo, sepas por çierto que aina serás en tierra de christianos e saldrás de cativo"' (66: 2999–3002, pp. 144–45; began to dream towards morning that he could hear many bells ring out from the main mosque, and a voice was saying to him, 'Domingo, know for sure that soon you will be in Christendom and you will leave your captivity'). Domingo de Merlán's prognosticatory dream would be no different from the many others in the collection were it not for the first element: the ringing of bells in the main mosque of Algeciras. Bells were an element of the religious landscape which had immense ideological resonance for Christians and Muslims alike. As Lomax wrote,

Christians under Muslim rule were forbidden to ring church bells, as a sign of their degradation, and rang them in reconquered territory as an act of defiance which infuriated the Muslims to an astonishing degree. Al-Mansur made Christian captives carry the bells of Santiago all the way to Córdoba, and other generals also took church bells back as precious trophies.¹⁷

When Córdoba was taken, Fernando III had the bells carried back to Santiago by conquered Muslims.¹⁸ The ringing of bells from the main mosque could only have one significance: that the city had been conquered and the mosque, as was normal, had been converted into a Christian church. Domingo's escape over the walls of the town — one of only three captives to have escaped in this fashion — is an antitype of the normal manner in which a town was taken, with hostile forces climbing over the walls into the town.¹⁹

In Domingo de Merlán's dream, the desire for freedom is twinned with a wish for the conquest of al-Andalus. The two would be inevitably linked: if there had been no Islamic states in Spain, the captives would not have been taken and placed in their dreadful conditions. The escape is, furthermore,

linked to Alfonso X's abortive attempt to conquer Algeciras a few years earlier in 1279.²⁰ Dominic's power to free Domingo from enemy territory was of a piece with the drive to turn that enemy territory into part of Christendom again. The ringing of the church bells when captives presented themselves at the shrine may have had this *reconquista*-resonance as its bass-note.

Whilst many of the claims for Dominic's role as *patronus* of Christendom come from the ecclesiastical and intellectual elite, from Gonzalo de Berceo, Alfonso X, or from the monastery itself, Domingo de Merlán's dream suggests that Dominic's fame as liberator of captives had intertwined with the hopes of the *reconquista* in the minds and hearts of those living on the frontier. Popular devotion to Dominic must have also contained this half-unspoken element, nebulous but discernable, that linked his specialization in the liberation of captives to his care for Christendom, both in maintaining its current boundaries and in enlarging them.

THE CENTRE OF THE CULT: DOMINIC'S SHRINE

The characterization of Dominic as liberator of captives affected every aspect of his cult. The saint could identify himself to Pedro Coviell in a vision as being 'Santo Domingo que saco los cativos de captivitat' (33: 948-49, p. 71; I, Saint Dominic, who free captives from captivity). This identification would be unremarkable were Dominic appearing to a captive; Pedro, however, was not imprisoned, but labouring under an illness. We shall return to Pedro later. The saint's identification through his role as liberator of captives indicates how deeply felt amongst his devotees was this aspect of his thaumaturgic activity, creating a number of ramifications which fundamentally affected the manner in which the saint's power was conceived. This conception can be seen especially clearly in the rituals which surrounded the shrine.

In a manner similar to their involvement in exorcisms during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the monks of Silos took as active a role as possible in the rituals of celebration and acclamation of the escapes of captives. As mentioned earlier, a rubricator in the Silos copy of Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* noted 'Por esta razón cantan tibi laus quando viene captivo' (For this reason *Tibi laus* is sung when a captive arrives). Presumably he meant to provide a justification of the practice by citing an authoritative text and event: the arrival of Serván during the consecration of monastic church and cloister in the presence of the papal legate. When Domingo Pérez de Berlanga came to Silos to buy iron,

movieron todas las canpanas por el cativo sobredicho que vinié, e preguntó Domingo Pérez a Martín Pérez el sobredicho, e diz que dixo, 'Huéspet, ¿por qué tannen las canpanas?' e dixo: l Martín Pérez, 'Costunbre es aquí en el monesterio que quando viene cativo que saca Santo Domingo tanen todas las canpanas, e el convento vienen todos con su processión ant'el cuerpo santo e dan laudes al nuestro Sennor

Iesu Christo e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que saca el cativo e al christiano que yaze en poder de los moros e aduze-l aquí a la su casa.' (54: 2369–80, p. 123)

all the bells were rung for the aforesaid captive [Gonçalo de Soria, freed from Algeciras] who came, and Domingo Pérez asked the aforesaid Martín Pérez, and he says that he said, 'My host, why are they ringing the bells?' and Martín Pérez said to him, 'It is the custom here in the monastery that when a captive arrives who Saint Dominic has freed they ring all the bells, and the convent all come in procession before the holy relics, and they offer praise to our Lord, Jesus Christ, and Holy Mary, and Saint Dominic who frees the captive and the Christian who lies in the power of the Moors and brings him here to his church.'

There was thus a specific ritual to celebrate the arrival of a captive, and it was a ritual which centred upon the tomb itself. Although Dominic's power stretched far beyond the monastery's lands, the tomb was still the recognizable centre of the cult, and it is this which drew captives to Silos.

The active role of the tomb is made explicit in one of the first *miráculos* to be narrated, the escape of Gómez, an *escudero* from Palencia, who was a day away from execution. The man was chained within a house directly opposite the main door of the church:

Otro día mannana que començaron la missa al cuerpo santo al alva, veno una boz con grant claridat e dixo al escudero, 'Fijo Gómez, toma essa cadenna que tienes que suelta está, e vete a la missa del cuerpo santo que comiençan agora, que dios te a fecho bien e merçet'. El escudero oyó como començavan la missa e vio la cadena toda ante si montón fecha. Dixo-l otra vez la boz, 'Toma essa cadena, ve tu vía a la missa.' (3: 89–97, p. 42)

The next day when they were beginning the mass at the shrine at dawn, a voice with a great brilliance came and said to the *escudero*, 'Son, Gómez, take that chain you have for it has been loosed, and go to the mass at the shrine for they are beginning now, since God has done good for you and had mercy upon you.' The *escudero* heard how they were beginning the mass and saw the chain piled up in front of him. Again the voice said to him, 'Take that chain, be off with you to mass'.

As we saw in the *Vita Dominici*, the morning mass was seen as a particularly important moment for the working of miracles, since it was the mass offered specifically upon Dominic's tomb. But the celebration of the eucharist was also, during Dominic's own lifetime, used efficaciously to pray for the liberation of a captive (I.12, pp. 266–70). The two elements come together here, with Dominic's voice summoning the captive to the mass, instructing him to bring his chain to the church and to present himself at the tomb.

The *escudero* ran out of the house carrying his chain; his guards ran after him and reached him in the street, but they were unable to lay so much as a finger upon him. Gómez ran into the church and, still holding onto his chain,

managed to reach the shrine, where the mass was being celebrated and the second reading was underway:

entonz travaron d'él que'l sacarían de la iglesia. Domingo Gómez, que era entonz capellán del cuerpo santo, e el escolano que'l ayudava, dixieron, '¡No, que Santo Domingo lo saccó!' Et don Gonzalo que era a la sazón sacristano fue luego al abbat don Rodrigo, e dixo cómo santo Domingo sacara aquel escudero de presón, e que fues mostrarlo al infante. (3: 105–11, p. 42)

then they took hold of him to drag him out of the church. Domingo Gómez, who was the chaplain of the shrine, and the acolyte who was helping him, said, 'No, Saint Dominic has freed him!' And don Gonzalo, who was at that time sacristan, immediately went to the abbot, don Rodrigo, and told him how Saint Dominic had released that *escudero* from prison and that he should go and tell it to the prince.

Rodrigo duly went to Prince Alfonso. The *escudero* — and his lax guards — were pardoned. The guards had sought sanctuary in the church after failing to remove Gómez so that they might in turn escape Alfonso's ire at having allowed their captive to escape.

The role taken by the shrine's chaplain and his helper was not an isolated occurrence. The monks had a responsibility to the captives who reached the shrine, and this involved protecting those whom others sought to re-capture. In the June of 1286, the cleric Domingo Munnoz de Ágreda was brought to Silos for execution by the king's justice, Fortún Pérez. His escape is a splendidly circumstantial account of the chaos which the unexpected arrival of a captive could cause:

ante de completas començósse a lavar la cabeça Fortún Pérez e Domingo Munnoz estava suelto en una cámara e un escudero con él que'l guardava, e él, seyendo assí, vino-l en coraçón que se v[en]jiesse pora la iglesia de Santo Domingo. Començó de venir por el escalera ayuso diziendo, '¡Santo Domingo, valme!' e el escudero en pos él e no-l podié tomar, e dixo Domingo Munnoz que cayó con miedo II veces e que'l semeiava que'l ayudava a levantar 1ª duenna e que'l metió por la mano en la iglesia e subió en somo del altar de Santo Domingo e tomó la cruz ante sí e vino Fortún Pérez, la iustiçia, desnuyo, su cabeça moiada, cubierto de su manto e quería sacar[lo] de la iglesia; e Domingo Munnoz dando grandes boçes, '¡Santo Domingo, valme!', oyólo el convento que estava en la lecçión en cabildo. E sallieron a la puerta de Sant Sebastián e estaban çerradas con las llaves e Domingo Fernández, soprior, demandó la llave del postigo a los omes de la iglesia que abriesse la puerta que adezrían ayuso a ver qué eran las boçes que davan e dixieron que Domingo Martínez, sacristano menor, las tenía en la cámara del abbat e que non las tenían ellos nin la podrían abrir, mas que irían a él a la cámara por ella, e yendo Martín, omne de la iglesia, por ella, legó Domingo Fernández, soprior, al berroio del postigo de la puerta, e tiró-l e abrió el postigo que estava çerrado con lave, e salieron el convento e fueron al altar de Santo Domingo. Et Fortún Pérez que'l tirava a Domingo

Munnoz por la mano que-l quería descender del altar e sacar de la iglesia; con su conpanna, traxaron d'él, e non ge le dexaron sacar. Sobre esto enbiárongele mostrar al Rey don Sancho e mandó que-l dexassen e non le sacassen de la iglesia, e Domingo Munnoz, clérigo sobredicho, escapó en esta manera que le acusavan que façia moneda e que fuera en muerte de omnes. (87: 3993–4028, pp. 178–79)

before compline Fortún Pérez began to wash his head and Domingo Munnoz was unchained in a room, and there was an *escudero* with him to guard him, and, while he was like that, there came to his heart the desire to come to the church of Saint Dominic. He began to come down the staircase saying, 'Saint Dominic help me!' and the *escudero* came after him and could not catch him, and Domingo Munnoz said that he fell twice with fear and that it seemed to him that a lady helped him to get up and took him by the hand into the church and he went up on top of Saint Dominic's altar and held the cross in front of him and Fortún Pérez, the justice, came, naked, his head wringing wet, covered with his cloak, and was trying to drag him from the church; and, while Domingo Munnoz was shouting, 'Saint Dominic, to my aid!', the brethren, who were listening to the reading in the chapter-room, heard him. And they went out to Saint Sebastian's door and it was locked and Domingo Fernández, sub-prior, asked for the key to the postern-gate from the church-wardens so that he might open the door since they were going down to see what the shouting was and they said that Domingo Martínez, under-sacristan, had them in the abbot's room and that they did not have them and could not open it, but that they would go for him to the room to get them, and while Martín, church-warden, was going for it, Domingo Fernández, sub-prior, went up to the bolt of the postern of the door and pulled it and opened the gate which was locked with a key and the brethren went out, up to the altar of Saint Dominic. And Fortún Pérez was pulling Domingo Munnoz by the hand since he wanted to drag him down from the altar and out of the church; all of the monks grabbed hold of him and did not allow him to drag him out. After this they sent to inform King Don Sancho about it, and he ordered that they should leave him and not take him out of the church and Domingo Munnoz, the aforesaid cleric, escaped in this fashion from the accusation that he was coining counterfeit money and that he had been involved in murders.

Domingo Munnoz, in arming himself with a crucifix, was taking no chances. He had previously been fortunate, in that he had once already escaped execution in Burgos (on the feast of Saint Leonard, no less) by having his and his companions' irons sent to Silos as an offering to the shrine (87: 3982–83, p. 178). Yuannes de Mansilla de Cinco Villas, held prisoner in Silos and four days away from decapitation, sent half a maravedí's worth of oil to be burnt before Dominic's shrine. The following day he escaped, after his irons fell from him and he ran with them to the church (91: 4094–102, p. 181).²¹

In Domingo Munnoz's escape, the man's vision and the saint's altar combine to present the church as a place of sanctuary in which the monks were not afraid to use force to defend the rights of the saint to free whomsoever he wished. Irons were the symbols of escapes; they could also

be used as an offering to implore an escape. Irons were placed directly upon Dominic's tomb by the returning captives, as a symbolic offering to the saint. These were subsequently hung upon the walls of the church as *ex votos*. One particularly important *ex voto* was the cooking pot which Pelayo brought from Granada in the 1230s, which was placed at the side of the shrine and used to hold holy water (1: 32–33, p. 39). The provision of items around the tomb was directly related to the conception of Dominic as the liberator of captives and sought to reinforce that connexion in the minds of all. Sigal observes that the commemorative function of the *ex voto* 'était particulièrement appréciée par les desservants des sanctuaires, car elle permettait de montrer immédiatement aux nouveaux arrivants le pouvoir thaumaturgique du saint local.'²² The fourteen captives who escaped from Granada in 1284 'prometieron de pesar los fierros, e traerlos en çera al sepulcro de Santo Domingo, e vinieron todos aquí con sus fierros' (18: 799–802, p. 66; promised to weigh the irons, and bring them [i.e., the equivalent weight] in wax to the tomb of Saint Dominic, and they all came here with their irons).

Liturgical celebration centred upon the tomb, through procession and praise of Christ, the Virgin and Dominic. Popular devotion was expressed through the presence of pilgrims who came with the specific aim of praying for loved ones held captive. This element of the shrine's position amongst the people's devotions is revealed in a *miráculo* where donna Elvira, wife of Pedro Fernández de Toro, remained at the monastery to offer a novena to the saint for the release of her husband; he arrived on the last day of her prayers (17: 750–57, p. 64). She was not alone in coming to the monastery, since the cure of Mari-martín from Serón records that she regained sight in one eye on Trinity Sunday, 'e viéronlo los romeros muchos que velavan ý essa noche' (56: 2609–10, p. 131; and the many pilgrims who were vigilling there that night saw it). Pilgrims still chose major feasts as a time to attend the monastery since that was a propitious time for miracles, be they cures or escapes.

The account provided for the cure of Iohán de La Marina is instructive, since it gives a glimpse of the shrine's day-to-day running, the questioning of the sick as they arrived, and the hospitality that could be offered to them.

En el mes de agosto veno aquí en romería un moço que era sordo e mudo, que non fablaba si non por signas, e don Pedro León que era prior mayor del monesterio demandava-l por signas onde era, e él dixo-l en signas que era de La Marina e el prior porque era natural d'allá mandó-l dar cada día a comer en refectorio e en la noche echavasse allí a la cabeça del sepulcro o yaze Santo Domingo, so el acetre del agua benita, e nunqua sallió de la eglesia nin del monasterio fata el día de Sant Miguel. Et la vigilia de Sant Mig[u]el legó aquí el Rey don Alfonso, e yogó en romería a Santo Domingo en el coriello de Sant Nicolás, e yaziendo la eglesia toda lena suso e yuso, este moço mudo e sordo echó-s allí a la cabeça do yaze Santo Domingo. Et quando sallió el convento de las matines al alva, fue don Pavlo que era capellán de Santo Domingo e Domingo Fernández con él a dezir la misa. Venó

aquest moço a ellos muy yrada mientras (fazián la confesión), dando bozes e diziendo, 'Yo so Iohán de Bermeo, el mudo que a tienpo que seo aquí, e me a sanado este Sennor Santo Domingo.' (5: 279–99, p. 48)

In the month of August a boy came here who was deaf and dumb, who did not speak except through signs, and don Pedro León, who was senior prior of the monastery asked him through signs where he was from, and he said to him through signs that he was from La Marina and the prior, because he was from there, ordered that he should be given food each each day in the refectory, and at night he slept there at the head of the tomb where Saint Dominic lies, under the holy water container, and he never left the church nor the monastery until the feast of Saint Michael. And on Saint Michael's eve [15 October], King Alfonso arrived here, and he made his pilgrimage to Saint Dominic in the little choir of Saint Nicholas, and with the church completely full, this deaf and dumb boy lay down at the head [of the tomb] where Saint Dominic lies. And when the convent came out for dawn mattins, don Pablo, who was chaplain of Saint Dominic's shrine went with Domingo Fernández to say mass. This boy came towards them very angrily (they were saying the *Confiteor*), shouting and saying, 'I am Iohán from Bermeo, the dumb boy who have been here for some time, and this Lord Saint Dominic has cured me.'

Brought to the king, Iohán explained how he had fallen deaf and dumb at the age of six when at sea.²³ His father had spent large amounts of money taking him on pilgrimage to various shrines without success. Yet Iohán had conceived the idea of travelling to Silos, where he was sure he would be cured, and so he secretly left his father and other relatives. When Alfonso had satisfied himself as to the details of the cure, 'entonce el rey mandó'l dar de vestir e levó'l consigo quando iva a Belcaire' (5: 325–26, p. 49; then the king ordered that he be dressed and took him with him when he went to Beaucaire), to discuss his claim to the title of Holy Roman Emperor with Pope Gregory X. The miracle was as public as possible: a churchful of Alfonso's courtiers were on hand to witness the event. Yet one should not ignore the implied opposition to yet another pilgrimage on behalf of Iohán's father, and recall that, although there was no doubt that Saint Dominic of Silos was famous, his tomb was no longer luxuriating in miraculous healings.

The reputation of the monastery's shrine had become focused upon the liberation of captives, but was not limited to exclude other cures — although it must be noted that these are in a tiny minority compared to liberations, miraculous and otherwise. The collection is centred upon the monastery of Silos: it was recorded there by the monks, and so perhaps gives a distorted view in the centrality of the shrine to freed captives and those that prayed for them. We are given a glimpse of what was probably closer to the reality of devotion to Dominic in the frontier lands in the escape of Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales, García de Burgos, Iuan and Fernant Domínguez, who were awakened by a voice which instructed them to leave. The voice further told them, 'Cativos, tomat essa cadena que está ante vos, e vía andar' (74: 3431–

32, p. 159; Captives, take that chain in front of you, and be off). However, rather than travelling up to Silos with the chain, they presented it to the church of Santo Domingo de Río Pudio,²⁴ and ‘dizían que era tan grant que tres omnes avían que adozir en ella e que valdría bien .LX. maravadís’ (74: 3442–44, p. 159; they said that it was so large that three men had to carry it and that it would be easily worth sixty *maravedís*). Sixty *maravedís* was roughly the cost of two or three lower-class captives; 32: 1234–35, p. 82, depicts two captives sold to Ali Helcálil in Guadix for 25 and 20 *maravedís* respectively. No other chain or iron is priced, presumably because they were on display in the church of Silos itself and their worth would have been evident. Only Fernant Pérez came to the monastery; the others were presumably satisfied with their having given thanks in a local shrine which was more connected to their own devotions than the monastery itself. Santo Domingo de Río Pudio certainly functioned as an alternative shrine to Silos. This is confirmed by the detail that Iohán Martínez de Sant Román had his irons removed ‘a la figuera que dizen de Santo Domingo de Río Pudio’ (45: 1867–68, p. 104; at the fig tree which is called that of Santo Domingo de Río Pudio) and he left part of his irons in the church there (45: 1869, p. 104).

It is notable that visions which make direct allusion to the shrine and which are connected in some way to escapes are only experienced by those who were already familiar with the monastery. Thus Larios dreamt that he was in the monastic church at Silos, and saw ‘un omne seco e magro en sembrante’ (43: 1606–7, p. 96; a man thin and dry of face).²⁵ The man is not identified with Saint Dominic. Iohán Martínez saw himself in the church at Silos, and ‘veyé el so sepulcro abierto, e veyé en aquel sepulcro un cuerpo tan blanco como la nieve’ (45: 1780–83, p. 102; saw his grave opened, and saw in that grave a body white as snow). In both these cases, even though the visions seem to take place at about the same time, early February 1285, they occurred in widely differing places.²⁶ Larios was held captive in Almuñécar, while Iohán was imprisoned in Algeciras. Both captives may have been familiar with the church at Silos, since Larios was from Burgos, and Iohán from San Román de la Cuba, a village near Carrión.²⁷ There is also a striking similarity between the way Dominic addressed the two men:

Larios	}	sepas que aína serás	{	tú e tu companero en	}	mi casa
Iohán Martínez				comigo en la		

(43: 1607–08, p. 96; 45: 1782–83, p. 102)

Larios, know that you and your companion will soon be in my church.

Iohán Martínez, know that you will soon be with me in my church.

The dream-visions of the captives, expressing their desire for freedom, project that desire onto the church of Silos and the person of Dominic. Both have an

affective relationship to the saint, and the promise of their escape is not cast as a general promise of a return to Christian-controlled lands, but to the precise area of their Northern Spanish origins.

For Iohán Martínez, however, the dream was not immediately followed by his escape but by the subsequent appearance of an 'omne assí como sombra, e dixo-l, "Iohán Martínez, ve tu vía; que sepas que aina serás en tierra de christianos." Sallió de la casa en que estava' (45: 1789-92, p. 102; there came a man as if he were a shade, and said to him, 'Iohán Martínez, be off with you; know that you will soon be in Christendom'. He went out of the house that he was in), since the door had been left open by his master. Larios and his companions, much to their surprise, were transported out of their dungeon. Dawn found them fourty-six leagues away, below the walls of Marchena (43: 1612-33, p. 96).²⁸ The monastery church was not considered, in these visions or others, under its true advocacy of Saint Sebastian, but as 'la mi casa', the *domus Dominici*, Dominic's home. That was where his relics were, the resting place of the *cuerpo santo*.

The form in which Dominic appeared could be identical to his statue, as is found in the cure of Iohán de la Marina, whose cure began on the eve of Saint Michael, when he heard the bells ring while standing in church. By morning, he could hear both the bells and the monks' chanting. Once matins were over, he nodded off. 'Él estando assí, [...] viera en visió'n sallir de la tunba de Santo Domingo por la cabeça a Santo Domingo, e dos ninnos con él con vestiduras muy blancas e çirios ençendidos en las manos (5: 313-18, p. 49; While he was thus asleep, he saw in a vision Saint Dominic coming out of the tomb of Saint Dominic head first, and two children with him in very white robes and holding lighted candles). The statue upon Dominic's altar was dressed in white robes and had two children with him, also dressed in white, as revealed in a later account, 'veno a él Santo Domingo, e apareşció-l en aquella misma figura que está sobr'el altar, revestido con sus pannos blancos como-l avía visto aquí muchas vezes, e dos moçuelos con él revestidos' (13: 568-71, p. 57; Saint Dominic came to him [the visionary], and he appeared to him in the same shape that is over the altar, dressed in white clothes just as he had seen him here many times, and two boys with him dressed in white), just as Dominic is represented in the sculpture placed over his first resting place in the cloister at Silos.²⁹ In Iohán de la Marina's vision, the spiritual Dominic rose out of his tomb to take the place of the material statue.

Such visions, which express a close link between the visual elements of the shrine and church, are in a minority. Most supernatural experiences connected to liberations, even when the captives are instructed to visit the shrine by what they identify as Dominic, are devoid of any reminiscence of the shrine or church. The most common form of visionary experience which former captives narrated as either beginning or occurring during their flight to Christendom was the appearance of a brilliant light and the hearing of a disembodied voice which usually identified itself as Saint Dominic and spurred

them on their journey. Variations of this form of vision are numerous; at times only the voice or the brilliant light are present, at times they are combined with prognostic dreams.³⁰ For a majority of frontiersmen and women, it can safely be said that, whatever their devotion to the saint, this was not expressed primarily in remembrance of the shrine, even if they did subsequently travel a large distance to give thanks to their liberator once they had been freed.

There was considerable wealth to be gained from the widespread devotion to Saint Dominic, so much so, in fact, that a church in Laguna de Cameros (La Rioja) claimed that Dominic's relics were not at the monastery of Silos but had been taken there. The monastery 'perdía muy grant algo' (24: 990, p. 73; was losing a great deal of money). As soon as this heresy was uttered within the confines of the monastery, just before dinner, the tomb shook violently (24: 991-99, p. 73), perhaps caused by a minor earth tremor. This expression of the saint's *praesentia* was followed, even more eloquently, by the arrival of a captive. Generosity was clearly not lacking amongst those devoted to Dominic and claims to the saint's relics were a serious threat to the shrine. Dominic's *virtus*, however, could be relied upon to guarantee that they were in Silos.

THE SAINT'S CHARACTER: IN OPPOSITION TO THE MOORS

Berceo could cheerfully attribute a miracle to Dominic even though it was not contained in his official *Vita* but depended upon an oral tradition. The *Miráculos romançados* give a deeper insight into the personality of the saint as held in the popular consciousness, a personality dependent in large measure on his being placed in opposition to Muslims. This conception is brought out eloquently in the second of the narrations in the collection, when Mahómat, *adalil* of Córdoba, came across the *claridat* of Dominic halfway across a bridge, as we have seen above (pp. 256-57). Dominic warned him that he was going to liberate captives; Mahómat turned back and reached Córdoba, clapped his prisoners in more constraining irons, guarded their cells with even more guards, warned his co-religionists, and waited. Come the morning, all the Christians had been spirited away. The narration presents the tale as a competition between Dominic, who, challenged by the Muslim to reveal his identity, challenges him in return. Dominic's *virtus* is enormously greater than that of the Moor's man-power and *prisiones*.

The antagonism was not expressed by Dominic directly in any of the visions recounted. He is never presented as a vengeful deity. Rather, the competition was felt particularly severely by the Moors themselves, to judge from a story which they told to frighten each other in Granada, as was reported by a returning captive from that place who had heard it from his own master:

Et dixo este Gil Pérez que él e Martín, yaziendo cativos en Granada, que oyera dezir a su sennor que'l tenía preso que'l dizían Muça Barrabarach que avía en Granada un moro que avía nonbre Aboaçan que avía conprados .xii. christianos cativos e assí como los conprava que gelos levava Santo Domingo uno a uno. Et diz que conpró

otro christiano que'l dizían Domingo Pérez de Xódar, e que'l metió en grandes fierros e metió-l en una archa grant e foradóla yuso en el suelo, e sacó los fierros por yuso del archa, e metiólos en una algorfa, e atólos yuso con una cadenna a una estaca de fierro. Et otro día aquel moro avía de fazer bodas con sus parientes que matasse e descabeçasse aquel christiano que tenía cativo por alma de su padre e de su madre. Yaziendo el christiano dentro en el archa bien recapdado e la archa çerrada con buena lave el moro echósse sobr'el archa en la noche. Et dixo quando se echó en algaravia, 'Métolo en sobervia a Santo Domingo que non me lieve esta noche este cativo como los otros .XII. cativos que me a levado. Echósse, adurmió-s sobr'el archa. Otro día amanesció el moro sobre su archa e el cristiano dentro en ella con sus fierros e con la cadena en Priego, castiello de los Freyres de Calatrava. Esto contó Gil Pérez sobredicho en la claustra de Santo Domingo ant'el convento que assí oyera dezir muchas vezes en Granada. (52: 2254–79, pp. 119–20)³¹

And this Gil Pérez said that he and Martín, whilst captives in Granada, that he had heard his master who held him prisoner who was called Muça Barrabarach that there was in Granada a Moor who was called Aboaçan who had bought twelve Christian captives and just as he bought them Saint Dominic would take them away one by one. And he says that he bought another Christian who was called Domingo Pérez from Jódar (Jaén), and that he put him in large irons and put him in a big chest and made a hole in the chest down into the floor, and, threading the irons through the bottom of the chest, put them into an attic, and tied them down with a chain to a post of iron. And the next day, that Moor was to celebrate a festival with his relatives in which, for the soul of his father and of his mother, he would kill and behead that Christian that he held captive. The Christian having been well-bound within the chest, and the chest having been closed with a fine lock, he lay down upon the chest during the night. And as he lay down, he said in Arabic, 'I bet Saint Dominic cannot take this captive from me tonight like the other twelve captives that he has taken from me.' He lay down, fell asleep on the chest. The next day the Moor woke up, still on the chest, and the Christian inside it with his irons and with the chain, in Priego [de Córdoba], a castle of the Friars of Calatrava. The aforementioned Gil Pérez told this in the cloister of Santo Domingo before the brethren that he had heard it told in that way many times in Granada.

That the story is of Andalusí origin can be seen in the comic focus on the Moorish owner rather than on the suffering Christian. The tale may well have originated in the anxiety caused by captives' distressing habit of fasting and praying to invoke supernatural powers to free them from their owners.

Pious behaviour was often out of a master's control and would naturally have brought about a sense of uneasiness. Iohán Buhón, who claimed to have been held prisoner in a mining town in the Atlas mountains, fasted for his release during seven Saturdays on bread and water. Come the eighth,

dixo-l aquel su sennor, 'Iohán, ¿por qué ayunas los sabbados a pan e agua?' Dixo-l él, 'Sennor, costunbre es de los christianos que ayunemos la aliomena' (que quier

dezir en algaravia la vigilia del domingo). Dixo-l aquel su sennor, 'Ve tu carrera, yo so aquel Domingo por quí tu ayunas, que te puedo fazer bien e mal. Desaquí non ayunes.' Dixo-l luan, 'Sennor, yo non dexaré de moler e fazer toda mi lavor que tu mandares, e non quieras que dexe mio ayuno.' Dixo el moro, 'Ayuna quanto quisieres, que cuántos días bivas nunqua irás a tu tierra'. (55: 2486–96, pp. 126–27)

that master of his said to him, 'Iohán, why are you fasting on bread and water on Saturdays?' He said to him, 'Sir, it is the custom of Christians to fast on the *aliomena*' (which means in Arabic the eve of Sunday). His master said to him, 'Be off with you, I am that Dominic for whom you fast, since I can treat you well or badly. Fast no more from this moment.' Iohán said to him, 'Sir, I will not stop grinding grain and doing all my work as you order, but do not require me to end my fast.' The Moor said to him, 'Fast as much as you like, for however long you live you will never go to your land'.

The knowledge of the captives' devotion to Dominic would seem to have penetrated (according to Iohán Buhón's story) even deep into Northern Africa, allowing Iohán's master to play on the name of Dominic and Sunday, both *domingo* in Romance. Accounts of Dominic's appearances were also circulating, since his master repeats one of the saint's favourite phrases, 'Ve tu carrera', *be off with you*, i.e., escape, although here in the colloquial sense of *get lost!* The master's confident assertion that the captive would never go home might be thought of as hubris, a proudly incautious invocation of the saint's power against which stories such as that told by Moors in Granada (*miráculo* 52) were designed to warn. Iohán Buhón's tale in certain respects mirrors the first narration in the collection, where Pelayo's mistress tells him that when his cooking pot is in Christendom, so will he be: Dominic instructs him that night to take the cooking pot with him. Iohán Buhón also arrives at the shrine with his cooking-pot (55: 2575, p. 129).³² Other captives, however, are treated with respect when they fast (cf. 22: 903–905, p. 70).

Dominic's opposition to Islam is seen most clearly in the narratives in which either the captives' suffering puts them in danger of converting to Islam or when captives were being taken to North Africa to be beheaded during rites of ancestor veneration. In such cases, the visionary appearance that accompanies the captives' liberation usually makes the point that they are being freed to protect them from such an evil fate. The captives in *miráculo* 18 are subjected to whippings, hunger and tortures, so much so that 'non las podién soffrir: queriense tornar moros con la muy grant cueyta que avién' (18: 773–74, p. 65; they could not stand them: they wanted to become Muslims with the very great suffering which they underwent). A voice spoke and a brilliant light appeared to the captives, but they thought it was their master, Mahómat, up to no good (18: 783–84, p. 65). The brilliant light disappeared for a short time 'quanto dirían una missa privada' (18: 786, p. 65; as long as a private mass would take to be said [i.e., about quarter of an hour]), then reappeared and the voice said, 'Levantatvos, cativos, e sallit a tierra de christianos, que nunqua

vos dexe dios negar la fe que-l prometiastes' (18: 787–88, p. 65; Captives, arise, and leave for Christendom, for may God never allow you to renege the faith which you promised him). Such voices and lights did not impress them: they feared that they were the produced by their master, Mahómat, 'que lo fazia por los engannar' (18: 784–85, p. 65; who was doing it to trick them). They say 'Sennor, si vós sodes Santo Domingo, fazet miráculo sobre nós. Entrat en la carçel, e quebrantatnos los fierros, e fazetnos la carçel llana, e creervos emos que sodes Santo Domingo (18: 790–793, p. 65; Sir, if you are Saint Dominic, perform a miracle on our behalf. Come into the dungeon, and break our irons, and flatten the dungeon, and we will believe that you are Saint Dominic).

We are much closer to Scholasticism than a Moorish gaol would seem to allow. Aquinas described an angel as being in a place only when it exerted a force on a part of the universe, 'per applicationem igitur virtutis angelicae ad aliquem locum qualitercumque dicitur angelus esse in loco corporeo' (When an angel's power is applied in any way to a given place, he can be said to be locally there — where the body is to which it is applied),³³ a description not too far removed from what the captives spontaneously grasp. Dominic's *prae-sentia*, his 'being there', is mediated not by a body, but either by 'spirituals' (light and sound, both already one step removed from matter) or by the application of force to a place, in this case, the breaking of irons. Dominic is where the *claridat* shines, as is shown by his leaving remarks to two captives he has rescued: "'Vía vós pora mi casa, que yo esta noche yré allent la mar, a sacar de cativo otros lazrados." En esto fuesse la claridat de ant'ellos, que non se veían las manos' (60: 2761–64, p. 136; 'Go on to my church, for I will go tonight across the sea, to free from captivity other unfortunates.' At this the brilliance went from before them, so that they could not see their hands). A similar promise is heard by captives freed from Ronda:

'Itvos pora Sevilla, que yo vó esta noche a Çepta a sacar otros siete cristianos de cativo, que cras lo quieren descabeçar. Acomiéndovos a dios'. Non vieron más la claridat, sinon muy grant tiniebra, que non se veían las manos. (47: 2001–04, p. 110)

'Go to Seville, for I am going to Ceuta tonight to free another seven Christians from captivity, for tomorrow they want to behead them. I commend you to God.' They saw the brilliance no more, rather very deep darkness, so that they could not see their hands.

The command to go to Seville enables them to come across those Dominic said he was going to free from Ceuta (47: 2011–16, p. 110). Dominic can only be present in one place; he must leave one set of captives to rescue others. As such he is still recognizably a human being; he is not omnipresent. The vision of *claridat* and *boz* convey, rather fittingly, a glorified soul: one whose soul is enlightened by God, but who does not have a body. A body will be given at the resurrection. The captives' instinctive understanding is a long way in

conceptual terms from any pagan belief which conceived of the dead living on in their tombs.³⁴

Yuanes Domingo de Córdoba was informed by his master, son-in-law of the king of Granada, that he wished him to become a Muslim on a major Islamic feast. The captive replied with seeming submission, but then revealed his own feelings to two other captive Christians who had been sent to work in the same place:

Díxoles, '¡Ay, amigos! ¡Tan en fuerte punto fuy nascido!' Dixieron los christianos, '¿Por qué lo dizes?' 'Porque me dixo mio sennor que oy un mes sería su pascua e que me tornaríá moro e ante querría ser muerto.' Dixieron los otros, 'Nos de bona miente lo fariemos si nuestros sennores quisiessen.' Él començó a lorar e a labrar. (19:813–19, pp.66–67)

He said to them, 'Oh, friends, I was born at an evil hour!' The Christians said to him, 'Why do you say that?' 'Because my master said to me that a month from today it would be their feast and that I would become a Muslim and I would rather die.' The others said to him, 'We would willingly do that if our masters wanted it.' He began to weep and dig the earth.

Yuanes Domingo's fidelity to Christianity is rewarded and it is at this very moment that a voice instructs him to escape. The two Christians' willingness to accept the offer of conversion — if it came — was no doubt based on an expectation that their own physical circumstances would improve as soon as they were able to embrace the faith of their oppressors.³⁵ The revulsion felt by captives towards Christians who had converted to Islam, pejoratively termed *tornadizos* (probably a calque on the phrase, 'tornar moro', and so *turncoats*), to better their lot is violently expressed in the escape of Pascual, Fernán and Juan Pérez, who, having shared a prognostic dream, were sent out to work in a vineyard.

Su sennor [...] mandó a un tornadizo que fuesse con ellos que los guardasse. Ellos teniendo en coraçón lo que sonnaron, vieron que era domingo e que les abría merçet dios e Santo Domingo. Sallieron a una carrera e fallaron un favar, e Ferrant Pérez e [Iuan] e el tornadizo entraron a coger favas, e travaron del tornadizo e dieron con él en tierra, e con su cuchiello mismo degolláronle e dixiéronle, '¡Come quantas quisieres dessas favas!' Sallieron dent e metiéronse en un mont. (27: 1071–80, p. 76)

Their master ordered a convert from Christianity to go with them to guard them. They, having in their hearts what they had dreamt, saw that it was a Sunday and they God and Saint Dominic would favour them. They went onto a road and found a bean field, and Ferrant Pérez and Iuan and the convert went to pick beans, and they took hold of the convert and threw him to the ground and they cut his throat with his own knife and said to him, 'Eat as many of these beans as you like!' They left there and went into the wilderness.

Yuanes Domingo, deeply troubled as he was by his master's unwanted solicitude, sought to avoid conflict with him; others were more forthright in their opposition to the conversion suggested to them, and paid a price as a result. Ramiro, an *almocadén* (leader of a group of footsoldiers) from Matrera, had twelve teeth extracted in the attempt to force him to become a Muslim over the ten years that he remained a captive (47: 1968–71, p. 109). Larios, in comparison, was given the choice of conversion or death by a master whose patience had snapped:

cavalgó Larios el cavallo e corrió-l, e pesó-l, e dixo-l que se tornasse moro, si non que-l mandaría dar muchos açotes o que-l descabeçaría, e él dixo que antes querría morir que non dexar la fe que avié prometido, que fiava en dios e en Santo Domingo que-l avrié merçet que-l sacarían de cativo. E por esto mandó-l quemar muchas vezes con fierros calientes e otras muchas penas. Estando en esta mala vida, éste e otro, don García de Córdoba, rogavan a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo cada día. (43: 1594–1602, pp. 95–96)

Larios took the horse and ran it too hard, and annoyed him [his master], and he said that he should become Muslim; if not, he would have him given many lashes or he would behead him, and he [Larios] said that he would rather die than abandon the faith that he had promised, for he trusted in God and Saint Dominic to have mercy upon him and free him from captivity. And for this he ordered that he be burnt many times with hot irons and other many punishments. Whilst placed in this evil life, he and another man, don García of Córdoba, prayed every day to God and Holy Mary and Saint Dominic.

The means by which Larios expressed his allegiance to Christianity ('antes querría morir que *non dexar la fe que avié prometido*') echoes the words spoken by the voice to the captives in 18: 788, '*la fe que-l prometiestes*', which, with its emphasis on baptism, was probably a set phrase amongst Christians confined in Moorish captivity.

Captives' reference to the sacrament of baptism as a means of self-definition against the culture and religion of their oppressors can be seen throughout the collection. The threat of beheading was linked to the danger of becoming Muslim, as with Larios. The terror of immanent death seized hold of two captives while being transported to Ceuta to be sacrificed over the grave of their master's father:

al primero gallo podría ser, apareçióles en la carraca grant lunbre, assí como un grant sol. Díxoles una boz, '¿Cómo estades, fijos christianos? Levantavos e vía vos comigo a tierra de christianos que yo só Santo Domingo de Silos, mensagero de Iesu Christo que vengo por vos, por que la fe que fue prometida por vos e la crisma non sea perdida.' (60: 2745–51, p. 136)

it might have been at the first cock-crow, a great light appeared to them in the carrack, just like a big sun. A voice said to them, 'How are you, Christian children?

Get up and come away with me to Christendom, for I am Saint Dominic of Silos, messenger of Jesus Christ who has come for you, so that the faith which was promised on your behalf and the chrism may not be lost.'

The mention of chrism links Dominic's rescue to the rite of baptism, by which Estevan Domingo and Yoanes Domingo were, as infants, brought into the Christian Church. The captives get up and walk across the sea, and 'sentieronla tan dura como si salliesen en terreno' (60: 2753, p. 136; they felt it as hard as if they had disembarked on dry land), in a miracle which parallels Peter's walking across the water guided by Christ.³⁶

The concern with baptism is witnessed in another form in the escape of Caterina de Linares, who was kept as a slave for sexual purposes by the brother of the king of Granada by whom, during the four and a half years of her captivity, she had two children.³⁷ She constantly prayed for forgiveness for her sinful existence (76: 3537-43, p. 163). After promising to fast on Saturdays for all of her life, to go barefoot on pilgrimage to the shrine and to abstain from meat on Wednesdays, Saint Dominic came to her

como en suennos, e dixo-l, 'Caterina, ten lo que as prometido que dios te a fecho merçet, e tomã tu fijuelo el menor e vete tú e essas otras mugieres pora la mi casa e guisa como fagas es tu fijuelo christiano en mi eglesia.' Despertó Caterina e tomó su fijo. [...] Legó esta Caterina al monesterio sabbado primero de setiembre e dixo al abbat don Iohán e al convento que aquel fijuelo que aduzía que-l mandara Santo Domingo que-l aduxiesse e que-l bateassen en su eglesia. El abbat mandó lamar el clérigo otro día domingo e tornáronlo christiano. Fueron sus padrinos Fernant Ortiz, Iohán Peres de la Cantera, Martín Peres de la Ferosa; madrinas, donna María Iohán la Portera, donna Yusta, la de Iohán Velásquez. (76: 3548-71, pp. 163-64)

as in dreams, and said to her, 'Caterina, keep to what you have promised, for God has had mercy upon you, and take your younger little boy and go, you and these other women, to my house and arrange it so that you make that little boy of yours a Christian in my church.' Caterina woke up and took her son. [...] This Caterina arrived at the monastery on Saturday 1 September and said to the abbot Don Iohán and the brethren that Saint Dominic had ordered that that little boy which she had brought was to be brought too and baptised in his church. The following day, Sunday, the abbot ordered the priest to be called and they made him a Christian. His godfathers were Fernant Ortiz, Iohán Peres de la Cantera, Martín Peres de la Ferosa; and his godmothers, Doña María Iohán, wife of the porter, Doña Yusta, wife of Iohán Velásquez.

The dream is private to Caterina. Although other women escape with her (four Mariás, from Beja (Portugal), Jaén, Huete and Soria, respectively) accompanied by two men (Domingos both, also from Beja and Jaén), they simply follow her, finding open doors and open gates as they go along. Caterina's feelings of acute guilt may well have motivated her dream, and the instruction

that she was to have the child baptised in Silos (rather than presenting any irons as an *ex voto*) may well have been the clearest fashion of claiming her own freedom and the child’s redemption from his dual inheritance of captivity and Mohammadanism, passed as Islam is through the bloodline of the father. In the child’s being christened, literally ‘turned Christian’, we see the rejection of the Muslim captivity and the forced concubinage which had generated the *fijuelo* in the first place. Neither child is called, as other Moorish children are, a *morezno* (6:344, p. 50; 13: 556, p. 57; 21: 871–72, p. 69; 25: 1017, 1022, p. 74; 65: 2956, p. 143 (called Alvielo, 65: 2940, p. 142); ‘moreznillo’ in direct speech: 21: 871, p. 68).

Baptism, the rite of Christian initiation, was the key sacrament, since it was that, more than devotion to the eucharist, extreme unction or holy orders, which set the captives apart from their captors. Conversion to Islam involved a renunciation of the baptismal promises which had been made. Fidelity thus played a large part in the conflict which the captives experienced as a struggle between damnation and the possibility of salvation, the latter conceived as allegiance to their baptismal promises. One might compare this attitude to Berceo’s, whose interests were more theological, concentrating upon the Trinity and the salvific action of Christ.

The opposition between religions is a constant theme, a far cry from the consensus politics of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, where the Virgin’s role was that of a bridge between Christians and Muslims.³⁸ Dominic acts as the front-line of spiritual warfare against the foe. Yet rarely does he appear in physical form. Most escapes are accompanied by a manifestation of the saint’s presence, most commonly depicted as either a light, or a voice, or both together.³⁹ Within these depictions of what amount to visions of a brilliant light and the hearing of a voice encouraging the captives to escape, two recognizable forms are apparent, although these are clearly not exhaustive (table 4, below). The first form (form (I)) comprises the appearance of a bright light in the prison, then a voice which instructs the captives to leave; the

Table 4: Types of nocturnal non-figurative visions

form I: CLARIDAT INSTRUCTION TO LEAVE <i>request for identification: ¿qui sodes vós?</i> IDENTIFICATION form Ia: <i>difficulties</i> , eg. bound by chains DIFFICULTIESSOLVED	<i>miráculos</i> which feature this type: 12, 14, 15, 17, 81. 7, 53.
form II: CLARIDAT IDENTIFICATION INSTRUCTION TO LEAVE form IIa: <i>difficulties</i> DIFFICULTIESSOLVED	60, 64, 70, 73, 74, 77, 79, 83. 6.

captives ask who it is who speaks to them, and Dominic identifies himself. A continuation or expansion of this form (Ia) has the captives say that they cannot escape, for they are in irons. These difficulties are solved, either by the voice announcing that they are out of irons, or the irons snapping open of their own accord.⁴⁰ The second form (II) has the *claridat* appearing, then the voice identifying itself and instructing the captives to leave without their asking any question. Its continuation (IIa) has the captives pointing out the difficulty posed by their irons regarding their escape; this difficulty is solved.

Miráculo 8 holds certain similarities with type I, although the escape is prefigured with a dream, as is the case with *miráculo* 12, which bears a similarity with type Ia; type II is reflected in *miráculos* 22 and 57, both escapes being prefigured by a dream. *Miráculo* 57 has the form of a type II vision, but has only a voice speaking, with no *claridat*. *Miráculos* 46 and 47 both bear similarities in the beginning of the vision, as the captives are in each case awakened by a loud noise; in 46: 1917–18, p. 107, it is the noise of the heavy iron doors of their dungeon opening; in 47: 1976–77, p. 109, it is the noise of thunder.

The prevalence of visions of a brilliant light and a disembodied voice may have a Christian theological undertone. The appearances of Dominic in such a guise call to mind the salvific action of Christ as described in the words of the *Benedictus*, ‘Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto, illuminare his, qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent’ (Luke 1, 78–79; Through the deepest mercy of our God, by which he came to us, the dawn from on high, to give light to those who dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death). Even more powerfully, there would seem to be some form of reminiscence of the Harrowing of Hell. Two of those freed by Christ from the power of Hades tell their story:

Cum igitur essemus in tenebris et umbra mortis detenti apud inferos, subito illuxit nobis lux magna, et contremuit infernus et portae mortis. Et audita est vox filii patris altissimi tanquam vox tonitruui magni, fortiterque proclamans, sic intulit, ‘Portas principes vestras retollite, portas aeternales sustollite: rex gloriae Christus dominus intratus adveniet.’ [...] Tunc Satan dixit ad infernum, ‘Praepara te ad recipiendum quem tibi deduxero.’ Dehinc infernus Satanae ita pertulit, ‘Vox ista non fuit nisi a clamore filii patris altissimi, quia ita terra et omnia inferi loca sub ipsa contremuit: unde puto me et omnia vincula mea iam aperta patescere.’⁴¹

When, therefore, we were kept in darkness and in the shadow of death in the lower world, suddenly there shone upon us a great light, and Hades and the gates of death trembled. And then was heard the voice of the Son of the Father most high, as if the voice of a great thunder; and loudly proclaiming, He thus charged them, ‘Lift up your gates, ye princes, lift up the everlasting gates; the King of glory, Christ the Lord, will come up to enter in.’ [...] Then Satan said to Hades, ‘Make thyself ready to receive him whom I shall bring down to thee.’ Thereupon Hades thus replied to Satan, ‘That voice was from nothing else than the cry of the Son of the

Father most high, because the earth and all the places of the world below so trembled under it: wherefore I think that myself and all my dungeons are now lying open.’⁴²

There is a light, followed by a voice, and, although the *miráculos* of the collection contain no discussions between saint and captors (apart from 2: 42–44, p. 40), the physical results of the appearance of light and the sound of a voice, and on one occasion, ‘muy grant truenno’ (47: 1977, p. 109; a loud thunder-clap), is very similar to the Harrowing of Hell. The captives’ bonds are dissolved, and they may stride out through the open doors of their dungeons. In freeing the captives Dominic conquers and leads them out of slavery to Christendom through a *claridat*.⁴³ This echoes the pillar of fire which lit the Israelite camp in that people’s escape from Egyptian captivity; particularly important in this similarity is the crossing of rivers and the sea, which also parallels the exodus led by Moses.⁴⁴ The Christian captives despoiled their hosts not of their golden jewellery but of the irons that held them captive (cf. Exodus 12, 35 and 13, 21; see also the comments of Juan Castro, above, pp. 223–24). The constant preoccupation of the shrine recorders to note the prices paid for captives and the terms they agreed for their redemption is perhaps another indication of the financial loss visited upon the adversary. The *claridat* is, at least in one *miráculo*, directly connected to the captive’s desire for freedom: Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias was woken by Saint Dominic’s voice calling him by name and asking him whether he wished to escape; it was only when Rodrigo had answered that he would rejoice if it pleased both God and Dominic to release him from his misery that he saw the *claridat* (32: 1244–50, p. 82).

The thirteenth-century bas-relief in the Silos cloister shows Saint Dominic leading out captives from a open dungeon whilst, on the other side and balancing the composition, a Moorish guard sleeps unawares. The opposition Dominic–Moor on this bas-relief is identical to that found in both Berceo and the *Miráculos romançados*; the leading of the people out of darkness recalls the Harrowing of Hell and the liberation of the people of Israel from the Pharaoh. Dominic is similar to Moses and Christ. Both spiritually and physically he leads his devotees to the promised land. Similarly, the disembodied voice, although often addressing the imprisoned Christians as ‘cavivos’ (captives) also speaks to some as ‘fijos christianos’ (47: 2000, p. 110; 60: 2747–48, p. 136; Christian children) or ‘christianos, hijos de dios’ (74: 3427, p. 159; Christians, children of God), making it clear that their rescue is due to their religious creed.

Dominic’s liberating *virtus*, his opposition to the Moors and his role as *patronus* of his monastery’s possessions combined in a story which was told to the monks in 1293, although it was claimed by the eye-witness to have occurred nine years earlier outside Baeza. When a raiding party of Moors (of a size so impressive that the inhabitants of the town stayed safely behind its

walls) rounded up the sheep that were grazing outside the town, a mysterious black dog appeared and drove the two hundred and sixty sheep that belonged to the monastery of Silos back towards the town. The doors were opened, the sheep ushered in; but the dog had disappeared, never to be seen again. All those on the battlements saw the miracle and it was widely famed throughout the frontier lands, no doubt being much improved in the telling.⁴⁵

The conflict between the Christian saint and their Muslim oppressors was acutely felt by captives. It surfaces in the voice of protest, raised in a religious key, at their being tortured to come to redemption terms. In three narratives (57: 2626–28, p. 132; 66: 2992–95, p. 144; 81: 3800–801, p. 172), the captive puts his trust in God due to his lack of possessions: ‘él dizia que non avía de qué se redimir, si non la merçet de dios e de Santa María e de Santo Domingo a qui él rogava e pidía merçet que-l sacassen de cativo’ (he said that he did not have what was needed to redeem himself, if it were not the grace of God and Holy Mary and Saint Dominic who he beseeched and asked for their mercy to free him from captivity). The quotation is taken from 66: 2992–95, p. 144 (Domingo de Merlán); 57: 2626–29, p. 132 (Pedro de Tovarra), bears only minor variations; 81: 3800–01, p. 172 (Domingo Pérez de Salva Tierra) omits ‘a qui él rogava [...]’. This profession of faith would seem to have particularly enraged the Muslim captors, as it was intended to. In all three *miráculos* the captives are described as having been whipped close to death; only Domingo Pérez then came to an agreement with his captors (81: 3804–05, p. 172), and then is depicted as praying to God and the saints for his release.

Figurative visions might be generated by the tensions and humiliations of captivity. Gonçalo de Sotavellanos saw in a dream ‘cerca sí omnes revestidos que rezavan, e entr’elos una mugier muy grant. Et dixo-l ella, “Gonçalo, ¿duermes? Liévate, ve tu vía, que ante del solpuesto oy saldrás de cativo.” En esto, despertó (31: 1194–97, p. 81; near him men in robes praying, and amongst them a very large woman. And she said to him, ‘Gonçalo, are you asleep? Get up, be off with you, for before the sun sets today you will escape from captivity’. At this, he woke up). When the captive went begging from the Genoese whose ships had pulled into Málaga, ‘vio un grant omne, e dixo-l, “Gonçalo, ¿non te dix oy mannana que fueses tu vía? Ve tu carrera, non ayas ningún miedo”’ (31: 1201–203, p. 81; he saw a large man, and he said to him, ‘Gonçalo, didn’t I tell you this morning that you should go your way? Get going, do not fear.’). This second figure is identified with Saint Dominic by the captive’s companion — not by Gonçalo himself. The ‘grant omne’ is evidently the same person as the ‘mugier muy grant (‘¿non te dix oy mannana...’); this curious gender shifting is to be connected to Gonçalo’s owner, Çeyna, who, the day before his first vision,

un viernes en la noche, veno [...] e lavó su natura con agua suzia, e echógelo [*sic*] en la cabeça, e él tornósse a ella, e denostóla, e ella non gelo entendió, e, por falagarle, dio-l del pan, e non lo pudo comer con grant pesar. (31: 1183–88, p. 80)

one Friday night, came ... and washed her genitals with dirty water,⁴⁶ and threw it over his head. And he turned to her, and cursed her, and she did not understand, and, to pacify him, gave him some bread, and he could not eat it due to his great sorrow.

The very tall woman, who is larger than the men who surround her, and who promises freedom to Gonçalo, structurally balances the woman who has authority over him and who humiliates him. Gonçalo had prayed to the Blessed Virgin and Saint Dominic to free him, and so the woman — although she is never identified as such — may be the former, in a depiction which calls to mind the representation of Pentecost.⁴⁷

The opposition between Dominic and his religious opponents was kept within strict bounds. Spanish Christians were markedly pragmatic in their treatment of Muslims, respectful of the structures by which ordinary people continued to chafe along with each other. So whilst presenting an image of the saint as the thaumaturgic liberator radically opposed to Muslims, neither shrine-recorders nor monks saw any conflict with his protection of those who claimed to have been liberated from Christian authorities. Furthermore, the *miráculos* themselves constantly express the *convivencia* between Christians and Muslims, expressing outrage when *treguas* are not respected, and presenting, even when miraculous liberations were claimed, a respect for key *mores*. There can be no finer example than Pedro Díaz's actions. When Sancho de Úbeda escaped from captivity by riding his master's horse from Guadix to Alicún, 'Pedro Díaz, adelantado de Quesada, mandó-l sacar los fierros, e porque eran paçes tomó-l el cavallo e enbió-l a su sennor. Legó al monesterio con sus fierros' (89: 4061–64, p. 180; Pedro Díaz, *adelantado* of Quesada, ordered his irons to be removed, and, because there was a truce [with the Moors], he took the horse and sent it back to its owner. Sancho arrived at the monastery with his irons).

Moors could also have a compassionate attitude towards those Christians who attempted to escape. As Martín Domínguez de Aranda was heading out of Ronda, the place of his captivity, ostensibly looking for water for his master,

passó un moro con su fijo que trayén dos asnos con pan. Dixo el fijo al padre en algaravia, '¡Este cristiano va-s!' Dixo el padre, '¿Qué te faz a ti?', e dixo al cristiano, 'Ve tu carrera, non ayas miedo ninguno.' Dixo [Martín], 'No osaría que tú me mesturariés a mio sennor.' Dixo el moro, 'Yo te digo verdat a mi Ley, que non te mesture.' Entonz metió-s por aquella carrera a andar. (44: 1678–84, p. 98)

a Moor with his son came past who were leading two donkeys bearing bread. The son said to his father in Arabic, 'This Christian's escaping!' His father said, 'What business is it of yours?', and he said to the Christian, 'Be on your way, have no fear.' Martín said, 'I wouldn't dare in case you might tell my master about me.' The Moor said, 'I tell you the truth according to my faith, I will not say anything about you.' Then he began to walk along that road.

He joined a group of merchants who said nothing to prevent his escape, even though he walked along with them for a league, irons clanking on his feet with every step. He probably spoke to them, for he could say that they were going to 'el burgo' (44: 1686, p. 98; the town — probably a direct translation of the Arabic *al-madina*). When, after wandering in the wilds for a week, he eventually reached Christian Osuna, 'Fortún Sánchez, cavallero de Osuna, sacó los fierros a Martín Domínguez con dos moros que tenía y ferreros' (44: 1733–35, p. 99; Fortún Sánchez, knight of Osuna, took the irons off Martín Domínguez with two Moorish blacksmiths he had there).

Dominic's support for Christian captives was not absolute, and he enforced respect for right behaviour. The saint demanded fair dealing. He did not free Martín Domínguez de Santa Ella from his irons, although he released all those imprisoned with him. When the unfortunate captive demanded to know why he was being left behind, the disembodied voice replied,

Yo te diré por qué non te lievo. Tú sabes que los tus moros e los omnes que tú aviés labravan todavía e el domingo e los días de las fiestas fazíanles fazer avarcas e adobar aradros e ir a molino e fazer otras labores e fiavas más en tus riquezas que en dios, e por esto ficarás aquí fata que te redimas, ca assaz as de qué. (15: 671–86, pp. 61–62)

I will tell you why I am not taking you. You know that your Moors and the men that you had worked every day and Sundays and feastdays, they were forced to make clogs and to beat ploughshares and go to the mill and do other types of work and you trusted more in your wealth than in God, and for this reason you will remain here until you redeem yourself, for you have enough to do so.'

Even Moorish slaves must have days off on the feasts of the Church, including Sundays. Some captives complain that they were forced to work every day of the week, and it does seem that Sunday was conceived of as a rest day, as expressed in the nostalgia voiced in 1: 13–15, p. 39, which began the events that led to Pelayo's liberation: 'los christianos en tal día como cras, domingo, avemos alegría e non labramos e si agora fues en mi tierra [...] abría folgura' (we Christians on a day like tomorrow, Sunday, celebrate and do not work and if I were now in my land [...] I would be resting). Dominic's concern was conceived of as reaching to all captives, even Moors. It behoved Christians to treat them humanely.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF DEVOTEES

It is obvious from the aforesaid that the saint is characterized by his compassion for those held captive and mistreated. The description of hardships and tortures that occupies much of the narration of each *miráculo* demonstrates the misery from which Dominic raised the captives and the depth of their thankfulness. Dominic appeared at moments of crisis to solve

the captives' plight by dissolving the bonds that held them or in answer to long and assiduous prayer or fasting or vows. Yet certain minimal standards of behaviour had to be kept by those who would be devotees — as seen above with Martín Domínguez. Pedro Coviell de Olvés, whose excessive grief over the deaths of his eight-year old son and a 'bona bestia que avía' (23: 929, p. 71; a good beast that he had) led him to attempt to sell his wife's clothes and abandon her, which produced a violent argument with his mother-in-law during which he struck her.⁴⁸ After this, he was laid low with some form of paralysis, possibly a stroke, on the left-hand side of his body. This was explained by Pedro Coviell as being because 'viniera Santo Domingo a él e que'l diera una pescoçada en la mexiella esquierda de que'l tollió todo el cuerpo assí que non podía falar nin mandarse' (23: 933–35; Saint Dominic had come to him and had given him a blow on the left cheek which took away control of all his body from him so that he could not speak or look after himself); Dominic's punishment mirrored Pedro Coviell's transgression in striking his mother-in-law.

He was thought to be dying, and so his wife arranged the candles for his wake. Pedro, lying paralysed, offered a promise of pilgrimage to Saint Dominic's shrine should he be cured of that illness,

e luego que'l prometió esto, veno Santo Domingo a él de cabo e dixo-l, 'Pedro, ¿duermes?' Dixo, 'No'. Dixo-l Santo Domingo, '¿Por qué no?' e dixo-l, 'Porque non puedo'. Dixo-l Santo Domingo, 'Tú feziste por qué'. Dixo-l, '¿Qué fiz yo por qué non duermo?' 'Porque te rasqueste por tu fijo e por la bestia que perdist, e porque ferist tu suegra e queriés desamparar tu mugier: por esso te veno este mal.' Entonz dixo Pedro, 'Sennor, ¿quí sodes vós que esto me dezides?' Dixo, 'Yo, Santo Domingo que saco los cativos de captividat, e sepas que non guarecerás fâta que fagas penitencia de todo esto que feziste e que pidas merçet a tu suegra que't perdone, e mándote que aquella çera que avién fecha por ti, que lo lieves e que lo quemes ant'el mio altar, e de todo serás sano.' En esto quitósele de oios e non vio nada, e su mugier e la suegra que oyeron las bozes preguntáronle, '¿Qué avedes?' Díxoles, '¿Non vedes Santo Domingo de Silos ó está aquí e fabla comigo? — e quanto mal yo avía todo me lo a tollido, si non de la oreia esquierda.' (23: 940–60, p. 71)

and as soon as he promised this, Saint Dominic came to him at length and said to him, 'Pedro, are you sleeping?' He said, 'No'. Saint Dominic said to him, 'Why not?', and he said to him, 'Because I can't'. Saint Dominic said to him, 'It's your own fault'. He said to him, 'Why is it my own fault if I can't sleep?' 'Because you scratched your face in mourning for your son and for the animal you lost, and because you struck your mother-in-law and you wanted to abandon your wife: that is why this illness came upon you.' Then Pedro said, 'Sir, who are you who say this to me?' He said, 'I, Saint Dominic, who free the captives from captivity, and know that you will not be healed until you do penance for all of this that you've done and you ask forgiveness from your mother-in-law, and I order you to take that wax which they have prepared for you and light it before my altar, and you will be

completely well.' At this, he took himself from before his eyes and he saw nothing, and his wife and mother-in-law when they heard him shouting asked him, 'What's the matter with you?' He said to them, 'Don't you see Saint Dominic of Silos here and speaking to me, and whatever illness I've had he's taken it away from me except from my left ear.'

Following Dominic's instructions, he did penance for his sins, but found his mother-in-law less than reasonable, and she refused to forgive him when he asked on Easter Sunday. Undeterred, he immediately went and told all to the parish priest who, in his turn, refused to give the woman communion. Faced with such strong condemnation of her own refusal, '*perdonó-l de bona miente*' (23: 965, p. 72; she forgave him willingly). Pedro could then begin the journey to Silos, where he was completely cured as soon as he arrived at the shrine. Dominic punished, but also gave instructions on how to be healed. Yet it was a healing, after the revolution in popular piety that was Lateran IV, which involved the use of the sacraments of confession and penance as a means to spiritual and physical health.⁴⁹

The sacrament of communion, on the one day in the year when the laity were obliged to partake in it, was a means of leverage upon a recalcitrant mother-in-law. During Dominic's life, the sacrifice of the mass had been his preferred mode of thaumaturgy; in 1282, Dominic's visionary strictures returned Pedro Coviell de Olvés to the sacraments of the church with the emphasis that the sick man was responsible for his own illness and its cure. It is possible to claim that the illness was psychosomatic, brought on by stress, mental alienation and grief. But it was an illness all the same and its cure could only be effected by tackling the causes of the illness, which the vision allowed Pedro to do, providing him with the saint's authority to alter his behaviour and seek reconciliation. Yet this authority was not accepted by his mother-in-law, and it was only with the invocation of stronger social pressures, the censure of the parish priest and the threat of excommunication, that she was prepared to re-establish harmony between herself and her son-in-law. Pedro had infringed well-known and widely accepted behavioural precepts: his tearing of his cheeks in mourning had long been forbidden within Christianity, his treatment of wife and mother-in-law inhumane.⁵⁰

Proper observance of Christian rituals was an important aspect of the cult. Marimartín from Serón was brought by her parents to the shrine to pray for the restitution of sight in an eye lost when she disobeyed her mother's harassed command to return immediately from the river after she had washed the clothes because there were further chores to be done — it was Holy Saturday, and preparations were underway for Easter Sunday.⁵¹ Marimartín dawdled with the other girls she found there, returning only at nightfall, when she would seem to have succumbed to a serious and painful eye infection (56: 2580–92, p. 130–31) — or a psychosomatic blindness in order to avoid her mother's reproaches.

Dominic's *virtus* could also show forth to emphasize the need to enjoy oneself upon his feast day in the town of which he was patron. Considering that he recommended observation of rest-days for captive Moors, this was perhaps the least he could do. The Silos butcher Domingo Benito attended the procession to honour the saint's feast but unwisely chose to avoid the sermon preached by a Franciscan. He went to his house to continue the preparation of tallow-fat, probably in order to sell candles to pilgrims and townsfolk. His house caught fire, and the bell from San Pedro, the parish church of Silos, summoned all those enthralled by the Franciscan's preaching to help extinguish the fire (82: 3843–57, p. 173). Frey Iohán Martínez de Orduna may well have been using texts from the *Miráculos romançados* in his preaching to detail the daily 'bienes e miráculos' (benefits and miracles) that were worked through Dominic and, ironically in the face of Domingo Benito's discomfiture, to stress the importance of attending all of the feastday celebrations.⁵²

The necessity of fulfilling ritual precepts underlies the confused instructions which a voice gave to Bartolomé de Xerez and Alfonso de Baesça in Málaga.

En la era de mil .CCC.XXIII. annos, sabbado en la noch, domingo amanesçient, vigilia de Apariçio Domini al primo suenno, estos cativos durmiendo, veno a ellos Santo Domingo con grant claridat e díxoles, 'Amigos, christianos, vía vos comigo que yo só Santo Domingo de Silos que vengo por vos.' En esto despertaron. Falláronse fuera del çepo, e los fierros sueltos. Dixieron estos cativos, 'Sennor, estas mugieres que aquí yazen, ¿qué farán?' 'Lamat la más moça. Pero non la lames que quando parió quebrantó los días de Santa María que ayunava que comió carne; mas lámala, venga connusco que maguer los quebrantó depués los cobró.' Dixo-l Bartolomé, '¡Mariapariçio! ¡Vía suso, despertat!' Dixo-l Mariapariçio, '¡Ay, mesquina! ¡En mal punto nascí! Que agora nos echamos e ya me laman que faga los mandados.' Dixo-l otra vez Bartolomé, 'Non es esso, que sennor Santo Domingo es que nos a lamado que nos vayamos con él ca non tenemos los fierros e sueltos somos de la prisiones. Ir nos queremos e mandó que vos lamássemos qui aquí nos está atendiendo.' Levantáronse e vieron grant claridat a la puerta de la casa e tomaron sus fierros e a ella por la mano e sallieron por la puerta que fallaron abierta. (50: 2158–81, p. 116)

In AD 1285, on Saturday night, near Sunday dawn, the eve of the Epiphany, when just asleep, whilst these captives were sleeping, Saint Dominic came to them with great brilliance and said to them, 'Friends, Christians, leave with me for I am Saint Dominic of Silos who have come for you.' At this they awoke. They found themselves out of the stocks and their irons loose. These captives said, 'Sir, these women that are here, what will they do?' 'Call the youngest. Yet don't call her since when she gave birth she broke her fast on the days of Our Lady that she was keeping by eating meat; but call her, let her come with us since although she broke them she made them up later.' Bartolome said to her, 'Mariapariçio, get up, wake up!' Mariapariçio said to him, 'Oh, unhappy me, in an ill hour was I born! For we've only just lain down and now they're calling me to carry out the chores.' Bartolomé said to her again, 'It's not that, for Lord Saint Dominic has called us to go with him:

we don't have our irons and we are freed from our bonds. We want to escape and he, who is waiting here for us, ordered us to call you.' They got up and saw a great brilliance at the door of the house and they took their irons and her by the hand and went out through the door which they found open.

The imperative of fulfilling a fast which one has vowed is underlined, but the principle of forgiveness also has its place; Mariaparição escaped, however confusedly, and related the male captives' visionary experience which took place whilst she was asleep. They must have told her later, but this does not appear in the account. This *miráculo* is more clearly than most a narrative which has been shaped by the recording methods at the shrine, since Mariaparição's experience of the events would have been almost the reverse of the narration as given in the text.

THE SPREAD OF DEVOTION TO DOMINIC

The monks were involved in the maintenance of the reputation of the shrine; the Christians in frontier lands had their own devotions to Dominic, at times eliding with the monastic view, at other times spinning in eddies of their own. Not all recourse to the saint, however, was spontaneous, either in Christendom or in Moorish dungeons. The parents of Marimartín de Serón were told to take her to Santo Domingo by the local clerics when appraised of the circumstances in which she had been struck down (56: 2592–94, p. 131). They perhaps knew the reputation of Silos as a centre for the undoing of vengeance miracles. Yet, even so, the parents had to be nudged into going to the shrine by their daughter's repeated visions of a man telling her to go, and promising that otherwise she would not be cured (56: 2597–603, p. 131). The two Sicilian merchants held captive in Almería sent word to its ruler via friars of the order of Santa Olalla of Barcelona that they, the merchants, would give him, once they had returned to Messina, a hundred and fifty golden *doblas*. This offer was refused, and the two friars returned to them, recommending that they not despair but pray to Saint Dominic of Silos, of whom the two men had never before heard (85: 3909–17, p. 175).⁵³

As a means of encouraging despairing captives, the friars who ministered to them and attempted to redeem them must have had an important role in spreading devotion to Dominic by retelling stories of escapes and exhorting them to pray for their release. Indeed, the intense similarity which is often found between accounts of escapes may be due to the invisible intermediacy of the friars' stories. The captives who requested, after they had seen a brilliant light and heard a voice encouraging them to escape, that Dominic enter their dungeon, make it flat and break their irons (18: 778–83, 791–92, p. 65) were clear in their minds how an escape miracle worked by Dominic should proceed. What is more, they expected their master also to know, since they feared that the voice and the light were merely his deceit ('e los cativos non lo creyeron a la sazón, e cuydaron que era Mahómat su sennor que lo fazia por

los engannar', 18: 783–85; and the captives did not believe it at that time, and they thought that it was Mahómat their master who was doing it to trick them'). The thirteen captives held in Ronda were more explicit: 'dixieron entre sí que su sennor Abohaçin era encantador, e sabía mucho mal, e que él fiziera aquel truenno e los fiziera soltar, por que les diesse otro día muchos açotes' (42: 1987–90, p. 109; they said to themselves that their master Abohaçin was a sorcerer, and he was learned in evil arts, and that he had caused that thunder-clap and had them released from their irons, so that he would give them many lashes the following day). Detailed news of Dominic's miracles was circulating in al-Andalus, amongst captives and masters, and mendicant friars were the most likely source for these tales.

It is likely that the friars would have known Silos, since the Trinitarians, another order dedicated to the redemption of captives, had a house in Burgos,⁵⁴ and Silos, a day's journey away on horse-back, would have provided a fertile ground for the collecting of alms for that purpose. Gonzalo de Berceo depicted Dominic's giving of a horse to a captive's family as an act of charity, and it would be unthinkable that some of the monastery's own income was not also dedicated to such relief.

Captives' devotion to Dominic, as depicted in the collection, was fervent. It provided a means of creating bonds between those abandoned together in dungeons and supplied some form of emotional respite from the severity of their deprivations. Thus Pedro de Tovarra was whipped close to death with two hundred and forty lashes after provoking his masters with his refusal to come to terms on a redemption price, preferring to express his faith in supernatural assistance. He dreamt repeatedly over a couple of months that Saint Dominic was coming to free him, and told this to his companion, Iohán, who encouraged him: 'Vós veredes que dios e Santo Domingo aina nos farán merçet' (57: 2635–36, p. 132; You'll see God and Saint Dominic will have mercy upon us soon). Devotional forms of prayer of an extremely emotive kind were common. Thus Larios de Burgos and his companion stayed on their knees and repeatedly kissed the ground to pray for their release (43: 1612–17, p. 96).⁵⁵ It is perhaps this form of highly emotional and charismatic prayer, allied to poor diet, overwork, and confinement in a state of sensory deprivation, which led to the enormous number of visionary experiences found in the collection, although it must be allowed that miraculous transportations over many miles — as occurred to Larios and his companion whilst they were sleeping (43: 1617–33, p. 96) — are harder to explain by reductive hypotheses.⁵⁶

CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS IN CAPTIVES' TALES OF LIBERATION

Most of the accounts provided by captives to explain their release refer explicitly to supernatural occurrences. Brightly shining light in a dungeon, a disembodied voice, the spontaneous opening of chains, shackles and bonds,

doors opening of their own accord or inexplicably unlocked, the captives' invisibility to pursuers, the inexplicable traversing of long distances in an impossibly short time, the route to Christendom illumined by a brilliant light during the dead of night, the crossing of water dry-shod or on a miraculously appearing bridge. It is extremely difficult to know what to make of these stories, other than recording that they accompanied liberations associated with Dominic. Regarding three escapes, however, conflicting accounts have been preserved, and an analysis of these may throw some, admittedly weak, light upon the obscurity of the other accounts.

In the early stages of the collection, the accounts of captives freed together were summarized. However, after around the beginning of 1284, each captive was given his own paragraph in which his account was presented. The first escape to be dealt with in this fashion (33–34, 36–37, 39) provides accounts which are similar indeed. The major difference is that the first captive to reach the shrine speaks of a 'grant claridat' (great brilliance) in the prison for four months before a final 'muy grant claridat' (very great brilliance) prompted them all to walk out into the street (33: 1275–1279, p. 84); subsequent accounts only mention the single night's brilliance (34: 1303, p. 85; 36: 1350, p. 86; 37: 1375, p. 87). All agree, however, that the dungeon that they inhabited was flattened and the doors opened: 'fallaron la caçel lana, e las puertas todas abiertas' (33: 1277–78; cf. 34: 1304; 36: 1351–52). The flattening or smoothing of the dungeon, allowing the captives to leave through doors that were normally out of their reach, is a common description of the experience of those who were escaping from dungeons.⁵⁷ It is the clearest indication that the normal rules for reality were suspended during the time of the escape.

The consistency of the accounts in *miráculos* 33, 34, 36 and 37 cannot be matched by subsequent joint-escapes. Three accounts of the same flight from imprisonment clash in the most interesting fashion. All three narrations describe the same event, or at least related events. The accounts were provided by Bernabeio, Benito and don Miquel. They escaped together from a prison in Málaga, but reached Silos at different times. Bernabeio's account chimes with Benito's; both differ radically from don Miquel's. I shall consider Bernabeio's and Benito's accounts (70: 3141–95, pp. 150–51; 77: 3574–3615, pp. 164–65) before contrasting their recorded experiences with Miquel's (72: 3293–363, pp. 155–56).

Bernabeio came to Silos at the beginning of August and Benito towards the end of September in 1285. Benito was probably some sort of merchant, having been captured when he was returning to Aguilar from Porcuna after buying wheat there.⁵⁸ Bernabeio was a shepherd, captured outside Écija. Both agree on the following tale: the captives, seven in total, prayed always to God, the Virgin and Saint Dominic that they might free them; on a Saturday in July, around the first cock-crow, they heard a voice identifying itself as Saint Dominic who had come to rescue them. At the sound of this voice they all

woke and saw a great brilliance. They escaped from the place that they were imprisoned and went out into the street. They came to the Messias Gate of the city, found it open, went out through it, and walked along a way which was illumined by a great brilliance; they travelled through the night with the brilliance before them and a white dove which flew above them. When it was day, they reached the castle of Abenaxarin, which belonged to the bishop of Córdoba, and the castellan, Álvar Peres, had their irons removed.

Since the shrine-recorders had access to the earlier account, certain details may have been omitted in the second (namely, the place of origin of their captor and the Moors being out in the moonlight), although the second also contains details which are not present in the first, the most striking being Benito's recollection that all the captives had promised to fast for a year on bread and water every Friday (77: 3590–92, p. 164). Bernabeio, only a shepherd, may well have been separate from the main group in the dungeon since there would seem to be at least two important figures amongst them, don Miquel de Cetina (about whom more presently) and Pedro, son of Domingo Sancho the Navarrese, from Córdoba (70: 3214–17, p. 152; 77: 3606–08, p. 165). Their promise to fast and their prayers may well have excluded the poorer man.

When we turn to the escape, we find a straightforward contradiction between the two accounts. Benito speaks of escaping from an upper attic, an *algorfa*; Bernabeio from a house, a *casa* (77: 3599, p. 165; 70: 3229, p. 152). However, bearing in mind later literary depictions of shepherds as men with small vocabularies and even smaller comprehension, it may be that the term *casa* was as precise as Bernabeio could manage.⁵⁹ A further difference may be found in the account of the vision itself: both captives agree that the voice both invited them to leave and identified itself as Saint Dominic, but Bernabeio indicates that the voice spoke again, reinforcing its message that the captives should not fear, and so encouraging them on their escape (70: 3224–3229, p. 152; 77: 3594–96, pp. 164–65).⁶⁰ But in Benito's account, the captives woke up to find themselves released from their stocks and shackles; it was this alone which prompted them to escape (77: 3596–99, p. 165). The elements found in both Benito's and Bernabeio's accounts of the supernatural experience are extremely common in the collection. The contradiction between them warns against regarding any tale which accounts for the captive's supernatural release as definitive. Individual captive's perceptions may differ, previous tales may affect, effect, interfere with or enrich the experience of liberation.

Bernabeio's account does not mention that he retained his irons, even though he brought them to the monastery (70: 3240, p. 152). Benito, in contrast, mentions them twice in a miraculous context: first he does not know how their master did not hear them climbing down the roof with their chains making a riot of a noise; secondly, he noted that they walked all night and never felt tired by the weight of their chains (77: 3599–600, 3604–05, p. 165). It may be that the hard life of a shepherd had inured Bernabeio to the discomfort of carrying

heavy irons during his captivity or overnight during a forced march, whereas Benito, a man softened by the rich life of the merchant class, felt the weight acutely and so was surprised to be able to walk with them. Such discrepancy emphasises the importance of individual temperament in the experience and retelling both of the visions and the material circumstances under which the captives normally lived out their captivity. Bernabeio noticed that there were many Moors out in the moonlight; he also had noticed that they usually locked the Messías Gate, presumably the gate through which he, at least, had been brought into the city (70: 3230–33, p. 152).

The accounts both demonstrate what must have been the near-unanimous tendency of captives to generalize their own experience of the escape to make it apply to all the others who took part.⁶¹ Even if the captives did not do this, it is more than human to have expected the shrine-recorders not to have done so. A number of captives did not come to the shrine, even though they were instructed by a visionary voice to go to Dominic's tomb, at least according to those captives who did come to the shrine. There may have been a natural recidivism; but some surely did not attend because they did not experience the escape in the same visionary or mystical terms; some may have felt under an obligation to go to Silos, which became transmuted into a visionary command (for which see table 5). The power of the individual's conscience in mediating the experience will be discussed below, when don Miquel de Cetina's account of the same escape is considered.

Table 5: attendance of captives at the shrine

<i>Mirá-culo</i>	<i>Nº Freed</i>	<i>Nº Attend</i>	<i>So Ins-structed</i>	<i>Mirá-culo</i>	<i>Nº Freed</i>	<i>Nº Attend</i>	<i>So Ins-structed</i>
6	2	2	•	49	2	2	—
9	6	6	—	50	3	1	—
14	8	8	•	51	2	1	—
15	4	4	•	53	3	1	—
17	6	1	•	57 etc	3	3	—
18	14	14	—	60	2	1	—
25	2	1	—	61 etc.	2	2	—
27	3	3	—	66	3	1	—
29	2	2	—	67	2	1	—
33 etc.	13	5	—	68	2	1	•
35	3	3	—	74	3	1	—
40	6	1	•	75	2	1	—
42	4	1	—	76	7	1	•
43	2	1	•	83	2	1	—
47	13	1	—	85	2	1	—
48	16	1	—	88	9	9	—

Since there were many Moors out in the moonlight, it could be argued that the captives took a propitious moment for escape (a feast at the full moon) during which their captors would be otherwise occupied and the way to Christendom would indeed be lit by a *claridat*, the light of the full moon. Yet the concurring element of the white dove flying above them would not be explicable in that fashion (70: 3235, p. 152; 77: 3610, p. 165). The dove traditionally represents the Holy Spirit, although it may be thought of as the power of the saint protecting and leading them to Christendom. Doves were hung over the tomb (24: 993–95, p. 73), and so the appearance of this nocturnal dove may be a reminiscence of the shrine itself.⁶²

Although *miráculos* 70 and 77 are reassuringly similar in many ways, one of the other captives to escape with them arrived at the shrine, after Bernabeio but before Benito. Don Miquel's account is strikingly different to theirs: soberingly so, in fact. Miquel was captured with Benito, and was bought by the same master. Unlike Benito and Bernabeio, he does not mention the names of those that were captured with him in his account. His experience of captivity was distinct from that of both Benito and Bernabeio, for, being an Aragonese noble, the man was tortured to arrive at a redemption price: a hundred *doblas*, clothes and knives, on top of which he would have to give over a son and a daughter as hostages until he paid what he owed. He communicated this agreement to his wife through an *alfaqueque*, one specialized in transactions of this sort.

Don Miquel, terrified that his children would remain enslaved for life, began to pray.⁶³ On a Saturday in June, Saint Dominic appeared three times to him in the night, telling him that he would soon be freed from captivity. Don Miquel sent word to his wife, via another *alfaqueque*, to ignore his previous message. Miquel's treatment was different to that of the other captives and his motivations in wishing to escape more pressing. All the same, there is no mention of any communal prayer or promise of fasting. Miquel's experience now departed most strikingly from that of the other two captives. A brilliant light filled the cell (as with Bernabeio's account), but the voice, when it spoke, addressed only don Miquel, not all of the captives as both Bernabeio and Benito reported. The message Dominic conveyed to Miquel is remarkably personal, placing him, as Miquel would have expected to be, in charge of the escape:

'Miquel, desperta, e anda, vete comigo pora la mi casa que el paramiento que as puesto con Albohaçán nunqua ielo devrás nin quiere el nuestro Sennor Iesu Christo que pierdas tus fijos por ello.' En esto despertó e dixo, 'Sennor, ¿quí sodes vós que esto me dezides?' Dixo-l 'Yo só Santo Domingo, el de Silos, que vengo por ti, que bien sabes que lo roguete a dios e a mí e la tu oración fue oída e acabada, e lama tus conpannos e venit en pos mí.' (72: 3333–41, p. 156)

'Miquel, wake up, and quick, come with me to my church since the agreement that you have made with Albohaçán you will never owe to him nor does our Lord Jesus Christ wish that you should lose your children because of it.' At this he woke up

and said, 'Sir, who are you who say this to me?' He said to him, 'I am Saint Dominic, the one from Silos,⁶⁴ who has come for you, and you well know that what you asked God and me for and your prayer was heard and brought about, and call your companions and follow me.'

The words Dominic speaks to Miquel reflect the latter's own preoccupation with his failure, with his breaking under torture to accept outlandish terms in exchange for his freedom, for which he would even have sacrificed his son and daughter to permanent captivity. It is no wonder that he later repented of what he had done after dreaming of Dominic, thus giving himself a reason for cancelling the agreement as spelt out to his wife, but also leaving himself with little possibility but flight, since, if he had been broken before by torture, it was even more likely that he would be broken again. Dominic's second appearance, and his reproaching of Miquel, is very much the working of the man's own conscience, upbraiding him for letting down his responsibilities to family and class in agreeing terms with the Moor who owned him.⁶⁵ There is some chronological uncertainty, too, in don Miquel's account: he dreams of Dominic first on the Saturday night, tells the *alfaunque* the same night, and is subsequently freed, all before cock-crow.

Miquel escapes with two other captives who are never named. Both Benito and Bernabeio thought that the voice instructed all the captives to escape and that all of them did so. Don Miquel confirms (with Benito) that they were held in a tower and also explains how they escaped from it: down a tiled roof and into the street (72: 3341–42, p. 156). Whilst Miquel confirms Benito's description of the *algorfa* or tower, he immediately includes a detail from Benabeio's, that the Moors were out in the moonlight (72: 3342–43, p. 156). Miquel's account does not specify if the town gate they came to was either the Messías Gate or open, but the implication that they could not go through because of the number of Moors watching over the gate would seem to indicate that it was in fact open. Benito and Bernabeio claimed to have walked through the gate; Miquel, in contrast, describes how he and his two companions escaped through a door in the city wall which appeared and, once they were through, miraculously disappeared (72: 3350–53, p. 156).⁶⁶ Benito and Bernabeio reached the castle of Abenaxerin in a night, where the castellan had their irons removed; Miquel and his two companions walked for four nights before reaching Estepa, where the *alcaldes* removed their irons.

It is tempting to construct a composite picture of the escape: three captives escape; they are so overcome with fear that that only the leader, don Miquel, has a firm sense of what happens in the initial stages, as they crawl out of their cell and scramble down a roof to the street, then walk through a festive crowd of Moors. If don Miquel's account of his finding a Christian *alfaunque* by night (and Bernabeio's awareness that the Messías Gate was usually locked) is not wild invention, then it may have been that captives' wandering the streets at night was not an occurrence that might arouse suspicion, although, since

the captives were trying to escape, they would expect to be caught and enormously relieved, and perhaps amazed, when they were not. Reaching the gate, they found a side-gate carelessly unlocked; Miquel went first, and the third closed it behind him so that their having passed through it would not be noticed. When Miquel looked back, unaware of what had happened behind him, he saw the gate closed, and marvelled at this. Their irons being so heavy, they hid in undergrowth some distance from the city. The long journey eventually brought them to Christendom. The conflict regarding the number of captives freed is to be explained by the shrine-recorder's having asked the names of those in the prison with the captive and assuming that all were freed.

Yet such a recasting of the events does not convey the real differences found in the accounts, particularly the different destinations that the two groups of captives reach. It is more likely that the two stories really are different because they represent different experiences: don Miquel's escape being more motivated by desperation, the mysterious, religious experience of the *boz* and the *grant claridat* being interpreted in a guilt-ridden key, whilst for Benito and Bernabeio, the experience of release was as a stereotypical liberation with an equally stereotypical, mysterious exit from their cell. Once out of their master's house, and moving in a city full of Moors who were celebrating an Islamic feast, the two groups became separated, two remaining with don Miquel, the others with Bernabeio and Benito. The experiences of the latter group were by far the more miraculous, since they passed out through a gate overtopped by watchmen and took a path, perhaps illuminated by the moon, which led them to Christendom. Such conflict between accounts is a good thing, since, although it proves very difficult to say exactly what happened, it is also possible to say that *something* happened.⁶⁷

A similar conflict of accounts, although perhaps with different motivations, can be found in the divergent tales of Domingo Munnoz de Jaén (68: 3085–139, pp. 148–49) and his companion, Benito de Baraxas (75: 3448–525, pp. 160–62). Domingo Munnoz claimed to have been taken by his master to break stones, and, whilst he was working, a voice told him to escape; he went to look behind a wall to see if anyone was speaking; the voice again told him to do what he desired, and so he took his pick, struck his master through the skull with it and bundled the corpse down a well (68: 3013–124, pp. 148–49).

In Benito's account of the escape, however, there was no hard manual work breaking stones, there was no violent killing of the master. There was, rather, a recollection of how that had skived in a walled *huerta*, shivering with cold and sleeping in the sun, after having been, of all indignities, locked in by their master's concubine. The supernatural event was also different. There was no disembodied voice. Domingo woke Benito up. Benito saw Domingo's chains piled up in front of him. Domingo then told Benito that a ghost had appeared to him in a dream telling him to escape. Benito removed his own irons without difficulty. Domingo tried the door and found it open, and so they made off (75: 3467–95, pp. 160–61).

It is most likely, given the chill of the morning and the other demands on her time, that their master's concubine had hurried back without locking the door. It would seem that Domingo Munnoz had been in the employment of the town council of Jaén, and therefore had a position to uphold.⁶⁸ Benito's account of laziness and fear did not fit well with Domingo's persona, and so another story was invented in which he laboured in the extreme, killed his master and flung him down a well. The escape took on epic proportions, and Domingo Munnoz took on the role of an avenger. If he had invented a story to encourage Benito to help him, there was no reason not to change it when necessary. The two captives arrived separately at the shrine, by which we may assume that, after wandering in the *sierra* and having finally arrived at Lorca, Benito had been left behind when Domingo went to fulfil his socially-obliged duty of visiting the saint. Benito did reach the shrine, exactly a month after Domingo, by which time the latter would have been long gone. It is a tribute to the shrine-recorders that both accounts were included, and one not harmonized with another. Benito was a small-time merchant, and so without any need to make himself or his escape more grandiose.⁶⁹

Some details do remain to indicate that there is a common core of truth to the narrations before Domingo Munnoz's expansions: the escape takes place at the time of morning mass, or at terce; the orchard was in the *Real*; there is a wall involved; they meet no Muslims on their way to the mountains; during the escape they kneel and weep 'de los oios' (68: 3127, p. 149 and 75: 3514–16, p. 161; from their eyes), an epic phrase. In Domingo Munnoz's account they wept to beseech God to free them from their irons, which were too heavy to walk with. In Benito's account they were terrified they would be caught by the twenty horsemen and their dogs who had come out to apprehend them, and so wept whilst they prayed for deliverance. Benito told the recorders that an 'escudero de Aragón' had seen them going along the road, realized they were captives, and joined them, only to be later apprehended by horsemen out hunting who cried, 'Niztran, niztran' (75: 3508–09, p. 161) — a word which is not Arabic, but may be Berber.⁷⁰ This event is passed over in silence by Domingo Munnoz.

We may conclude that his original story, concocted for Benito's pious simplicity, was later manipulated to present his own actions in as favourable a light as possible, and moulded upon a previously existing pattern in which captives heard the voice of Dominic. It is impossible to know whether these alterations were the product of conscious decision or unconscious silencing and day-dreaming elaboration. Confinement could easily drive people mad, and Domingo Munnoz's may have come to believe he had achieved what he wished he had done.⁷¹ What is clear, however, is that another tale had been elaborated from a common core of experience. We are fortunate to have Benito's parallel and contradictory tale to place beside that of Domingo Munnoz. Yet in the emendations to that story we see a process of normalization occurring through the captive's own telling of his tale before it was

mediated by shrine-recorders. This tendency towards conservatism and normality, especially since the events themselves are abnormal in the extreme, must be a major consideration in any analysis of the captives' testimonies. The evidence that this collection of *miráculos* seems to present about aspects of the captives' treatment should always be used with due caution.

The miraculous could be manipulated, consciously or unconsciously, for personal ends, and the claim that Dominic had intervened could camouflage a multitude of sins. Iohán Sánchez wove a web of marvellous deceit in the account of his liberation from Moorish captivity in order to further his own career.⁷² This *miráculo* is the only one which entailed the enrichment of the monastery in a direct way, since the purpose of Iohán's escape is to provide, as Dominic himself said when he appeared to the man, 'el logar que dizen Los Santos pora el mio monasterio' (13: 572-73, p. 58; the place which is called Los Santos for my monastery). The narrative records, in its opening lines, that Iohán Sánchez was very familiar with the monastery: he was an oblate under don Rodrigo, abbot between 1242 and 1276.⁷³ Rodrigo Íñiguez was the only abbot after Dominic to have had the fame of sanctity attached to his name, although no life was written nor any process of canonization entered into, perhaps because the cult of Dominic overshadowed any other devotion at the monastery. Whilst Iohán Sánchez's familiarity with Silos is not in doubt, his character might be brought into question, for the recorder tantalizingly writes: 'por su desventura ovo a sallir de la orden seyendo moço, e fuesse a la frontera' (13: 537-38, p. 57; due to his misfortune he had to leave the monastic life whilst still a youth and went to the frontier). It may have been sheer ill-luck which robbed the aspiring oblate of his chance at monastic perfection. His parents may have removed him.⁷⁴ That his destination was the frontier, however, suggests that some misdemeanour had caused him to leave, a suspicion strengthened by his return to the monastery after Rodrigo ceased to be abbot: 'quando sopo que el abbat don Sancho era aquí abbat, vénosse pora él, e moró con él un tiempo (13: 539-40, p. 57; when he knew that don Sancho [Pérez de Guzmán, 1276-1282] was abbot here, he came to him, and lived with him for a while).

This submission to monastic discipline did not last long, and Iohán Sánchez asked to return to the frontier so that 'recabdasse algunos bienes pora Santo Domingo de las cavalgadas' (13: 543-44, p. 57; he might gain some of the fruits of the *razzias* for Saint Dominic). While travelling from Lorca, Iohán Sánchez was captured and wounded with a lance, then taken to Vera. He was subsequently freed by Saint Dominic, instructed that the saint desired Los Santos, and accordingly went to the town council of Lorca, who received him with utter disbelief at first. He prayed to the saint, and at that very moment three captives whom Dominic had freed from the same prison as Iohán Sánchez arrived in Lorca to confirm his story. The council finally believed him, and authorized the transfer, according to the king's pleasure. He returned to Silos, and was there in March 1280 to tell Alfonso X of his miraculous escape.

In the face of such wonderful news, Alfonso gave his blessing for the transfer of Los Santos.

The details of Iohán Sánchez's escape are tinged with hues of the folkloristically marvellous which are uncharacteristic of the collection as a whole. When Iohán Sánchez was taken by the Moors, he was carrying a letter of introduction, attesting himself as a representative of the abbot of Silos. The *carta* had a 'cordón bermejo de seda' (13: 553, p. 57; a red silken string), which his captor put around his daughter's neck, with tragic consequences: 'Finchó la morezna, e quebró por medio, e murió' (13: 556, p. 57; the Moorish girl swelled, burst in the middle and died). This is a rare instance of a vengeance miracle being performed by Dominic. Sudden death for the abuse of holy objects is a frequent motif in popular religious narratives, and 'crepuit per medium', the identical phrase to this in Latin, occurs in a vengeance miracle contained in the near-contemporary *Miracula Rudesindi*.⁷⁵ That the letter of introduction has become such a relic in Iohán Sánchez's narration shows the identification that he made between his commission from the abbot and the will of the saint.

Because of the *morezna*'s death, the Moors are said to mistreat him with tortures unheard of in the rest of the collection. But there is something of a confusion as to why such *penas* are given. At first, it is for the girl's demise, but this reason yields to a more common one, that of forcing Iohán Sánchez to purchase his freedom. The Moors are characterized as not only contumacious in their disregard of a divine sign, but also brutalized by their greed: 'el moro mandó dar a este Iohán Sánchez muchos açotes, e fazía ferver el olio, e metiénle sédanos en las manos, e dábanle muchas penas, porque era escrivano, que cuydavan levar d'él muy grant algo' (13: 558-62, p. 57; the Moor ordered that this Iohán Sánchez be given many lashes, and had boiling oil prepared, and put worms into his hands, and tortured him greatly because he was a scribe, since they thought that they could get a great deal from him). Iohán Sánchez's prayer for release is different from all the others in the collection, for it casts him as a type of sinful humanity, and has a facet of theological exemplarity which other prayers lack: Dominic should free him from the prison, 'assí como fiziera e fazié a otros muchos pecadores' (13: 567, p. 57; just as he had done and continued to do to other many sinners). His early monastic education was evidently not wasted.⁷⁶ Dominic appeared 'en aquella misma figura que está sobr'el altar' (13: 569, p. 57; in that same figure which is above the altar), instructing him to leave and take his message to Lorca. Iohán Sánchez refused, saying, 'Sennor, non puedo, que estó muy mal ferido' (13: 574, p. 58; My lord, I cannot, for I am very badly wounded). Dominic disappeared, to return after several days, with the same message, and worked a miracle:

él estando despierto contra la mannana, veno a él Santo Domingo, e dixo-l, 'Iohán Sánchez, liévate, e vete pora la mi casa, e recabda en Lorca lo que te mandé, e mándote que digas al abbat e al convento que fagan mejor a limpiar e guardar mi

imagen e el mio altar'. En esto, soltósele el çepo, e la cadena de la garganta e los fierros de los pies. (13: 576-82, p. 58)

while he was awake towards dawn, Saint Dominic came to him and said to him, 'Iohán Sánchez, get up, and go to my church, and obtain in Lorca what I ordered you, and I order you to tell the abbot, and the monks, that they make more of an effort to clean and look after my statue and my altar.' And with this, his stocks were unlocked, and the chain around his throat, and the irons from his feet.

Iohán Sánchez then woke the other captives to tell them that Dominic had cured the wound in his side; according to the text, he would seem not to have had any wounds to show to the council at Lorca. This miraculous cure is highly unusual: no other cures are worked on captives in the rest of the collection. Gonçalo de Soria could even show his shoulders to the astonished monks in the cloister, so severely had he been beaten (58: 2360-62, p. 122).

Dominic's double appearance to Iohán Sánchez is paralleled by a *mirá-culo* which had occurred two years earlier, probably when the latter was at the monastery:

veno a él Santo Domingo e dixo-l, 'Doming'Iuanes, leuántate, e ve tu vía.' Dixo-l él, 'Sennor, quí sodes vos que esto me dezides?' Dixo-l, 'Yo só Santo Domingo que vengo por ti.' Entonz cayéronsele los fierros a los pies. Dixo-l Doming'iuanes, 'Sennor, estos que están aquí comigo, ¿qué será d'ellos?' Repuso-l Santo Domingo, 'Que finques tu y con ellos'. Entonz apretáronsele los fierros assí como los tenía ante. (12: 514-20, p. 56)

Saint Dominic came to him and said to him, 'Doming'Iuanes, get up, and be on your way.' He said to him, 'Lord, who are you that says this to me?' He said to him, 'I am Saint Dominic coming for you'. Then the irons at his feet fell from him. Doming'iuanes said to him, 'Lord, these that are here with me, what will happen to them? Saint Dominic replied, 'May you remain there with them'. Then his irons closed about him just as he had had them before.

Doming'Iuanes was eventually freed alone. Iohán Sánchez had copied a previous *mirá-culo*'s structure for his own ends.

The escape shows further unusual or inexplicable details. Iohán Sánchez was able to take a torch and regain possession of the letter which the Moor had stolen from him. Unusually, his irons were left in the prison. No explanation is given as to why he took a torch when it was dawn, nor how he could so easily take the *carta* which the Moor had taken from him. The torch was useful, since when a Moorish woman saw Iohán Sánchez escaping, he dropped it into her house and she turned back to put out the flames. His trials were still not finished, for, as he left the town, a Moor laid hold of him, 'e abraçó-l muy derrezio, e dixo-l, "Cativo, cativo"' (13: 595-96, p. 58; and squeezed him very hard and said to him, 'Captive, captive'). When Iohán invoked Dominic's aid, the Moor fell to the ground, paralysed. The form that the incapacity takes,

‘tornáronsele los braços e la cara al moro atrás’ (13: 599-600, p. 58; the Moor’s arms and face were turned behind him), is that reserved for those who trespass upon the holy.⁷⁷ Iohán Sánchez would seem to be casting himself as the bearer of a divinely inspired message, and thereby especially sanctified by the task. Whilst some Moors do indeed see captives escaping, they are usually unable to lay their hands upon them. More generally, it is simply reported that the Moors said nothing to the captives as they escaped.⁷⁸ It is unusual that only two Moors saw the captive, whilst the others took no notice. One is therefore left with the strong suspicion that the escape has been constructed along the lines of an adventure story, and that the three captives who arrive, supposedly having been released from the same prison as Iohán Sánchez, are nothing more than hired crooks, paid to appear at the requisite time. No names are given for these dubious characters who so impressed the council of Lorca. They do not come to Silos to give thanks for their freedom, thus avoiding close questioning. Iohán Sánchez’s tale was an elaborate con-trick, using the motifs of hagiographical literature to present himself as Dominic’s chosen broker in the frontier lands so that his position as representative of Silos in the south was assured. It worked: even Alfonso X believed his story.

Or so it seems. Although Alfonso is described as authorizing the transaction, there is no record in Silos of the monastery’s possession of Los Santos. Vivancos Gómez includes a mention of the transfer in his edition of the monastery’s cartulary, but more through piety to the memory of Férotin, historian of the monastery, great scholar of the Mozarabic liturgy, and first editor of the cartulary (who had included it), than through whole-hearted conviction:

Aunque no nos ha quedado ningún otro rastro de esta donación, y aún advirtiendo el carácter apologético de la obra de Pero Marín, incluimos aquí — siguiendo a Férotin — este documento porque el relato ofrece suficientes visos de verosimilitud. Sin embargo, se desconoce por cualquier otra fuente dónde estuvo Alfonso X entre el 11 de enero y el 22 de marzo de 1280, fechas extremas en las que se encontraba en Sevilla.⁷⁹

Although we have been quite unable to trace this donation, and aware of the apologetic character of Pero Marín’s work [i.e., the *Miráculos romançados*], we include this document here (following Férotin), since the account offers sufficient elements of verosimilitude. However, Alfonso X’s whereabouts between 11 January and 22 March 1280 are unknown from any other source; on these two dates, he was in Seville.

Thereby making it highly unlikely that he had travelled up to Castile. The king’s confirmation *in absentia* might have been lost, of course. A document given to the monastery on 26 February 1277 by the king reads:

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren commo yo, don Alffonso [...] vi una mi carta que yo oue dado al abbat e al conuiento de Sancto Domingo de Silos, fecha en esta

guisa [...] Et porque esta carta era en paper e se rompie, toue por bien e mandegela renouar en pergamino de cuero.⁸⁰

May all those who see this document know that I, don Alfonso [...] saw one of my documents that I had given to the abbot and the monks of Saint Dominic of Silos, written in this way [...] And because this document was on paper and was ripped, I thought it best to order it to be redone on parchment.

The date of Alfonso's stay at the monastery might be wrong, and March 1277 be meant; but it is difficult to see how 'mil e .CCC.XVIII.' could be mistakenly read from 'mil e .CCC.XV.'. Yet two leading figures from the monastery (the prior, Iohán Fernández and don Andrés, 13: 623–24, p. 59) are mentioned having informed Lorca town council of the king's approval. It may have been the date of the ratification by the town council of the king's *nulla obstat* was March 1280, and the events telescoped accordingly. But until further documentation appears this aspect must remain shrouded in mystery and suspicion.

CONCLUSIONS

A *miráculo* could serve many purposes. In its simplest form, it could provide entertainment, such as the shaggy-dog story of the mysterious black mastiff which saved the monastery's flocks on the frontier, or the Moors' own *exemplum*, whose moral message was to avoid provoking the saint by scandalous mistreatment of his devotees in captivity. The majority of *miráculos* were recorded because escaped captives wished to testify their gratitude to the saint through whose intercession they were freed. Some, as we have seen, have darker motivations, although only in one is it possible to accuse a *soi-disant* visionary of bad faith.

The accounts themselves are not completely trustworthy in their details. The very nature of the escapes as religious experiences lifts them out of the normal constraints with which human beings usually control their own memories and those of others. The experience itself was mediated through the captive's sensibility, and given a conceptual framework by other tales of miraculous liberation that circulated among the captives in al-Andalus. These stories were transmitted by friars, by captives themselves and even by their Moorish masters. It was rare that captives made a break for freedom without prior supernatural encouragement, be it in the form of dreams or through finding themselves mysteriously out of their irons. This contrasts with the majority of escape miracles from the *Vita Dominici*.

Towards the end of the *Miráculos romanzados*, stories of escapes from the Moors became a frontier sensation, a wave of charismatic fervour sweeping over the south of Spain. Captives arrived at the shrine to recount tales of liberation which imputed to Dominic only that he had inspired them to escape (88: 4031–49, pp. 179–80; 89: 4053–62, p. 180). This effectively marked the end of the thaumaturgic power of the shrine. As the miraculous intervention of

Dominic came to be less and less spectacular, the escapees began to disregard his patronage. A similar hiatus had occurred in the cult between *circa* 1120 and 1234, with the heyday of the miracles only beginning in earnest during the 1270s. We shall now look in more detail at the role that the monks played in the recording of these miracles.

NOTES

1. Escapes from Christian captivity: 3: 82–132, pp. 41–53; 28: 1088–110, p. 77; 54: 2365–451, pp. 123–25; 87: 3977–4028, pp. 177–79; 91: 4086–144, p. 181. Cures: *miráculos* 5: 279–326, pp. 48–49; 23: 926–68, pp. 71–72; 56: 2578–610, pp. 130–31. Tomb-cult: *miráculos* 24: 917–1004, pp. 72–73; 82: 3832–57, p. 173. Flocks: *miráculo* 92, ed. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 95.
2. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 71. On this period of *incastellamento* of the frontier, see Tomás Quesada, 'La frontera castellano-naṣrī en el sector giennense. Las transformaciones del territorio tras la conquista castellana del siglo XIII', in *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del Symposium Conmemorativo del Quinto Centenario (Granada, 2 al 5 de diciembre de 1991)*, ed. by Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993), pp. 401–16; and Manuel Acíen Almansa, 'Settlement and Fortification in Southern al-Andalus: the Formation of a Land of Ḥuṣūn', in *The Formation of al-Andalus*, ed. by Manuela Marín, Formation of the Classical Islamic World, 46–47, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), I, 347–76.
3. See above, Chapter 7, note 2 at p. 264.
4. See Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 72–73. The tendency of *M* to reduce apocopation of some verbal forms and pronouns, with which thirteenth-century feature *S* is rife, is another pointer to the fourteenth century.
5. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad'; José María de Cossío, 'Cautivos de moros en el siglo XIII', *Al-Andalus*, 7 (1942), 49–112.
6. James William Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: the Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier*, The Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Bruce Taylor, *Structures of Reform: the Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 10–25, 31–33.
7. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 1.
8. For example, Cossío, 'Cautivos de moros', p. 83, 'la liberación de los más de los cautivos se hace por medios que nada tienen de extraordinarios' (the liberation of the majority of captives is acheived through means which have nothing extraordinary about them); since the 'máquina sobrenatural es bien parca' (supernatural machine is quite limited), the captives simply invented their visions out of piety: 'esto ha de ver el que interprete piadosamente en estos sucesos la intervención milagrosa de Santo Domingo de Silos' (he who interprets piously will see the miraculous intervention of Saint Dominic of Silos in these events). Whatever the merits of this positivistic approach, the pious interpretation of the escapes are reason for their being recorded and this religious element is the most interesting facet of the whole collection.
9. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 84. According to Martínez Carrillo, J. Torres Fontes, *Repertimiento de Lorca* (Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Lorca-Academia Alfonso X el Sabio de Murcia, 1977), has also defended the historicity of the narrations. One of these narrations may be true, but certainly not both.
10. Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, p. 178; the notes are found at fol. 10^v (stanza 352), fol. 18^v (stanza 645) and fol. 19^v (stanza 672) respectively. The marginal headings may well be signs that the text was not recited in its entirety, but that only chosen excerpts, signalled by the rubrications, were read aloud.
11. 'Dixo el inffante: 'En algaravía entrememente Santo Domingo, que aquel escudero que vós viedes forçó una mugier e yo avía puesto de matarle por ello, e Santo Domingo semeia que

non quiere que vedemos el mal. Mas pues él le sacó de la presión, grant tuerto sería ir yo contra el so fecho. Mando que vaya el escudero a buena ventura, e do-l por quito, e mando-l que se guarde d'aquí adellant, si non él se la cate, e non cuede que Santo Domingo siempre lo aguardará' (3: 120–28, p. 42; The prince said, 'Saint Dominic is putting himself in the middle of a right mess [literally, 'in Arabic'], for that *escudero* that you have before you raped a woman and I had said he would be killed for it, and Saint Dominic seems not to want us to come to that evil end. But since he took him out of captivity, it would be a serious wrong to go against what he has done. I order that the *escudero* should go off unharmed, and I release him fully, and I order him to pay attention to himself from here on, if not he had better watch out, and he shouldn't think that Saint Dominic will always look after him').

12. 87: 4023–25, pp. 178–79. A donation given by Sancho IV on 3-XI–1284 gives his motivations as being 'por la grand deuocïon e por la esperança que yo he en el glorioso confessor Sancto Domingo de Silos, et por muy grand sabor que he de fazer mucho bien e mucha merçed a don Iohan, abbat,' (Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255–1300)*, doc. no. 275, p. 197; for the great devotion and for the hope that I have in the glorious confessor Saint Dominic of Silos, and for the very great pleasure that I have in doing much good and granting much favour to Abbot don Iohan).
13. There are numerous historical problems with this account ably summarized by Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 74–75; Alfonso is recorded as arriving on Monday 5 November 1255; but that was a Friday and the king was in Burgos. According to Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid: Albir, 1984), pp. 123–28, Alfonso might have arrived at Silos on the twelfth, although this would still have been a Friday. More probable is Monday 15 November, by a scribal corruption (XV being read as V, with the customary inexactitude of the Silos scribes). More disturbing, however, is the error over the death of Diego de Haro, which occurred in 1256, not 1255. The details of the account have presumably suffered from being written down some time after the event. The main story, however, in the light of Alfonso's later devotion to the Virgin, rings true.
14. See, for example, Owen Gingerich, 'Alfonso the Tenth as a Patron of Astronomy', in *Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned King (1221–1284). An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984*, ed. Francisco Márquez-Villanueva and Carlos Alberto Vega, Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, 43 (Harvard: Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990), pp. 30–45; Norman Roth, 'Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work', in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Robert I. Burns, SI (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 59–71, at pp. 62–70.
15. For an image of the cloister, see Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB, *El Claustro de Silos* (3rd edn; Burgos: Institución Fernán González, 1978), p. 19; Palacios, Yarza Luaces and Torres, *El monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, pp. 18–19.
16. I have written at greater length on the king's Marian devotion in 'The Thaumaturgy of Regal Piety'. It is notable that Alfonso, when telling his vision to the abbots of Silos and San Pedro de Arlanza 'díxoles en su poridat, "Abbades, non querria fazer nuevas que los santos vienen a mí. Mas, abbat de Santo Domingo, díxovs en vuestro monasterio que vos diría lo que me dixo Santo Domingo una noche quando yogué en la su casa, e entonz non vos lo quis dezir porque me puso plazo de tres lunaciones que se cumplieron yer tres meses"' (4: 253–60, p. 46; said to them in secret, 'Abbots, I do not want to spread around that the saints visit me. But, Abbot of Santo Domingo, I said to you in your monastery that I would tell you what Saint Dominic said to me one night when I lay in his house, and then I did not tell you because he fixed a space of three lunations which was fulfilled three months ago'). The avoidance of creating 'nuevas' regarding his own spiritual blessings was precisely what Alfonso did not do with regard to his Marian devotion.
17. Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, p. 67. The contested status of bells between Muslims and Christians has not ceased. According to the Daily Telegraph of Monday, February 11, 2002, p. 13, 'Eleven people were injured when Muslims in the Egyptian town

of Minya clashed with Coptic Christians after complaining that their new church bell was too loud.'

18. Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Andreas Schott, in his *Hispaniae Illustratae seu Urbium rerumque hispanicarum aedemiarum, bibliothecarum, clarorum denique in omni disciplinarum genere scriptorum auctores varii chronologii. Historici*: IV (Frankfurt: Claudius Marnius, 1608), pp. 1–116, at p. 116, ll. 31–34, 'Inuentae sunt ibi campanae quas ob insigne ab Ecclesia S. Iacobi Apostoli Rex Cordubensis olim detulerat Almanzor: et Rex Catholicus Fernandus fecit eas Saracenorum humeris ad Ecclesiam S. Iacobi reportare' (there were found the bells which the king of Córdoba, Almanzor, once famously carried off from the church of Saint James the Apostle. And the Catholic King Fernando had them carried back to the Church of Saint James upon the shoulders of Saracens). Cf. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus Hispaniae*, IX.42, ed. Schott, *Historici*: II, 25–148, at p. 147, ll. 28–32. The significance of bells continued: a Byzantine bas-relief of the Virgin and Child dating from Visigothic times was (in the sixteenth century) said to have been miraculously discovered buried underneath a bell before the battle of El Puig, near Valencia, in 1237: Taylor, *Structures of Reform*, p. 16. The following fragment of a ballad, which dates to the sixteenth century, makes a similar point:

En la ciudad de Granada
grandes alaridos dan:
unos llaman a Mahoma
otros a la Trinidad.
Por un cabo entran las cruces
de otro sale Alcorán;
donde antes oían cuernos
campanas oyen sonar.

In the city of Granada great cries go up: some call on Muḥammad, others on the Trinity. At one end the crosses come in; from the other, the Qur'an goes out; where before horns were heard now bells can be heard to sound.

19. All three are connected to Algeciras: Domingo de Merlán is encouraged to jump by a disembodied voice and a shining light below him (66: 3020–25, p. 145); Iohán Martínez de Sant Román jumped from the city wall into deep mud without encouragement (45: 1802–04, p. 102); and Estevan de Matraera also jumped from the wall with no visionary instructions (35: 1330–31, p. 86). Martín de Xátiva and Pedro de Alarcón went up a staircase in the house in which they were imprisoned and jumped into the street (29: 113–32, p. 78). Needless to say, none of these were hurt.
20. On the failure of the siege of Algeciras, see Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, p. 164.
21. 'Mansilla de Cinco Villas' is probably to be identified with the Mansilla some twenty-five kilometres south east of Sepúlveda, in turn thirty kilometres north of Cinco Villas. It is close to churches dedicated to Dominic at Pedraza, Prádena del Rincón, etc. (Mansilla, in the Michelin *España & Portugal*, is at p. 18, I(1) 19(4); Cinco Villas at p. 25, J(1) 19(1)).
22. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle*, pp. 90–91.
23. La Marina (or A Mariña) is located on the northern coast of Galicia, close to Ferrol; but Bermeo, again on the coast, is roughly thirty kilometres from Bilbao. Perhaps there is a smidgen of irony, at the expense of the subprior, in the account of the miracle.
24. The settlement some thirty kilometres east of Seville. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 321–26, does not mention this shrine dedicated to Dominic. See fig. 5, where the shrine is indicated by *li*.
25. The *cara magra* is picked up in Domingo Pérez's account of his vision of the saint: 'vi un omne estar, muy chico de cuerpo, la cara magra, la nariz luenga e covo, e los ojos someros e luzientes [...] Vistía una capa bona de seda, atal como visten los obispos e los abbades a sus procesiones, e era muy blanca e abierta delant, e rastrava-l bien tres palmos (54: 2417–24, p. 124; I saw a man there, very small in body, curved, his face thin, his nose long and hooked, and his eyes sunken and shining. [...] He wore a fine silk cope, just like bishops and abbots wear in procession, and it was very white and open in front, and it dragged quite three palm-lengths behind him). The saint's diminutive height was mentioned by two cap-

tives, who saw, 'en somo de la carçel, una persona de un omne pequeno, e tenía en la mano un piértega delgada (42: 1561-63 [94; at the top of the dungeon, the shape of a small man, and he held in his hand a thin walking-stick). Most interesting are the two Sicilian merchants who, although before their captivity they had never heard of Dominic, reported that 'viéronle visible mente con vestimenta blanca' (85: 3920-21, p. 175; they saw him in visible form wearing white vestments). Presumably they had access either to stories of Dominic's appearances or to statues. Arias Páez and his fellow captives saw 'en la carçel muy grant claridat, e vieron un omne figura de monge, e, con la grant claridat, non podieron devisar las vestiduras de qué color eran' (40: 1459-62, p. 90; in the dungeon a very great brilliance, and they saw a man dressed as a monk, and, with the great brilliance, they could not tell of what colour the vestments were).

26. Larios had his dream on 4 February, 1285 (see 43: 1605, p. 96), and escaped on the eighth of that month; Iohán was taken captive in August and held for seven months: he therefore escaped at some point in February.
27. Almuñécar (*España & Portugal*, p. 51, V(9) 18(8)) is on the coast sixty kilometres east of Málaga; San Román de la Cuba (p. 9, F(3) 15(2)) is some twenty-three kilometres southwest of Carrión de los Condes and twenty-five southeast from Sahagún.
28. Marchena (p. 50, U(6) 13(0)), roughly 180-200 kilometres by road from Algeciras.
29. The cure is discussed in Luciano Serrano, OSB, *El Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, su historia y tesoro artístico* (Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1926), pp. 47-48.
30. A disembodied voice encouraged a captive to escape in the Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour, II.22: Bull, *The Miracles*, p. 196.
31. This tall story was suppressed in *M*, and Vergara did not print it: Antón, p. 120. Xódar (now Jódar) is twenty-five kilometres south of Úbeda and thirty west of Quesada; the Priego is probably Priego de Córdoba (p. 45, T(4) 17(7)), thirty kilometres to the west of Lucena and some seventy kilometres to the northwest of Granada.
32. The adventures of Iohán Buhón's journey are described by Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 93-94, with a map on p. 97. It is to be wondered at that his enormous journey, as compiled by Martínez Carrillo, could have been completed in the space of a few months (from at most early January to mid-May). He spent a week reaching the port of Sufi, on the North African Atlantic coast, five weeks at sea, ten days in English-controlled 'Sambis' (thus ms. S; ms. M: Satbis), identified by Martínez Carrillo as 'Ambès' (at the confluence of the Garone and Lot); travelled by boat to the 'puerto dobra' (for Martínez Carrillo the Aubrac mountains in the Auvergne), reached Lombardy, wrongly claimed for the king of France (although Martínez Carrillo excuses this on the grounds that the French dominated Northern Italy from the late 1260s), and then took two days (*dos iornadas*) to reach Picardy from there — a journey that would take several weeks —, then to Flanders. From Bruges he sailed to Castro-Urdiales on the north coast of Spain, pausing during this journey for six weeks in Brittany, before going along the coast to Santiago and heading to Silos inland, presumably along the Camino de Santiago. It may be that *Lombardia* should really be something like *Normandia*, which makes better sense of the short journey to Picardy (Normandy had been lost to the French at the beginning of the century); *Sambis/Satbis* may well be Sandwich (on the east coast of Kent; less likely would be Saint Bees, on the coast of Cumbria, near to the important port of Whitehaven), which would explain why it is said that after this place 'falló otra mar e entró en la naf con otros' (55: 2560, p. 128; found another sea [i.e., the English Channel — a detail glossed over by Martínez Carrillo, who considers that he went by river at this point further into France] and embarked with others) before coming to the *Puerto d'Obra* (?the port of Dover — some forty kilometres down the coast from Sandwich), then onto ?Normandy, to Bruges, to Castro Urdiales via Brittany, to Santiago, then to Silos. An impressive journey, if he truly carried it out: he was not a member of the most truthful of professions, being a *buhón*, like the French *buffon*, a fool or a jester. His tale as it is recorded is unbelievable; even with the proposed changes to his route, it is only slightly more believable. A further corrosion of its credibility is the wordplay on *Domingo* — wordplay which is not possible in Arabic; it is unlikely that Iohán's master, living far into the Atlas mountains, would

have spoken Romance. Yet even if Iohán's story is not true, the imagined competition between Moorish master and the saint still stands, since it was a story accepted by the Christian listeners as a valid form of activity for Dominic or as a suitable form of narration within the genre of the *miráculo*.

33. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ia, LII.1, ed. English Dominican Fathers, IX, 44-45.
34. R. C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: a Cultural History of Ghosts* (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 7.
35. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 6, notes that 'Pope Honorius III appreciated the danger of apostasy in his letter of 1226 to Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo that recommended that mendicant friars be sent to Morocco to strengthen the faith of the Christians held captive there'.
36. The detail of the sea becoming solid recalls discussion of the miracle of walking on the water in *De mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, CXI.8, a work particularly popular during the thirteenth century (Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 23): 'Sed quaeri potest utrum Domini et Petrum corporum levigata natura, ut illa aqua sustineret, an aquae substantia solidata est, ut corpora humana fulcire posset' (PL 35, 2149-2202, at 2197; But it is possible to ask whether the bodies of the Lord and Peter were made lighter in their nature so that the water held them up, or if the water solidified so that it could support human bodies). The anonymous author subsequently observes that water may have the density and solidity of earth when it is frozen. Compare the later *miráculo*, in which Garçia de Córdoba, caught in a storm when being taken across to Ceuta, was encouraged, despite his very reasonable fear, to step out of the boat by a voice accompanied by a brilliant light. 'Non sopo cómo, quando amanesció estava en Luçena, andudo essa noche .XII. leguas' (63: 2859-60, p. 140; He did not know how, when it dawned he was in Lucena, having walked that night twelve leagues).
37. See below, Chapter 9, note 17 at p. 382. Caterina's liberation is discussed by Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 110 n. 3, and by Serrano, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 50. Linares is thirty kilometres to the northwest of Úbeda.
38. Alberto Bagby, 'Alfonso and the Virgin Unite Christian and Moor in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 1 (1987-88), 111-18; Mary Louise Trevison, SND, 'Prayer and Prejudice in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 1 (1987-88), 119-27.
39. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 75, note the frequency of twentieth-century religious experiences that involve light and occasionally voices; it would depend upon the context as to whether such experiences were encouraged by being placed within a system of meaning (as in the thirteenth century) or not.
40. Cf. *Vita Dominici*, II.21.37-40, p. 358; see above, p. 172.
41. *Evangelii Nicodemi pars altera, sive Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, Latine B, II.28.1-III.19.1, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha sive de Evangeliorum Apocryphorum origine et usu* (The Hague, 1851), pp. 398-412, at pp. 401-402.
42. *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Part II, The Descent of Christ into Hell (Latin, Second Version)*, in *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations*, tr. Alexander and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to AD 325, 16 (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 1870), pp. 213-222, at pp. 216-217.
43. 1: 30-31, p. 39; 6: 353, p. 50; 7: 380, p. 51; 8: 428, p. 52; 17: 746, p. 64; 31: 1216, p. 81; 38: 1403-04, p. 88; 40: 1479, p. 91; 42: 1571, p. 94; 46: 1929, p. 107; 47: 1998-99, pp. 109-10; 48: 2063-64, p. 112; 49: 2114-15, p. 114; 50: 2185, p. 117; 53: 2353, p. 122; 57: 2667, p. 133; 60: 2754, p. 136; 64: 2897, p. 141; 66: 3024, p. 145; 67: 3078, p. 147; 68: 3132, p. 149; 69: 3186, p. 151; 70: 3234-35, p. 152; 77: 3603-04, p. 165; 78: 3468, p. 166; 81: 3824, p. 172. No guiding light is present, although the captives travel by night, in *miráculos* 10, p. 54; 13, p. 58; 18, pp. 65-66; 19, p. 67; 20, p. 68; 21, p. 69; 22, p. 70; 25, p. 74; 30, p. 79; 27, pp. 76-77; 33, p. 84; 35, pp. 85-86; 36, p. 87; 41, p. 92; 44, pp. 98-99; 45, p. 74; 51, pp. 118-19; 55, pp. 127-28; 65, p. 143; 72, p. 156; 73, p. 158; 76, p. 163; 80, p. 170; 90, p. 181. It is impossible to establish in 12: 528-59, p. 56, 'salíó en pós Santo Domingo' (he went out behind Saint Dominic); in 29: 1129-33, p. 78;

- 32: 1253, p. 83; 74: 3432–37, p. 159; and 79: 3679–82, p. 167 (in which cases it unclear whether the *claridat* accompanied them all the way to Christendom or just out of the prison).
44. Captives miraculously cross rivers in 6: 353–54, p. 50 ('e passaron por medio de un grant río e no-l sentieron fata que-l ovieron passado, e maravilláronse mucho quando eran passados a terreno'; and they crossed the middle of a great river and they did not hear it until they had crossed it and they were greatly astonished when they had crossed to dry land); 17: 747–48, p. 64 ('pasaron Río Frío sin puente e sin barcho e nunca se moiaron'; they crossed Río Frío without a bridge and without a boat and they did not get wet at all); 38: 1409–10, p. 88 (by a miraculously appearing bridge); and 57: 2666–73, p. 133 ('Legaron a un río muy grant e non osavan passar. Estavan en grant cueyta. Dixoles una boz, "¿Qué dubdades? Passat e non ayades ningún miedo." Metiéronse en el río e passaron en guisa que non les dava el agua más de fata el toviello. Dupes legaron a otros dos ríos muy grandes e passáronlos muy bien assí como el primero, la claridat todavía con ellos; They reached a very big river and they dared not cross. They were in much tribulation. A voice said to them, 'What do you fear? Cross and be not afraid.' They set out across the river and they crossed it in a way that the water did not reach further than their ankles. Afterwards they came to two other very big rivers and they crossed them easily like the first, the brilliance still with them). Captives row across the sea in 9: 454–55, p. 53 (Iohán de Santa Yllana, from Arcilla with five companions for two days without suffering from hunger), 61: 2798–802, p. 138 (Domingo Bono de Palma, who rowed from Ceuta to Valencia with Miguel Pérez; they took twelve days and nights to cross the sea, without food or water). Escapees walk across the sea in 45, 60: 2752–55, p. 136 and perhaps 63: 2859–62, p. 140. The Sicilians, Martín and Simón de Mont Falcón, were taken into a boat by Genoese sailors (85: 3937–40, p. 176), as was Iohán Buhón by Gascons (55: 2534–47, p. 128). The sea turned back to allow Iohán Martínez de Sant Román to pass around a wall in his escape from Algeciras; when he turned his head to look at where he had been, the sea had returned to its place (45: 1815–18, p. 103).
 45. The tale is edited by Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 95.
 46. Reference is made to the Moors' habit of washing their genitals in fresh water springs in 44: 1677–78, p. 98, 'una fonteziella do lavavan los moros sus naturas', and also 44: 1717–18, p. 99, where the two Moors wash both their *naturas* and *pannos menores*. A bathing-place of Moors is also a feature of 55: 2530–31, pp. 127–28.
 47. As in the Silos cloister in the twelfth-century bas-relief of Pentecost: see <http://www.silos.arrakis.es/>.
 48. Olvés is an isolated village twenty kilometres south of Calatayud, and roughly two hundred kilometres from Silos.
 49. On the importance of the sacraments in popular devotion during this period, see Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp. 33–34.
 50. Cf. the repulsion felt by Grimaldus for excessive mourning, which he described as a 'praua et turpissima consuetudo patrie' (II.27.5–6; discussed above, p. 134), adducing biblical examples which prohibit its use (Dueteronomy 14, 1; Jeremiah 16, 6; Ezechiel 24, 16–18; Ecclesiastes 22, 10).
 51. Serón is a village in the mountains, forty-five kilometres southwest of Calatayud, very close to the Monasterio de Piedra. The river in question would have been the Río Mesa, a tributary of the Jálón.
 52. As suggested by Ángeles García de la Borbolla, 'La espiritualidad de los cautivos de Santo Domingo en la obra de Pero Marín', *II Estudios de la frontera. Actividad y vida en la frontera. Congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real del 19 al 22 de noviembre de 1997* (Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, Área de Cultura, 1998), pp. 257–67. Ornately florid sermons, *intagli* of rhetoric, giving an account of a saint's life and, especially, miracles, are still a fixed part of saints' feast days in Northern Portugal (Pierre Sanchis, 'The Portuguese romarias', in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. by Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 261–289, at pp. 274–76), and North Eastern Brazil (for which my own recollection must suffice: the effort of preaching was so

- great that the parish priest of the rural backwater in Bahía where I was staying in 1990 dropped dead the day after his performance on the patronal feast, thereby providing the opportunity for another florid sermon delivered by my host detailing the late parish priest's virtues, which were few, at least in the opinion of his congregation).
53. The friars of Santa Olalla were later to become the Mercedarians; the order's first house was founded in Barcelona in 1232 and was dedicated to Saint Eulalia; their official name, given in a papal bull of 17 January 1235 was 'The Brothers of the House of Saint Eulalia of Barcelona'. It was only with time that devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Merced displaced the order's original name. See Taylor, *Structures of Reform*, pp. 12–15.
 54. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 11.
 55. Further examples are given by García de la Borbolla, 'La espiritualidad', p. 261.
 56. Miraculous transportation also occurs in 11: 497, p. 55; 47: 1996–98, p. 109; 52: 2274–76, p. 120; and perhaps 63: 2859–60, p. 140.
 57. Captives find their dungeon flattened so that they may walk out of the doors at 7: 876, p. 51; 8: 423–24, p. 52; 17: 742, p. 64; 18: 792, p. 65; 32: 1252, p. 82; 33: 1277, p. 84, 34: 1304, p. 85; 36: 1351–52, p. 86; 42: 1566–67, p. 94; 48: 2059–60, p. 112.
 58. A journey of roughly a hundred and fifty kilometres, Porcuna is midway between Córdoba and Jaén. Aguilar is fifty kilometres south of Córdoba.
 59. See, for example, the discussion of Gil Vicente's silly shepherds in Paul Teyssier, *La Langue de Gil Vicente* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1959), pp. 84–88.
 60. A minor difference is found in the words Dominic initially speaks. The additional words found in Benito's account are marked by italics: 'Cristianos, hijos de dios, vía vós comigo, que dios e Santa Maria son convusco e yo só Santo Domingo que vengo por vós' (70: 3224–26, p. 152; 77: 3594–96, pp. 164–65; Christians, children of God, be on your way with me, *for God and Holy Mary are with you* and I am Saint Dominic who have come for you). Bernabeio's account of Dominic's subsequent words are 'Andar todos, non ayades ningún miedo, que yo iré convusco' (70: 3228–29, p. 152; Get going, all of you, have no fear, for I will go with you).
 61. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 95, 'It is now emphasised by psychologists that the perceiver brings a lot to the situation that he or she is perceiving; his or her language and ideas contribute to what is perceived, and cognitive structures such as beliefs and ideologies contribute to the perception and understanding of what is going on.'
 62. A white dove that accompanies captives on their escape is featured at 40: 1479–80, p. 91. See below, note 66.
 63. To prevent just this type of situation, the Cuenca-Teruel type of *fuero* allowed that 'with the permission of the town council, a father was permitted to send his son as a substitute captive for a period of up to three years', according to James William Brodman, 'Municipal Ransoming Law on the Medieval Spanish Frontier', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 318–30, at p. 324. Yet how the council could prevent three years becoming a life-sentence is not clear.
 64. Thus helpfully preventing don Miquel from confusing his liberator with the homonymous Saint Dominic of the Preachers, who was, by the 1280s, receiving a significant cult in Spain. See below, p. 380.
 65. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 77: 'It is widely accepted that all experiences, including religious ones, are mediated by social learning, and that there has been a historical development within all faiths of the content and character of experiences. Religious experience is in part at least the product of historical development and of the religious training and education of individuals in each tradition.'
 66. A miraculously opening and closing door in a city wall is also featured at 40: 1472–75, p. 91. The latter escape miracle contains a similarity with Bernabeio's and Benito's account in that a white dove accompanies the captives as they walk during the night to Christendom (a reminiscence of the cult of Leonard? See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 240). A city gate which is open to captives as they pass but is shut when they look behind them is found at 53: 2344–47, p. 121 (the Tarifa Gate of Algeciras). A bridge appeared so that Roy

Pérez de Jaén might cross the Río Guadaxén and had disappeared when he turned around after crossing (38: 1409–11, p. 88).

67. Cf. the similar account provided by Martín de Cabra in 71: 3273–83, p. 153–54, which occurred at around the same time: ‘Dixo-l la boz, “Yo só Santo Domingo de Silos. Anda, non ayas ningún miedo. Ve tu carrera, que cras serás en tierra de cristianos.” Levantósse en pie e falló la cadenna suelta e los fierros quebrados, sueltos de los pies. Vio grant claridat e sallió en pós ella e salió a la cal, e estaban y muchos moros a la luna e passó cerca dellos que no-l dixo ninguno nada. Veno a la Puerta de Málaga e en la çerca falló un albollón por ó echavan la vassura. Falló-l abierto. Sallió por él. Estavan muchos moros en las torres que velavan. No-l dixieron nada’ (The voice said to him, ‘I am Saint Dominic of Silos. Go, have no fear. Be on your way, for tomorrow you will be in Christendom.’ He got up on his feet and found the chain loose and the irons broken, completely off his feet. He saw a great brilliance and went out after it and came out into the street, and many Moors were there in the moonlight and he passed near to them and no one said anything to him. He came to the Málaga Gate and in the wall he found a shaft where they threw the rubbish. He found it open. He got out through it. Many Moors were watching from the towers. They said nothing to him).
68. Domingo Munnoz was taken going to a castle on council business (68: 3086–89, p. 148).
69. Benito was captured travelling to buy fish a week before Christmas — perhaps intending to sell it for the vigil meals of Christmas Eve (75: 3451, p. 160).
70. Although David Wasserstein, ‘The Language Situation in al-Andalus’, in *The Formation of al-Andalus*, ed. Manuela Marín, Formation of the Classical Islamic World, 46–47, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), II, 3–17, at pp. 12–13, considers that Berber died out very early in al-Andalus — but see below, Chapter Nine, n. 27 at p. 383, for possible evidence of Berber names in the *Miráculos romançados*.
71. The treatment meted out to Yoanes Domingo, almocadén of Baeza, would have been enough to drive him mad: he was stretched on a ladder for nine days and tortured in varied ways for five months, ‘assí que demandava muchas vezes la muerte e no-l vinía’ (65: 29300–31, p. 142; such that many times he asked to die and death did not come to him). His master Hamet el Aporchenin eventually relented, and took him out of the dungeon in which he had been held since his purchase to dig his kitchen garden. Once they began to work, Hamet threatened him with forty lashes for not obeying him quickly enough. ‘Dixo-l un boz a Yoanes Domingo (non sopo quién), ‘Yuanes Domingo, con essa açada que lievas mata áquel tu sennor, e ve tu vía pora tierra de cristianos’. Quando legó al moro, començólo de denostar e lamó-l ‘Perro fideperro, iré a casa e dar-t é .XL. açotes.’ Baxósse el moro a sus çebollas. Dixo-l otra vez la boz, ‘Yoanes Domingo, ¿qué estás? Faz lo que te dix, que yo só Santo Domingo. Non dubdes, ni ayas miedo, que yo seré contigo.’ En esto Yoanes Domingo alçó el açada e dio-l un golpe en la cabeça e cayó el moro en tierra. El morezno dio un grito como alarido. Tiró el açada e dio-l e mató-l. Tornó al padre e dio-l .XIII. golpes en la cabeça e murió. [...] Legó los moros en uno e cobriólos con yerbas’ (65: 2946–62, pp. 142–43; a voice — he did not know who — said to Yoanes Domingo, ‘Yuanes Domingo, kill your master with that spade you are carrying, and be off with you to Christendom. When he reached the Moor, he began to insult him and called him, ‘Cur, son of a cur, I will go home and will give you forty strokes.’ The Moor bent down over his onions. The voice said to him again, ‘Yoanes Domingo, what are you waiting for? Do what I told you, for I am Saint Dominic. Do not doubt or be afraid, for I will be with you.’ At this Yoanes Domingo raised the spade and hit him on the head and the Moor fell on the ground. The Moorish boy shouted to give the alarm. He threw the spade and killed him. He went back to his father and give him fourteen blows on the head and he died. [...] He brought the Moors together and covered them with grass). The voices and the violence may have been divinely inspired, but may have been a form of schizophrenia.
72. See Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 106, and Serrano, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 49, who take a much more charitable view.
73. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 98–104. Rodrigo resigned his post ‘pour mourir dans la solitude le 19 septembre 1280’, according to Ulysse Chevalier, *L’Abbaye de Silos* (Lyon, 1897), p. 3.

74. See René Metz, 'L'enfant dans le droit canonique médiéval: orientations de recherche', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 36 (1976), 9-96, at p. 52.
75. Ordonius, *Miracula Rudesindi*, §1, ed. Díaz y Díaz, Pardo Gómez and Vilariño Pintos, p. 162, ll. 454-55. Ordonius claims this event occurred over a hundred years earlier than he was writing; it is certainly an account which has benefited from a long sojourn in the oral tradition of the monastery.
76. Iohán Sánchez's prayer is similar to that which the captive townsmen Avitus and Oliverius spoke together at the beginning of the twelfth century (see above, pp. 179-80). Devotional imagery was also put to good use by Iohán Sánchez: the wounds in his hands and his side recall the representation of Christ crucified.
77. For the turning behind of the face for doubting the Incarnation, see the charming *Cantiga de Santa Maria*, 108, 'Como Santa Maria fez que nacesse o fillo do judeu o rostro atrás, como llo Merlin rogara' (How Holy Mary made the Jew's son be born with his face the wrong way round, as Merlin had asked her), ed. Mettmann, II, pp. 30-33.
78. Cf. 6: 352-53, p. 50; 8: 425-26, p. 52; 10: 467-77, p. 54; 12: 530-31, p. 56; 19: 833-34, p. 67; 20: 857, p. 68; 21: 884, p. 69; 27: 1082-83, p. 76-77; 30: 1167, p. 79; 31: 1211-12, p. 81; 38: 1413-14, p. 89; 46: 1926-27, p. 107; 51: 2225-27, p. 118; 55: 2519-20, p. 127; 57: 2661, p. 133; 66: 3016, p. 145; 69: 3186, p. 151; 70: 3230-33, p. 152; 72: 3344-56, p. 156; 78: 3467, p. 166; 81: 3825, p. 172; 88: 4047, p. 180; 90: 4080-81, p. 181.
79. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255-1300)*, p. 183 n. 1.
80. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255-1300)*, doc. no. 245, pp. 163-64.

CHAPTER 9

E DEXÓ AQUÍ SUS FIERROS: THE RECORDING OF THE MIRACLES

The form of the *Miráculos romançados*, its extent and its wealth of detail, is determined by the reforms of Innocent III as expressed in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which prescribed the keeping of a conscientious and well-researched record of miracles at shrines. The purpose was to provide the details that would allow papal investigators, at least in theory and often in practice, to interview witnesses and so gauge the veracity of both individual accounts and the collection as a whole. Shrines themselves would be overseen by monks deputed to the task of controlling over-enthusiastic pilgrims and interviewing the beneficiaries of miracles in order to record them.¹

The shrine recorder notes that Pascual de Ençiso, who had been freed from a dungeon, ‘veno aquí [...] sabbado .VIII. días de deziembre, e vinieron con él de su logar varones e mugieres más de treinta que lo otorgaron todo’ (28: 1108–10, p. 77; came here on Saturday 8 December, and more than thirty men and women from his town came with him who confirmed the whole thing).² Pascual’s neighbours came to support his assertion that something miraculous had happened, to verify the details as far as they were able and to take part in the acclamation of the miracle by the community that surrounded the shrine. Such communal approval of a miracle was impossible in the case of the liberation of captives from Moors, but the detailed accounts provided by captives during questioning by the shrine recorders, together with other proofs, such as the names of those who freed the captives from their irons when they reached Christendom — and the irons themselves —, became the means the monks used to satisfy themselves and others of the truth of the accounts. In what follows, I shall consider the role of the recorders in the assembly of the collection, how they took down the accounts provided by the beneficiaries of miracles, what information they sought, how at times their own expectations ordered or normalized this information, and how they put these accounts together to produce the collection as we now have it.

Some accounts preserve signs that the details have been taken from dictation by the beneficiaries of the miracle. One can almost hear Marimartín de Serón’s mother as she gabbled out before the listening monk the strident instructions she had given her daughter before she fell ill, when the the shrine recorder

slips from using the third person and the past subjunctive to the imperative and first person present indicative:

Veno aquí don Yuaues de Serón e su muger e dixieron que avían una fija que-l dizían Marimartín, e la vigilia de pascua mayor que-l mandara su madre áquella su fija que tomasse unos lienços e que los levasse moiar al río, e que los guardasse fata ora de terçia, e después vente luego, que non te estés allá que cras será pascua e avremos a fazer otras cosas en casa e non fagas ál si non esto que te yo mando. La moça fue al río e moió sus lienços. (56: 2578–86, p. 131)

Don Yuaues de Serón came here with his wife and they said that they had a daughter called Marimartín, and the vigil of Easter Sunday her mother had sent that daughter of theirs to take some sheets to wash in the river, and that she should keep them there until the hour of terce, and afterwards get yourself back here straightaway, don't stay there for tomorrow will be Easter and we will have other things to do at home and don't do anything else apart from this which I'm telling you to do. The girl went to the river and washed her sheets.

Although only don Yuaues is recorded as bringing Marimartín ('Este don Yuaues sobredicho tomó su fija e vénose pora Santo Domingo', 56: 2602–03, p. 131), it is clear that her mother came too, since her daughter stipulated that they should all go to Silos. The omission of Marimartín's mother from the account of the cure at the shrine is perhaps an unconscious silencing on the part of the shrine recorder, who wished (not unreasonably, one suspects) that she really had not come. The only other narrative to be set down in the first person is an account provided by Martín Pérez de La Formosa of the tale told to him by the blacksmith Domingo Pérez regarding how Dominic had freed him from the king's justice of Berlanga (54: 2386–449, pp. 123–25). Domingo Pérez did not relate his story at the shrine. 'Et esto todo contó Martín Pérez el sobredicho a los monges en la claustra que assi ge lo contare a él Domingo Pérez sobredicho dentro en su casa' (54: 2449–51, p. 125; And all this the aforesaid Martín Pérez told to the monks in the cloister which the aforesaid Domingo Pérez had told him inside his [Martín Pérez's] house).

Further evidence that the accounts were taken down directly from beneficiaries' personal testimony may be found in the escape of Nicolás de Alcaraz, where the detail that he gave his companions food is repeated twice, once before he tells them he is going to escape, once after:

tomó la farina de la cevada e diola a los otros cativos, e díxoles como-l dixiera una boz que se fuesse a Lorca e que creía que era boz de Santo Domingo que-l avía fecho merçet, e que se quería yr. Dioles la cebada e fue su vía. (30: 1157–62, p. 79).

he took the barley flour and gave it to the other captives, and told them how a voice had said to him to go to Lorca and that he believed it was the voice of Saint Dominic who had had mercy upon him, and that he wanted to go. He gave them the barley and went off.

A sign of the precision of the shrine recorder's questioning may be found in 33: 1279–81, p. 84. Alfonso Pérez de Lorca described how he and his companions had left the town: 'e vinieron a la puerta de la cerca de la villa' (and they came to the gate in the town wall), before specifying which gate, probably in response to the recorder's prompting, 'e fallaron abierta la que dizen la Puerta de Elvira, e salieron por ella' (and they found the one they call the Elvira Gate open and they went out through it). Oral testimony is specifically evoked in Apariçio de Plazençia's account of how he fled after killing his guard with a spade. Having hidden away, he was woken at cockcrow by someone warning him that his master was approaching. Apariçio asked who was speaking to him, and Saint Dominic identified himself, 'e levantó-s, e dize qu'él vio visible mente ant'él la claridat, e veno en pós ella' (26: 1051–52, p. 75; and he [Apariçio] got up, and he says that he saw with his own eyes the brilliance before him, and he followed it).³

The type of information given in the accounts of escapes is remarkably constant, indicating that a consistent form of questioning was used to elicit the details that the shrine recorders required. For the narration of an escape miracle, all that is strictly necessary is an account of the circumstances of the escape and the captive's safe arrival in friendly territory. The narrations in the *Miráculos romançados* go far beyond this skeleton, putting flesh on the narratorial and biographical bones by specifying the origin and current dwelling place of the ex-captive; the circumstances of capture, sale and imprisonment; the devotion shown to the saint; the escape; details of their arrival in Christendom; the date of their arrival at the monastery and the nature of the ex-votos brought. The first narration of the collection provides only the account of the escape *tout court* (1: 5–33, p. 39). The next miraculous liberation to be included in the collection (6: 329–357, pp. 49–50) bears the recognizable structure of the rest of the *Miráculos romançados*. For ease of analysis, I shall discuss each segment of narration separately.

CAPTURE

Ideally, the place of capture and the names of companions taken with the returned captive would be given, together with the reason for their being in that place at the given date. The names of the leaders of the Moors and the number of the men they led may also be supplied. The greatest detail is provided in the narrations of the year 1285. In narrations before and after this date, the amount of information gathered from the escaped captives is much less, perhaps indicating that different shrine recorders were at work. This variation in the details supplied can be easily seen from table 6, overleaf, which displays the amount of data recorded concerning the circumstances of capture. The clearest indication of the differences between the earlier part of the collection and the later is found in two accounts from captives who were taken prisoner when fighting under don Nunno at Écija. 'En la era sobredicha,

Table 6: details of the early circumstances of capture

a=place of capture established; b=names of companions given;
g=number of Moors; d=names of Moors; e=date of capture given.

	a	b	g	d	e
1					
6					
7	•				
8		•			
9					
10					
11		•			
12					
14	•				
13	•				
15	•	•			
16	•				
17	•	•			
18	•	•			•
19					
20					
21					
22					
24					
25	•	•			•
26	•				
27					
29	•		•	•	
30	•		•		
31	•	•	•		
32	•	•	•	•	
33	•	•		•	

	a	b	g	d	e
34	•			•	
35	•			•	
36				•	
37		•	•	•	
38			•		
39		•	•	•	
40		•	•	•	
41	•	•	•	•	
42	•	•	•	•	
43	•	•	•	•	
44	•	•	•	•	
45	•	•	•	•	
46		•			
47	•	•	•	•	
48	•	•	•	•	
49	•	•	•	•	
50	•	•	•	•	•
51	•	•	•	•	
52	•	•	•	•	•
53	•	•	•	•	•
55	•		•	•	•
57	•		•	•	•
58	•	•	•	•	
59	•	•	•	•	
60		•		•	
61	•	•	•	•	
62	•	•	•	•	•

	a	b	g	d	e
63	•	•	•	•	•
64	•	•	•	•	•
65		•	•	•	
66	•		•	•	
67	•	•	•	•	
68	•	•	•	•	
69	•	•	•	•	
70	•	•	•	•	
71	•	•	•	•	
72	•	•	•	•	
73	•	•		•	
74	•		•	•	
75	•	•	•	•	•
76	•	•		•	
77	•	•	•	•	•
78	•	•	•	•	
79	•	•	•	•	•
80	•	•	•	•	•
81	•	•	•	•	•
83	•		•	•	•
84					
85					
86	•	•	•	•	•
87		•		•	
88		•		•	
89					
90				•	

legó aquí Apariçio de Plazençia e dixo que-l cativaron en Êçija quando mataron a don Nunno e leváronlo a Málaga e por dos vezes a Çepta' (26: 1035–38, p. 74; In the aforesaid year [AD 1284], Apariçio de Placencia arrived here and said that he was captured in Êçija when don Nunno was killed, and he was taken to Málaga and twice to Ceuta). The brevity of this account is not matched by Ramiro's, who reported

que salliera con .XL.V. peones en ayuda de don Nunno a Êçija, que les dizién Estevan, Pedro, Mingo, Quirze, Silvestre, Bartolomé, Salvador, Per Andrés, Victores,

Domingo Munnoz, Apariçio, Domingo, Rodrigo, Larios, Pascual Garçia, e Pedro Garçia. Todos legaron a don Nunno a Écija vigilia de Santa María de Setiembre. El domingo mannana mandó don Nunno començar la lit. Dixo-l el adalil blanco, 'Don Nunno, non comencedes esta lit tan mannana. Atendet fata el medio día e seredes bien apreso e todos quantos son convusco, que non fincarán moro que todos non mueran. Et si non atendedes fata medio día, morredes vós e quantos aquí son. Dixo don Nunno, '¡Nunqua me dirán traïdor! Más quiero morir que bevir con mal nonbre.' Entonz mandó desbolver la su senna. Dixo-l otra vez el adalil, 'Don Nunno, atendet fata terçia e seredes bien apreso.' Dixo él, 'No lo faré.' En esto veno una águila de mano diestra ant'ello e passó a la siniestra, después passó de la siniestra a la diestra e veno aderredor e posósse en somo de las menas. Començaron la lit e murieron todos los peones que fueron con Ramiro el sobredicho e otros muchos e cativaron a Ramiro e a Bartholomé e a Estèvan dos moros, dizían al uno Baraçubeyba alcayat de Entequera, al otro Aboacín adalil de Ronda. Leváronlos a Ronda. (47: 1934-60, pp. 108-09)

that he had left with forty-five footsoldiers to aid don Nunno at Écija,⁴ that they were called Estevan, Pedro, Mingo, Quirze, Silvestre, Bartolomé, Salvador, Per Andrés, Victores, Domingo Munnoz, Apariçio, Domingo, Rodrigo, Larios, Pascual Garçia and Pedro Garçia. They all reached don Nunno at Écija on the even of the feast of Holy Mary in September. On Sunday morning don Nunno ordered that battle commence. The white *adalid*⁵ said to him, 'Don Nunno, do not begin this battle so early in the morning. Wait until midday and you and all those with you will be successful, for not a Moor will remain on the field, for they will all die. And if you do not wait until midday, you and all those that are here will die. Don Nunno said, 'I will never be called a traitor! I would rather die than live with a bad name.' They he ordered his colours to be unfolded. The *adalid* said to him again, 'Don Nunno, wait until terce, and you will be successful.' He said to him, 'I will not.' At this point, in front of him came an eagle from the right, and passed to left, then passed from the left to the right and came arround and perched on top of the *menas*. They began the battle and all the footsoldiers that went with the aforesaid Ramiro and many others died and two Moors (called Baraçubeyba, castellan of Entquera, and Aboacín, *adalid* of Ronda) captured Ramiro and Bartolomé and Estevan. They took them to Ronda.

An 'aguila cabdal ferrera que estava encima de un pino' (a golden eagle that was on top of a pine-tree) is also an omen-bearing bird in the reconstructed *Cantar de los siete infantes de Lara*.⁶

The majority of captives had been taken in military activity: twenty-five on *cavalgadas*, four at sea with the *flota*. These circumstances provide a contrast with a later period. For the years between 1575 and 1769, Ellen Friedman can write, 'the largest single element in the Spanish captive population was not those taken prisoner in military or naval engagements, but individuals who had been seized on the coasts of Spain.'⁷ *Cavalgadas* were mainly private affairs, although there were some more official expeditions.⁸ In almost complete

contradistinction to the *Vita Dominici*, there is never any condemnation of the motives of those who travel into al-Andalus with the hope of indulging in a little looting and pillaging. It may be that, since the monastery clearly gained from the *cavalgadas* (see 13: 543–44, p. 57, which expresses Iohán Sánchez's wish to gain goods from the *razzie* on Saint Dominic's behalf, discussed above at p. 314), the monks had a vested interest in this form of economic activity. Perhaps the practice was so ingrained in Christian society that the high-mindedness of Grimaldus and his fellow authors was no longer deemed to be appropriate.

The description of the transport of captives is almost totally formulaic. The phrase 'levaron lo(s) a ...', followed by the name of a town, accounts for the vast majority of the narrations.⁹ Variations are slight.¹⁰ Only twelve narrations do not mention the transportation of recently-captured Christians.¹¹ Descriptions which do not fit into this formulaic style are few.¹² Granada was the most common primary destination: fourteen accounts give the town as the initial destination for captives.¹³ One other *miráculo* takes place there.¹⁴ Ronda is the destination in eight of the narrations.¹⁵ Other destinations can be found in table 7, below, and Martínez Carrillo divides these destinations into four types: frontier towns and fortresses where an initial sale or division of booty was made (Vélez-Blanco, Purchena; Alicún, Guadix, Baeza; Rute); Granada, capital of the kingdom; ports (Vera, Almería, Algeciras); African markets such as Arcila or Salé, reached either directly or through Ceuta.¹⁶

SALE

After arrival in the Muslim town, captives might be sold, although in fifteen *miráculos* captives were retained by their initial captors.¹⁷ Estevan Domingo de Cádiz's captors attempted to sell him in Granada but, after four days without success, gave up and kept him (60: 2726–29, p. 135). Private sales were signalled by the use of the simple verb *vender*. Otherwise, captives were taken to the *almoneda* and sold publically (see below, table 7). This state of affairs was reflected in the Christian kingdoms as well, since, 'According to the Code of Tortosa, [...] Muslim captives could be sold privately or publicly, and this servile condition was passed down to children through their mother.'¹⁸ Martínez Carrillo does not make this distinction of private sale or public slave market, but it is apparent in 34:1295–96, p. 84, where the initial captor 'vendiólo a su fiyo Braén' (sold him to his son Brahen — repeated at 36: 1341, p. 86).¹⁹ It is unlikely that sales such as these occurred at a slave-market, although one should note that 'vender' is used for the purchase of Martín Domínguez de Aranda for the second time he was sold at the slave market in Ronda (44: 1652–53, p. 97); the third time he was bought, the verb 'conprar' is used (44: 1656, p. 98). Domingo de Merlán's captors 'sacáronlo [...] a vender' (66: 2981–82, p. 144; took him out to sell), evidently at the *almoneda* or slave-market; he was resold a day later.

The prices of captives varied enormously, from thirteen *maravedís* to eighteen and a half *doblas* (respectively Martín Domínguez de Aranda, 44: 1652, p. 97; and don Miquel de Cetina, 72: 3303, p. 155).²⁰ The average price, however, was around eight *doblas*.²¹ Captives taken during one raid would sometimes be sold as a group: two Christians were sold for thirty *doblas* (25: 1012–13, p. 74), another two for twelve *doblas* (29: 1118, p. 78), and four for thirty *doblas* (42: 1539, p. 93). Prices obtained at the *almoneda* were slightly higher than those arranged privately, but this may express a conscious choice as to the type of captive put up for public sale or the lack of other considerations between buyer and seller, such as family or business relationships. Martínez Carrillo notes that women were generally priced much higher than men: Rodrigo was sold for five *doblas*, whilst his sister Teresa fetched ten (49: 2082–83, p. 113); Mariapariçio was sold for an above-average fourteen *doblas* at the slave market (50: 2151, p. 116). Prices usually reflected either physical condition or social position, and were slightly lower in Granada and the towns nearby.²² North Africa was perceived by captors as a good place to sell their investments. One captive, when his masters discovered that they could not come to terms on a redemption price, was threatened with being taken to North Africa ‘que darían allá muchos dineros por él’ (22: 901, p. 69; for he would fetch a large amount of money there).

Re-sale was profitable and brought a profit of between fifteen and fifty percent.²³ Only one master, Gíber, resold at a loss, buying Domingo Munnoz for four and a half *doblas*, and reselling him for four (68: 3092–94, p. 148; but perhaps this was originally written as ‘.VI.’ not ‘uatro’). All of the prices are given in in Castilian coin. In 1293, a *dobla* was worth 20.5 *maravedís*.²⁴ The value of the *maravedí* had been falling throughout the century, from three *maravedís* to a *dobla* in 1221. According to Dufourcq, the average price of slaves in Catalunya during the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century was around one hundred and fifty to three hundred *solidi*.²⁵ Since the exchange rate between Barcelona *solidi* and Castilian *doblas* was probably around 20 to 1, the average prices in Catalunya were roughly equivalent to those in Muslim Spain and North Africa as they are presented in the *Miráculos romançados*.²⁶ Such a correspondence justifies the belief that the average price given is true to the period, but most individual prices cannot command this trust because of the general imprecision of any numbers contained in the miracle collection from Silos (as we shall see below, pp. 374–75), and because of the unreliability of some of the narrators (as we have seen above, pp. 307–318), some of whom were more than likely to inflate their price. At least one captive protested at how cheaply he was sold:

Cativaron a este Martín Domínguez e diéronle ante .xiii. golpes e tomaron los moros quatro cabeças de los christianos e atáronlas e echárongelas a Martín Domínguez acuestas, e assí-l levaron fata a Ronda, e sacáronlo âlmoneda con las cabeças en los ombros, e conprólo un moro que era espeçiero por .xiii. maravedís, e él vendiólo a

Mohámat por .xv. maravedís. Et díxoles Martín Domínguez, “Perros, ¿por qué me traedes assi? ¡Conpratme, que más valo que un asno de .xx. maravedís!” Veno Mahómat, otro tendero, e comprólo por .xxiii. maravedís, e començólo de guaresçer, e guaresçió en .v. meses. (44: 1647–51, p. 97)

they took this Martín Domínguez prisoner after wounding him thirteen times, and the Moors took four heads from the Christians, and tied them together, and threw them over Martín Domínguez’s back, and he bore them that way until Ronda, and they displayed him at the slave-market with the heads about his shoulders, and a Moor who was a spice-seller bought him for thirteen maravedís, and he sold him to Mohámat for fifteen maravedís. And Martín Domínguez said to them, ‘Why do you treat me like this, you dogs? Buy me, for I am worth more than a twenty-maravedí ass!’ Mahómat, another shopkeeper, came and bought him for twenty-two maravedís, and began to take care of him, and he got better within five months.

One captive was indeed sold for only slightly more than his own mule, but both fetched far in excess of what the bloody and battle-scarred Martín Domínguez could reach (41: 1490–92, p. 92; Ramón, twenty *doblas*; the mule, sixteen).

The captives’ destinations, the prices they fetched (and what can be established of their social status), the nature of the sale, and whether any redemption price was asked for or agreed, can be found in table 7, above.

The recorder’s precision extends not only to the prices, but also to the Moors who paid. Numerous masters are named.²⁷ Familial relationships, wives and professions are often given, even when the captives are with a master for a short period of time.²⁸ The ‘dos mercaderos de Çepta’ (62: 2813, p. 138; two merchants from Ceuta) are not otherwise defined and identification is similarly lacking for the masters in *miráculos* 21, 30, 33, 47, 64, 75 and 86, although they are occasionally indicated by their class or social position.²⁹ Womenfolk, either wives or daughters, are occasionally identified, although no Muslim is ever claimed to have more than one wife.³⁰

This very wealth of detail poses a problem for its interpretation. The identification of Christian companions and relatives gave an assurance of the facts, by allowing, at least in theory, separate confirmation of the events. Careful identification of Moors would seem to be precision for the sake of precision, displaying the care with which the miracles at the shrine were recorded. That the price fetched by the captives is written down may serve the ideological point, as we have suggested previously, of emphasising how much the masters lose in monetary terms when Dominic spirited their investments away. Yet, as the point is never explicitly made, it is difficult to be certain. Returning captives may well have been particularly proud (or incensed) at their price, and often the price paid by the Moor or Moors that purchased the slave was but the opening gambit in a long series of tortures in which the owner hoped, through a high redemption price, to reclaim many times over the money spent.

CAPTIVITY

After the details of purchase have been given, the third part of this section of the narrative describes the captivity which the Christians had to endure. The description is usually divided into two. The first part, 'de día' enumerates the tasks that the captives were set. The second, 'de noche' details the imprisoning dungeon, and the various irons and stocks intended to prevent escape. Such a binary structure reflects a desire on behalf of the shrine recorders to establish the precise conditions of the captives, and not to be content with generalities regarding their plight, although an increasing interest in specific details, as with all of these sections, is found as the collection progresses.

Captives' housing was diverse, although the *carçel* is most usual as the place allocated to them for rest from their labours. The measure of the depth of the *carçel* is given in many of the narrations, together with the number of captives that it held, and, occasionally, the number or names of their Moorish guards. 17: 725–29, p. 63, includes all of these elements: 'metieron este Pedro Fernández en la carçel con otros çinco que yazién y tienpo avié, e guardavan los quatro moros que yazién sobre la puerta de la carçel, que avía dieciséis braças en fondo, e çinco perros' (they put this Pedro Fernández in the dungeon with another five that had been there for a long while, and four Moors that stayed in front of the door of the dungeon guarded them with five dogs; it was sixteen arm's lengths deep). As in this example, the depth of the *carçel* is usually measured in *braços* (arm's lengths),³¹ although one is measured as being of the depth of 'dos sogas de esparto' (81: 3792, p. 172; two esparto ropes), another by 'ocho tapias' (67: 3045, p. 146; between forty and fifty square metres), one by the fifteen stairs it possessed (39: 1425, p. 89), and two by 'hasta e media de lança' and 'dos astas de lança' respectively (42: 1543, p. 93 and 43: 1591, p. 95; a lance and a half's length/two lances' length). It may be thought that the record of the depth of the dungeon is testimony to the miraculous power of Dominic, but in 60: 2724, p. 135, the depth of the dungeon is mentioned even when the escape takes place from a ship at sea (60: 2746–54, p. 136). The precision of these figures is perhaps to be understood as an attempt to provide theoretically checkable details in the body of the account; but even if they could not be checked, they add much to the verisimilitude of the narrations.

Most *cárceles* would seem to have held less than ten captives, although two are recorded with sixty, one in Vera, the other in Guadix (30: 1147, p. 79 and 32: 1236, p. 82). Another *carçel*, in Granada, contained one hundred and thirteen captives (62: 2816–17, p. 138). The dungeon was not the only form of confinement. Domingo de Merlán was enclosed by night in 'una casa muy medrosa que non morava y ninguno' (66: 2990–91, p. 144; a very frightening house in which no-one lived), a reminder of how much individuals in pre-modern societies disliked sleeping alone.

The tasks prisoners were set ranged widely, from digging vineyards to caring for animals, but generally featured grinding cereal crops by hand, although construction work and employment in various crafts were not absent.³² To support them during their exhausting manual work, the prisoners were often given starvation rations. This scanty diet, allied to hard physical labour, would have prevented most captives from having the necessary energy to escape. Martínez Carrillo speculates that there existed a form of daily allowance for captives in Granada based on the quality of the bread they were given.³³ The harsh treatment of Arias de Çamora and his seven companions in Ronda, who were made to mill grain by hand ‘e por que non comiessen dello metiénles los frenos de fierro en las bocas apretados con candados’ (8: 403–05, p. 52; and so that they might not eat it, they put bits in their mouths tightened by locks), is exceptional and, given the folkloric tone of the story (for which, see below, p. 378), to be doubted. The general atmosphere of brutality, however, should not be underestimated.³⁴

In the narratives, mention of the captives’ diet is always introduced by the phrase, ‘et no-l davan a comer si non [...]’ (and he was given only [...] to eat), phrasing which begins at 29: 1122, p. 78.³⁵ Yet this was a cliché, as is shown by the attempt to emphasise the truthfulness of the words, ‘e non les davan a comer si non libro e medio de panizo e non otra cosa ninguna’ (64: 2874–76, p. 140; and they were not given anything to eat apart from a pound and a half of *panizo* and nothing else at all).³⁶ Diets were not limited solely to bread. Roy Pérez was eating cheese when he was freed (38: 1397, p. 88). Gil Pérez de Motos was offered part of a banquet of partridge and rabbit, but refused to break his Friday fast, and was given bread and figs instead (22: 903–905, p. 70). Similarly, Estevan de Matrera was able to chose to fast for six Lents on bread and water ‘por amor de dios’ (35: 1323, p. 85; for love of God). Simón de Segura was asked by Dominic in a vision if he would forgo meat on Wednesdays (11: 492–95, p. 55). Yet Domingu’yuanes de Sevilla was reduced to begging for food in Algeciras (86: 3960–63, p. 177).

The hardships of diet were not limited to exiguous quantities of bread: Benito de Baraxas was reduced to eating ‘un día de Ramos carne de un roçín muerto’ (75:3463–64, p. 160; the flesh of a dead horse one Palm Sunday). This disgusting meal infringed two strong dietary taboos. The eating of horse-flesh was wisely forbidden in canon law from the eighth century, and the even earlier Apostolic Canons forbade the eating of meat ‘in its lifeblood [i.e., raw], or which was killed by beasts, or which died’, in the latter of which categories the ‘roçín muerto’ falls.³⁷ Benito de Baraxas’s humiliating food is included in the section of the narrative dedicated to the description of the captives’ diet, indicating that the shrine recorder wished to depict suffering rather than create an anthropological record or an essay in *costumbrismo*. It should also be noted how many narrations do not mention hunger as a major element in the captives’ suffering (e.g., *miráculos* 31, 32, 34, 37, 41, etc.). In any case, captives often had more pressing causes of misery than an empty stomach.

The provision of cheap labour was not the only purpose behind the purchase and confinement of some captives. They would often be asked to redeem themselves at a cost greatly above their purchase price and maltreated until they came to an agreement. As Brodman commented, 'Since the ransom price frequently exceeded what could be gained in the slave auctions, redemption became an attractive option to both captor and captive.'³⁸ Yet the depiction of the tortures undergone and the unwillingness of captives to come to terms — or the despair to which they succumbed when they were forced into agreeing a redemption price — makes one think that Brodman is using the adjective 'attractive' in a more technical sense than usual. Cossío wished to limit the importance of these descriptions:

En el mal trato que recibían los cautivos hay que distinguir los tormentos que se les infligían, con intención de tales, de aquellos encaminados primordialmente a impedir todo intento de evasión, si bien es natural que a los víctimas les parecerían todos unos.³⁹

In the ill-treatment that the captives received it is important to distinguish the torture that was inflicted upon them with that intention, from those whose purpose was essentially to prevent the captive's from making any attempt at escape, although it is natural that the victims would perceive them as being all the same.

The shrine recorders, however, are quite specific as to the type of maltreatment received, indicating that the captives were well aware of the differences, as they had to be if the object was to force them to buy their freedom.⁴⁰ This system had been in existence for several centuries, as can be seen from the *Vita Dominici* and the twelfth-century *Chronica Aldefonsi Imperatoris* which describes how Munio Adefonsi, captured in an ambush outside Toledo, 'ductus est in Cordubam et miserunt eum in carcerem et aflixerunt eum fame et siti. Post multos autem dies dedit pro se aurum et argentum multum et mulos et equos et arma multa' (was taken to Córdoba and they imprisoned him and tortured him with hunger and thirst. But after many days he ransomed himself with gold and much silver, mules, horses and many weapons).⁴¹

The earlier *miráculos* show a formulaic method of phrasing, as found in 10: 467–68, p. 54, 'e aquél que'l conpró metiólo en la carçel, e dava'l muchas penas por que se redimiesse' (and he that bought him put him in the dungeon and tortured him greatly so that he would redeem himself). The later *miracles* show much greater interest in the exact nature of the psychological strains and physical tortures to which the captives were subjected. Yet even when narrative interest in captives' conditions is high, some formulaic phrasing is apparent. The phrase, 'demandó'l muchas vezes que se redimiesse, e el dizié que non avié de qué; sobr'esto dava'l muchas penas e muchos açotes (22: 896–98, p. 69; he asked him many times to redeem himself, and he said he did not have the wherewithall; after this, he tortured him and whipped him greatly), is found —with variants— in *miráculos* 53, 57, 63, 65, 66, 71, 81.⁴²

Techniques used to persuade captives to agree upon a redemption-price were not limited to harsh whipping. Threats, humiliation and rough treatment all played a part, although such practices are often indicated only by 'muchas penas' (10, 13, 21, 22, 37, etc.). Arias Paez was whipped 'assí que'l aduzían a la muerte, e mesávanle las barbas, e fazíanle muchos escarnios, e amena-závanle que'l passarían la mar' (40: 1451-53, p. 90; so that he was brought close to death, and they pulled his beard, and cursed him, and threatened him that they would take him over the sea). Gonçalo de Soria was given

cient e dos açotes con una correa cruda muy fuerte, e tenía en cabo una sortija de fierro que se metía en la carne, e aún sobr'esto amenaçávanle que'l passarían alent mar, e fincháronle todas las espaldas de los açotes que'l dauan. (53: 2310-13, p. 121)

one hundred and two lashes with a very thick rough whip, and it had at the end an iron ring which dug into the flesh, and even on top of this they threatened him that they would take him over the sea, and all of his shoulders became swollen with the lashes they gave him.

His wounds were given treatment only when his master was told that his investment would die from his brutal handling (53: 2316-17, p. 121). When he arrived at Silos, Gonçalo 'mostró las espaldas a los monges en la claustra, e teníalas tan cárdenas de los açotes como color de azul' (58: 2360-62, p. 122; showed his shoulders to the monks in the cloister, and they were as purple from the lashes as to be almost blue), thus providing some visible sign of his treatment — and contrasting with Iohán Sánchez's miraculous cure of hands and side.

Sensory deprivation and fear were used by Apariçio de Marçales's captors. He was held for a week 'en cormas, e la garganta en el çepo, e las manos en otro çepo' (80: 3717-18, p. 169; in shackles and both his throat and his hands in stocks). He was then taken out, tied to a post and told that, unless he agreed a redemption-price, he would be whipped:

diéronle dozientos açotes muy fuertes, assí que'l hincharon las espaldas muy fuerte que'l manavan venino, e tomavan los moros e subían en sus espaldas con alcorques, e esprimíangelo con los pies. Duró más de seis setmanas que'l manavan venino las espaldas d'aquelos açotes. (80: 3722-27, p. 169)

they gave him two hundred very fierce lashes, so that his shoulders swelled exceedingly to the point that they began to ooze pus, and the moors took him and climbed up on his shoulders with cork to press it out with their feet. The pus oozed from his shoulders from those lashes for more than six weeks.

His masters, having failed to diminish their captive's determination, boiled 'el olio e pez e resina [...] pora echar [...] lo en el onbligo' (80: 3730-31, p. 169; oil, pitch and resin to throw it on his stomach). All four of his masters arrived. 'Dixieron, "Sal acá, Apariçio." Sallió a ellos. Dixieron, "Querémoste iustiçiar e

penar.” Díxoles el cativo, “Por dios, non me pennedes agora, e a la noche fazet en mí lo que quisierdes.”” (80: 3732–36, p. 169; They said, ‘Come out here, Apariçio.’ He came out to them. They said, ‘We wish to punish you and harm you.’ The captive said, ‘For God’s sake, do not harm me now, but tonight do what you will with me.’)

Such techniques of torture did break some captives. This breaking-down of resistance is reflected in the formulaic phrasing, ‘assí [...] que ovo de pletear’ (thus [...] he had to settle).⁴³ Only once the fact of an agreement having been reached without any coercion is recorded in the form, ‘e que avía pleteado con sus sennores’ (84: 3888–89, p. 174; and that he had come to an agreement with his owners). One of these *sennores* was an apostate from Christianity (84: 3889–90, p. 174), which may explain why no torture is narrated. Captives were brought to *pletear por* a certain amount of money and/or goods in exchange for freedom. These are listed as part of table 7, above. Notable, apart from the inflated cost, is the repeated request for knives from Pamplona and *aljubas* (a long shift of fine cloth, buttoned up the front, like a *soutaine*).

Redemption was not the only motivation for ill-treatment. When news that Iohán de Caztala’s master, Hyáyel Hádet, had been captured by the town council of Murcia, his wife Çafra ‘mandó que-l diessen a Iohán sobredicho muchos açotes con riendas e con sueltas’ (58: 2692–94, p. 134; ordered that the aforementioned Iohán be given many blows with reins and with whips).

Others were simply maltreated with ‘muchos açotes, e mucha fambre, e muchas penas’ (18: 772–73, p. 65; many whippings, and much hunger, and many tortures). The graphic depiction of suffering serves to highlight the depths of the captives’ misery, but nowhere is a moral drawn from or exhortation made concerning this suffering. This contrasts strongly with the avowedly moralistic tone of the early escape miracles in the *Vita Dominici* and with Gonzalo de Berceo’s treatment of that material.

What is clear, however, was that the shrine recorders were interested in the details of what the captives underwent. No doubt it was therapeutic for the returned captives to have such a compassionate, attentive ear (and notating hand) to listen to their stories of extreme hardship and acute suffering. The narratives make arresting reading, precisely because of the suffering undergone, and make the intervention of Saint Dominic even more poignant. The narratives, at least to a modern reader, are more effective because they lack the emotive homiletics which are such a constant feature of medieval literature. But the captives’ misery, serves to foment a pious response to the tales, since Dominic’s intervention raises them above intolerable suffering and brings them happily home. Yet the collection cannot be dismissed as mere monkish propaganda, since, in coming to the monastery to give thanks and tell their stories, to evoke a pious response was precisely what the liberated captives would have desired.⁴⁴ No doubt, through the writing down of their liberations in concise but eloquent detail, the monks also provided a promise of permanence to the stories that the escaped captives desired to tell.

Table 7: Status and price of captives, place of sale and redemption

In the final column, *italics* indicates that the redemption price was agreed; • indicates that the captives were asked to redeem themselves, but no details as to the negotiations are forthcoming in the text, other than the requisite brutality. The fifth column (X) refers to whether captives were sold privately (V), at *almoneda* (A) or shared by captors as part of their booty (P). Those captured whilst on a *cavalgada* are described as soldiers, unless something else indicates their status.

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
1	Pelayo	—	—		Granada	—
6	Pedro	drover *	—		Rute	24 db + *
	Iohán	drover *	—		"	—
7	Sancho García	noble *	— *		Granada	—
8	Arias de Çamora	almocadén	—	P	Ronda	—
	Iohán Pérez	footsoldier	—	P	"	—
	García	footsoldier	—	P	"	—
	Yuanes Domingo	footsoldier	—	P	"	—
9	Iohán de Santillana	merchant *	—		Arcila	—
10	Pedro Martínez de Badaloz	soldier	—	C	Ronda	•
11	Simón de Segura	soldier	—	C	Guadix	—
12	Domingu'iuanes de Córdoba	soldier	—		Granada	—
13	Iohán Sánchez	scribe	—		Vera	•
14	Domingo de Lista	sailor	—	P	Almería	—
	Pedro de Santarem	sailor	—		"	—

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 6: Both Pedro and Iohán are described in the rubric as 'criados de Calatrava' (6: 327, p. 49; servants of Calatrava); the text says they were 'morando con los freyes de Calatrava, saliendo de Çambra, que levavan bestias al água' (6: 329–31, p. 49; living with the friars of Calatrava, leaving Zambra, for they were taking animals to water). Pedro came to an agreement for 'XXIII. doblas d'oro e una aliuba de pres' (6: 336–37, p. 50; twenty-three *doblas* and a fine smock).
- 7: He is described as 'fijo de Garçi Gutiérrez de Haçeves' (7: 360–62, p. 50; the son of García Gutiérrez from Hacheves). He sells the son of his former master for 'cient e çinquenta maravedis' (7: 390, p. 51; one hundred and fifty *maravedis*) in Jaén. The sum is roughly equal to between eight and ten *doblas* — the average price of a captive in al-Andalus.
- 9: 'Iohán de Santa Yllana salliera de Sant Ender con otros conpaneros e ivan en una barca por mar pora Algeçiras e levavan pannos e vino e otras cosas, e en derecho del Algarbe sallieron moros a ellos e cativáronlos e leváronlos allent mar a una villa que dizen Arçilla' (9: 433–37, p. 53; Iohán de Santillana had left Santander with other fellows and they were going in a boat by sea to Algecira and carrying cloths and wine and other things, and in front of the Algarve Moors attacked them and they took them prisoner and brought them over the sea [i.e., to North Africa] to a town which is called Arcilla).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
15	Iohán Pérez de Jaén	soldier	—		Granada	—
	Iohán de Quesada	soldier	—		"	—
	Pedro de Quesada	soldier	—		"	—
	Yuan Domínguez de Córdova	soldier	—		"	—
	Martín Domínguez de Santa Ella	soldier	—		"	—
16	Iohán de Luçena	soldier	—		Rute	—
17	Pedro Fernández de Toro	soldier	—		Comares	—
18	Iohán Domínguez de S. Martín del Pino	soldier *			Granada	
19	Yuanes Domingo de Córdova	shepherd	—		Granada	—
20	Pedro Gil de Luçena	soldier	—	P	Entequera	—
21	Gil de Quesada	farmer *	—	C	Granada	• *
22	Gil Pérez de Motos	soldier *	8½ db	V	Granada	60db + *
24	Rodrigo de Baena	—	—		Algeciras*	—
25	García Pérez de Lorca	farmer *	30 db	V	Vélez-BI.	
	Fernando	farmer		V	"	
26	Apariçio de Plazençia	soldier *	—		Málaga	40db, 2 aliubas d'escarlata
27	Pascual e Ferán Pérez de Priego	—	—		Granada	—
	Iuan Pérez de Jahén	—	—		"	—

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 18: 'yendo con el Infant don Sancho, fijo del Rey don Alfonso' (18: 762–63, p. 65; going with Prince Sancho [the future Sancho IV], son of King Alfonso) accompanied by García Pérez de Xerez, Domingo Pérez de Bejer and others. They were imprisoned with María Pérez d'Estepa, Teresa Pérez de Sevilla, María Fernández de Çamora and María Martínez de Cantinana.
- 21: 'dixo que yendo por yerba' (21: 864–65, p. 68; he said that he was going for grass).
- 22: 'dixo que fuera en cavalgada con el rey don Alfonso e con su fijo el Infant don Sancho quando fueron sobre Granada' (22: 889–91, p. 69; he said that he had gone on *cavalgada* with King Alfonso and with his son Prince Sancho when they attacked Granada). He was asked to redeem himself for 'LX. doblas e dos aliubas d'escarlata' (22: 898–99, p. 69; sixty *doblas* and two smocks of scarlet cloth) — cp. *milagro* 26, for a similar redemption price.
- 24: 'yoguera en el Real de Abiüçaf' (24: 1000, p. 73; he had lain captive in Abuyuçeſ's *Real*), that is, where the Muslim ruler's troops were encamped.
- 25: 'él e Fernando [...] fueron [...] en la tarde a regar una huerta' (25: 1009–10, p. 74; he and Fernando went to water an orchard in the evening). They were sold together for 30 *doblas*.

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
29	Martín de Xàtiva	*	12 db *	V	Alicún	—
	Pedro de Alarcón			V	”	—
30	Nicolás de Alcaraz	soldier *	10 db	A	Vera	—
31	Gonçalo de Sotavellanos	official mes-senger *	7 ¹ / ₂ db	V	Málaga	—
32	Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias	merchant/ muleteer? *	25 mr / 35mr	V	Guadix	—
	Domingo de Ágreda	”	20mr	V	”	
33	Alfonso Pérez de Lorca	farmer	—	A	Vera	—
	Mentía	wife	—	A	”	—
	Iohán	son	—	A	”	—
34	Apariçio de Úbeda	footsoldier*		V	Granada	—
35	Estevan de Matrera	criado *	4db/8db	V	Algeciras	—
36	Estevan de Montoro	soldier	8 ¹ / ₂ db	V	Granada	—
37	Domingo Pérez de Sigüenza	—	2 ¹ / ₂ db	V	Granada	30db + *

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 29: ‘dixieron que salieron de Bilena e ivan contra Alcaudet’ (29: 1114–15, p. 78; they said that they left Villena and were going towards Alcaudete). They were sold together for 12 *doblas*.
- 30: ‘veno aquí Nicolás de Alcaraz morador en Lorca e dixo que salieron él e Iuan e Domingo Yuannes sus vezinos pora ganar algo contra tierra de moros’ (16: 692–93, p. 62; Nicolás de Alcaraz, settler in Lorca, came here and said that he and Iuan and Domingo Yuannes, his neighbours, had gone out to win something from Moorish lands).
- 31: ‘Veno aquí Gonçalo de Sotavellanos morador en Baenna. Dixo que·l enbiara el conçeio con cartas al Infant don Iohán fijo del rey que les viniessen âcorrer’ (31: 1175–78, p. 80; Gonçalo de Sotavellanos, settler in Baena came here. He said that the council [of Baena] had sent him to Prince Iohán, the king’s son, that he might come to their assistance).
- 32: ‘Veno aquí Rodrigo de .VII. Iglesias [...], morador en Collar, e dixo que sallieron él e otro Domingo de Ágreda e Yuanes pora Jahén por la senda de como el pinareio’ (32: 1227–31, p. 82; Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias [...], settler in Collar, came and said that he and Domingo de Ágreda and Yuanes left for Jaén by the path above the pine forest).
- 34: ‘dixo que iba en cavalada con otros peones contra Granada’ (34: 1291–92, p. 84; he said that he was going on a *razzia* with other footsoldiers against Granada).
- 35: ‘Veno aquí Estevan de Matrera criado del comendador e dixo que·l enbió el comendador de Matrera con cartas a Xerez’ (36: 1310–13, p. 85; Estevan de Matrera, servant of the *comendador*, and said that the *comendador* of Matrera had sent him with letters to Jerez).
- 37: The redemption price was fixed at ‘.XXX. doblas e dos çintas de Alcobaça e dos cuchiellos de Panplona’ (37: 1371–72, p. 87; thirty *doblas* and two Alcobaça ribbons and two Pamplona knives).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption
38	Roy Pérez de Jahén	soldier	—		Granada	—
39	Benito de Jahén	soldier	—		Granada	—
40	Arias Paez de Orense	soldier	10 db		Ronda	400mr
41	Remón de Mula	merchant *	20 db		Purchena	100 db *
42	Iohán de Archos				Ronda	400mr
	Giraldo de Sevilla				"	—
	Martín Domingo de Archos	soldiers	30 db	V	"	—
	Alfonso Pérez de Asturias				"	—
43	Larios de Burgos	soldier	17 db	A	Alcalá de Avencaide	—
44	Martín Domínguez de Aranda	almocadén*	13mr/ 15mr	A	Ronda	—
45	Iohán Martínez de Sant Román	merchant	12 db	A	Algezira	—
	Garçía de la Torre del Campo de Jahén	merchant	5½ db	A	"	—
	Tomás Pérez de Córdova	merchant	5 db	A	"	—
46	Domingo Bono de Fuent el Enzina	almocadén	—		Ceuta	—
47	Ramiro de Matrera	almocadén	60mr de plata	A	Ronda	—
	Bartolomé	footsoldier	15mr	A	"	—
	Estevan	footsoldier	15mr	A	"	—
48	Miguel Pérez de Úbeda	merchant	—		Guadix	—

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 41: 'sallió de Lorca que iba pora Mula e iba con él Lorençio e levavan una mula e un asno' (41: 1486–87, p. 92; left Lorca, going to Mula and Lorençio was going with him and they were taking a mule and an ass). He was tortured, 'assí que ovo a pletear por çient doblas e que pagasse luego las çinquenta e por las otras çinquenta que diese un su fijo en rehennes fata un anno, e si no-l quitasse ante del anno que fuesse pora siempre cativo' (41: 1500–04, p. 92; so that he had to come to terms for one hundred *doblas* and that he would pay fifty immediately and, for the other fifty, that he should give his son as hostage for a year and if he should not buy him out before the year he would be held captive forever).
- 44: 'Veno aquí Martín Domínguez de Aranda morador en Sevilla e dixo que él e otros tres almocadenes con .XL.VIII. peones sallieron de Cot' (44: 1637–40, p. 93; Martín Domínguez, settler in Seville came here and said that he and three other *almocadenes* with forty-eight footsoldiers left Cote).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
49	Rodrigo	child	5 db	A	Vélez-BI.	—
	Teresa	sister of R.	10 db	A	”	—
50	Mariapariçio	farmworker *	14 db 19 db	A V	Málaga	—
51	Gil Pérez de Soria	muleteer *	2 ¹ / ₂ db	A	Granada	—
53	Gonçalo de Soria	soldier	8 ¹ / ₂ db	A	Algeciras	•
55	don Iohán	buhón	5 ¹ / ₂ db 5 ¹ / ₂ db 8 db	V V V	Almeria Salé Salé	—
57	Pedro de Tovarra	official messenger	12 ¹ / ₂ db	V	Vera	•
58	Iohán de Caztala	farmer	8 db	V	Vera	—
59	Gilot de Tovarra	nephew of Pedro (57)	12 db	A	Granada	—
60	Estevan Domingo de Caliz	sailor	12 db	V	Marbella	—
61	Domingo Bono de Palma	merchant	7 db 12 db	V V	Ronda Ceuta	—
62	Miguel Pérez de Êçija	muleteer	5 db	V V	Málaga Ceuta	—
63	García de Córdoba	soldier	4 db	A	Málaga	•
64	Salvador de Sevilla	merchant?*	—		Ronda	•
	Pascual Pérez	”	—		”	•
	Yoanes Domingo	”	—		”	•
	Antón, hijo de Yoanes Domingo	merchant's son	6 db	V	”	—

Annotatons (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 50: ‘escardavan ella e otras dos mugieres a dos leguas de Córdoba çerca Guadiex en el mes de março’ (50: 2142–43, p. 116; she and two other women were weeding two leagues from Córdoba near Guadix during the month of March)
- 51: ‘Veno aquí Gil Pérez de Soria morador en Baena a la collación de Sant Pedro e dixo que yendo de Baena a Castro que levavan pan él e otro moço Miguel, levavan una azémila e tres asnos cargados’ (51: 2191–95, p. 117; Gil Pérez de Soria, settler in Baena in the colony of San Pedro, came here and said that, going from Baena to Castro, he and another boy, Miguel, were taking bread, they had a mule and three laden asses).
- 64: ‘Veno Salvador de Sevilla a Santo Domingo e dixo que él e Pascual Pérez e Yoanes Domingo e su fijo Antón que yvan a coger grana a la Xara de Otrera [...] leváronlos a Ronda, vendieron luego a Antón por .VI. doblas’ (64: 2865–72, p. 140; Salvador de Sevilla came to Santo Domingo and said that he and Pascual Pérez and Yoanes Domingo and his son Antón were going to get grain at La Jara de Otrera (perhaps the village called La Jara on the coast a couple of kilometres southwest of Sanlúcar de Barrameda) [...] they took them to Ronda, they sold Antón immediately for six *doblas*).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
65	Yuannes Domingo de Baesça	almocaden	400 mr de chicos	A	Sergal	•
66	Domingo de Merlán	official messenger *	— / 12 db	A V	Algeciras	•
67	Garçia de Úbeda	*	7 db *	V	Vera	—
	Fernando	*				—
68	Domingo Munnoz de Jahén	official messenger *	4½ db / 4 db	V V	Guadix Almería	—
69	Iohán de Segura	messenger?*	8½ db		Baza	Yes *
70	Bernabeio de Alcanet	shepherd	10 db	A	Málaga	
71	Martín de Cabra	employer *	10 db	A	Rute	Yes *
72	don Miquel de Cetina	noble	18½db	A	Málaga	100 db + *

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

- 66: 'iva de Sevilla a Matrera con cartas que-l enbiava Xemén Pérez comendador de Matrera' (66: 2970–71, p. 144; he was going from Seville to Matrera with letters which Xemén Pérez was sending with him).
- 67: 'Veno a Santo Domingo Garçia de Úbeda, morador a la collación que dizen de Santo Domingo, e dixo que yvan él e Fernando su vezino de Ogeiar un castiello del rey e yvan a Lorca' (67: 3030–33, p. 146; Garçia de Úbeda, dwelling in the settlement which is known as Saint Dominic's, came to Santo Domingo and said that he was going with Fernando his neighbour from Ogeiar, one of the king's castles, and they were going to Lorca). García was later sold alone in Almería for five *doblas* 'e un çumel de oro' (67: 3039, p. 146; a *çumel* of gold). Were they farmers, footsoldiers, messengers, muleteers, watercarriers ...?
- 68: 'Veno a Santo Domingo Domingo Munnoz de Jahén, morador a Sant Illefonso a la Fuente de don Diego, e dixo que yendo a Carchel, un castiello de fijos de don Jofre, que-l enbiavan el conçeio de Jahén' (68: 3085–89, p. 148; Domingo Munnoz de Jaén, settler in San Illefonso at don Diego's spring came to Santo Domingo and said that going to Carchel, as castle of don Jofre's sons, because the Jaén council had sent him).
- 69: 'Veno a Santo Domingo Iohán de Segura, e dixo que yendo a Caçorra, castiello de Gallín Xeménez' (69: 3141–43, p. 150; Iohán de Segura came to Santo Domingo and said that going to Caçorra, Gallín Xeménez's castle). 'Pleteó por .XL. varas de pres e que-l fiziesse dar su fijo Moçot que-l tenía en conçeio de Segura' (69: 3158–60, p. 150; He made an agreement for forty yards of fine cloth and that he would have [his master's] son, Moçot, handed over, who was held by the town council of Segura).
- 71: 'Veno a Santo Domingo Martín de Cabra çerca de Baena, e dixo que levava pan e vino a los cavadores de su hermana María Pérez' (71: 3242–44, p. 153; Martín de Cabra came to Santo Domingo and said that he was taking bread and wine to the men digging for his sister María Pérez). He agreed to a redemption price of fifty *arrobas* (c.500kg) of oil.
- 72: 'don Miquel de Çetina [...] , morador en Aguilar de don Gonçalo Yoanes de Avinán, dixo que yendo por pan de Aguilar a Ariona' (72: 3293–96, p. 155; don Miquel de Cetina [...], a settler in Aguilar de don Gonçalo Yoanes de Avinán, said that going for bread from Aguilar to Ariona) he was captured. Miquel 'ovo a pletear con su sennor por çient *doblas* e dos aliubas de uerdescur, e dos cuchiello de Panplona, e desto que-l darié un fijo e una fija en rehennes' (72: 3309–12, p. 155 had to agree with his master to one hundred *doblas* and two smocks of dark green cloth, and two Pamplona knives, and for this he would given a son and daughter as hostages).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
73	Iohán de Marthos	soldier	—		Algeciras	—
74	Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales	sailor	60mr chicos	A	Ronda	—
75	Benito de Baraxas	merchant	3 ³ / ₄ db 4 ¹ / ₂ db 5 db	V V V	Vera Almería "	—
	Miguel	merchant	4 db	V	Vera	—
76	Caterina de Linares	viticulture	—		Granada	—
77	Domingo Benito de Aguilar	merchant	9 db	A	Málaga	—
78	Marimiguel de Córdoba	García Peres' wife	12 db	A	Alicún	—
79	Mari Pérez de Córdoba	farmer	17 db	A	El Portal de Jerez	—
80	Apariçio de Marçales	farmer*	12 db	A	Algeciras	25 db + *
81	Domingo Pérez de Salva Tierra	soldier	5 db	V	Los Al-candiles	•
83	Pedro Veçent	servant *		V	Granada	—

- 80: 'Apariçio de Marçales, aldea de Oter de Siellas, [...] dixo que morando en el Cortijo de don Bretón en Xerez que es agora de Roy Díaz que labrava y con muchas yuntas de bueyes' (80: 3703–06, p. 169; Apariçio de Marçales, a village of Oter de Siellas [probably Oter (*España & Portugal*, J(7) 22(8), p. 26) above the Tagus, some 20 km from Zaorejas], said that living in the colony of don Bretón in Jerez, which is now Roy Díaz's, he was ploughing there with many yokes of oxen). He negotiated with his captors: 'demandáronle que les diesse .LX. doblas e tres aliubas e .III. cuchiellos de panplona. Díxoles él que non lo podría aver, mas que les daría .XXV. doblas e una aliuba d'estanfort. Et depués que ovo ataiado con ellos, embió su carta a Nunno Pérez, mayordomo de Roy Díaz, mensagero del rey' (80: 3743–48, pp. 169–70; they asked him to give sixty *doblas* and three smocks and three Pamplona knives. He told them that he could not get that, but would give them thirty-five *doblas* and a smock of Stamford cloth. And after he had agreed with them, he sent his letter to Nunno Pérez, mayordomo of Roy Díaz, messenger of the king). He sent word to Nunno Pérez since, living in Roy Díaz's settlement, he was under his protection. The former 'embió-l .X. doblas por la puerta de la renta que a de aver el rey por los fierros e diolas a alhaqueque Sancho Márquez. Veno a él dixo que no aduzía recabdo ninguno. Quando esto oyó Apariçio entendió que non podría aver acorro.' (80: 3749–53, p. 170; sent him ten *doblas* for the tax which the king gathers on the irons and gave them to the *alhaqueque* [a man who was specialized in ransom negotiations] Sancho Márquez. He came to him and said that he brought no redemption money at all. When Apariçio heard this he understood that he could have no help). Stamford is a town in Lincolnshire.
- 83: 'Veno a Santo Domingo Pedro Veçent morador en Córdoba, e dixo que [...] ivan él e otros conpaneros a Luçena que levavan pannos e .LXXX. carneros pora don Pascual obispo de Córdoba' (83: 3860–65, p. 174; Pedro Veçent, settler in Córdoba came to Santo Domingo and said that he and other companions were going to Lucena to take cloths and eighty lambs for don Pascual, bishop of Córdoba).

Table 7 (continued)

	Name	Status	Price	X	Place	Redemption?
84	Fernant Pérez de Baesça	—	—		Granada	20 db + *
85	Simón de Mont Falcón*	merchant			Almería	150 db de oro*
	Martín de Mont Falcón	”			”	
86	Domingu’yuanes de Sevilla	—	—		Algeciras	—
88	Domingo Mínguez	—	—		Granada	—
89	Sancho de Úbeda	—	—		Guadix	—
90	Santa Ella	soldier	—	V	Algeciras	100 db + *
	Estevan de Aguilar	soldier	—	V	”	20 db + *

Annotations (marked by *) to table 7, above.

84: Fernant Pérez ‘avía pleteado [...] .XX. doblas e .III. aliubas de panno tinto e .III. cintas de seda e .III. cuchillos de Panplona’ (84: 3888–91, p. 174; had agreed to twenty *doblas* and three smocks of died cloth and three silk ribbons and three Pamplona knives).

85: ‘Veno a Santo Domingo Simón de Mont Falcón del Reyno de Siçilia, morador en la çibdat de Meçina, e dixo que él e otro su hermano Martín de Mont Falcón e otros .VI. mercaderos ...’ (85: 3898–91, p. 175; Simón de Mont Falcón of the Kingdom of Sicily, settler in the city of Messina, came to Santo Domingo and said that he and another brother of his, Martín de Mont Falcón and another six merchants ...). At this point there is a lacuna in the manuscripts. Judging from Antón’s edition, about fifteen lines have been lost (roughly equal to a hundred and fifty words — a large amount in a work as concise as the *Miráculos romançados*). Monte Falcone (686 metres) is the mountain on the most westerly of the *Isole Egadi*, the *Isola Marettimo*, some forty kilometres by sea from Trapani or Marsala on the North West coast of Sicily. It is perfectly reasonable place of origin, then, particularly with the specification that it belonged to Sicily (and therefore was not necessarily on the mainland); Simón’s status as a ‘morador’ (settler) in Messina, on the extreme North East of the island, is also highly convincing. Martín, although initially described as ‘de Mont Falcón’ is later named twice as ‘Martín Falcón’ (85: 3931, 3945–46, pp. 175–76) — Falcone is a small town on the North coast of Sicily, some twenty-four kilometres from Milazzo and roughly seventy kilometres around the coast to Messina, but his brother remains ‘de Monte Falcón’ (85: 3947, p. 176) in the text. These Sicilian merchants ‘enbiaron pedir merçed al sennor de Almaria con dos freires de Santa Olalla de Barçillona como eran mercaderos de Meçina e que los tomaran la nave e todo quanto y aduçian, e que les dexasse ir a su tierra e que-l farían pleito e omenaie que-l darían .C. e .L. doblas de oro, e el sennor dixo que non los quería dexar e los freires tornáronse a ellos e dixiérongelo que non los quería dexar’ (85: 3903–08, p. 175; sent to beg mercy from the lord of Almería through two friars of Santa Olalla of Barcelona [Saint Eulalia; they were later to be known as Mercedarians], how they were two merchants from Messina and that their ship and everything that they carried therein had been taken, and that he should let them go to their land and that they would make an agreement and an oath to him that they would give him one hundred and fifty gold *doblas*, and the lord said that he did not want to let them go and the friars came back to them and said to them that he did not wish to allow them to go).

90: Santa Ella agreed to ‘.C. doblas e una aliuba d’escarlata e pellot de balacina’ (90: 4074, p. 180; one hundred *doblas* and a smock of scarlet cloth and a cloak of *balacina* [perhaps a form of *barcina*, which refers to the fur of animals which is white and either dun-coloured or reddish-brown (cf. *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X*, ed. Kasten and Nitti, I, 280B)]. Estevan de Aguilar agreed to ‘.XX. doblas e una aliuba de pres’ (90: 4075, p. 180; twenty *doblas* and a smock of fine cloth).

PRAYER

The description of the captives' turning their prayers to the powers of heaven forms a bridge between the description of the misery to which they were subjected and the miraculous intervention to free them. As such it may be called the shrine recorder's causal interpretation of the events: because these captives pray to God, the Virgin and Saint Dominic, the saint visits them and frees them. Assiduity is explicitly mentioned, through the use of 'toda vía' (always) or 'de día e de noche' (by day and by night). The most common form of words to describe the prayer is 'acomendándose a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que-l sacassen d'aquella pena' (commending him/herself to God, Holy Mary and Saint Dominic that they might free him/her from that suffering), variants of which are found throughout the collection. The phrasing is not woodenly formulaic, however, and can be modified or expanded to suit individual circumstance. An invocation to God and the saints, 'que los sacassen d'aquella cueyta, o les diessen la muerte' (29: 1124–25, p. 78; that they free them from that sorrow, or have them die) is placed in the context of the captives' only receiving water every three days from the Moors. The motif of praying for death is also found in 47: 1974, p. 109, 53: 2330, p. 121 and 81: 3810–11, p. 172. This was probably not a rhetorical adornment, and finds another expression in a letter of Catalan captives at Tlemcen, who, in 1327, 'wrote to their king, Alfons III, that the physical torments of captivity made death seem preferable to life.'⁴⁵

The invocation would seem at times to be the personal expression of a captive's devotion. *Santa María* is not mentioned consistently in the captives' prayers during the early part of the collection, although after 40: 1456, p. 90, she always features.⁴⁶ Although this element might warn us against taking the details of the invocations literally, since they may only reflect the piety which the shrine recorder felt the captives should have had, it is clear that some invocations are taken directly from what the captives prayed, and the omnipresence of the Blessed Virgin in captives' invocations of the supernatural powers is more likely to be evidence for a diffused sense of propriety in the prayers captives offered. Saint Dominic and the Virgin are invoked with no reference to God at 18: 774–76, p. 65, 'Rogaron a la gloriosa Santa María e a Santo Domingo que los oviessen piedat' (They prayed to the glorious Holy Mary and to Saint Dominic that they might have mercy upon them). This is the first of two times that the honorific 'gloriosa' is used for the Blessed Virgin, although it was much in favour in ecclesiastical circles and was used extensively by Gonzalo de Berceo.⁴⁷ The absence of the adjective in the rest of the collection suggests that its reporting here is due to the captives' own devotion. These particular captives were more pious than most, since they brought both their irons and the weight of those irons in wax. The other invocation of the 'gloriosa Santa María' comes at a moment of crisis, when captives call upon the powers of heaven because they have filed through their

irons but cannot escape their dungeon: 48: 2051, p. 112. The prayer given voice to by Gonçalo de Sotavellanos's was recorded verbatim, however, without any mention of God and with its tone of doubting desperation: 'tornósse a Santa Maria e a Santo Domingo e díxoles, "Pidovos merçet si vertut á en vós, lo que cuido e creo que la á en vós, que me saquedes de cativo e desta cueita e creeré más en vós"' (31: 1189–91, p. 80; he turned to Holy Mary and Saint Dominic and said to them, 'I ask your mercy if you have any power, which I think and believe that you have, to free me from captivity and from this sorrow and I will believe in you more). Pedro Gil de Luçena 'acomendava-s a Santo Domingo que rogasse a Iesu Christo por él' (20: 847–48, p. 68; commended himself to Saint Dominic that he might pray to Jesus Christ for him), as did Domingo de Lista and his companions.⁴⁸ Pascual de Ençiso, held by a Christian justice, put himself in the safekeeping of God, Holy Mary, Saint Dominic of Silos and Saint Martin (28: 1096–97, p. 77). The latter saint was connected strongly to Dominic's cult in the late eleventh century, but this is the only evidence to suggest that the connection had remained into the last quarter of the thirteenth.⁴⁹

Dominic expresses a subordination to Christ in two visions: he informs Ramiro and his companions, frightened that their master's sorcery might trick them into attempting to escape 'que me enbió esta noche Iesu Christo por vós' (47: 1994–95, p. 109; for Jesus Christ has sent me tonight for you); Estevan Domingo de Cáliz (i.e., Cádiz) was encouraged to step out of the carrack taking him to North Africa by a voice which said, '¿Cómo estades, fijos cristianos? Levantatvos e vía vós comigo a tierra de cristianos, que yo só Santo Domingo de Silos mensagero de Iesu Cristo que vengo por vós' (60: 2747–51, p. 136; How are you, Christian children? Get up and be on your way with me to Christian land, for I am Saint Dominic of Silos messenger of Jesus Christ who have come for you).

The depiction of the prayers captives offer is not necessarily static. A narrative style is increasingly used as the collection progresses in which the prayer itself takes part in the events of the narration. The captive responds to an unfortunate event by turning to supernatural help. Roy Pérez, on hearing that he would be given forty lashes, 'estava con muy grant miedo que serié açotado. Comié pan e queso. Fincó los inoios en tierra, e pidió merçet a dios e a Santo Domingo, que-l sacassen de aquella cueyta en que estava' (38: 1391–94, p. 88; was very much afraid that he would be whipped. He ate bread and cheese. He knelt on the ground and asked for God's mercy, and Saint Dominic's, that they might free him from that trouble in which he was). Prayer in pressing distress is perhaps most desperate when the captives are being, or are about to be, transported across the sea to North Africa. The usual fear is that they will be beheaded as part of a rite of ancestor worship (cf. 46: 2003–4, p. 110, 52: 2265–68, p. 120, 60: 2737–38, p. 136). Otherwise, a fortuitous event might spark a spontaneous invocation of providence. García Pérez and Fernando de Lorca had been denied water for

two days after the latter argued with his master, Mahómat Avdela. Passing above the captives' prison, one of the master's young sons dropped a knife. 'Ellos quando-l vieron acomendáronse a dios e a Santo Domingo e pidiéronles merçet que lo non sopiesse su sennor que tenién cuchielo' (25: 1019–22, p. 74; When they saw it, they commended themselves to God and Saint Dominic and asked their favour that their master might not know that they had a knife). That night they burrowed out of their prison and of the house, and so escaped.

A captive's being broken into agreeing a redemption price may cause a reaction of fear that the price cannot be fulfilled, which then takes on the form of the formulaic, repeated invocation discussed above. Remón de Mula, after having agreed to give his son as a hostage for a year whilst he raised his own redemption-money, realised what he had done: 'Començó rogar, de día e de noche, a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo, que por la su merçet que-l sacassen de cativo, por que no oviesse a enpenar su fijo' (41: 1506–09, p. 92; he began to pray, night and day, to God, to Our Lady, and to Saint Dominic, that through their mercy they might free him from captivity, so that he would not have to give over his son as hostage). The tone becomes even more personal when Iohán de Segura, after agreeing terms with his captor to the tune of forty 'varas de pres' (yards of fine cloth) and the exchange of his captor's son, Moçot, then being held by the council of Segura (his employers, or in which he held an official post):

començó de lorar, e de rogar de día e de noche a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que por la su merçet le sacassen de cativo por que non oviesse a pagar aquella postura, que bien sabién ellos que non avié de que llo pudies conplir. (69: 3163–68, p. 150)

he began to weep, and to beseech by day and by night God and Holy Mary and Saint Dominic that through their mercy they might free him from captivity so that he would not have to pay that agreed price, for well they [God, the Blessed Virgin and Dominic] knew that he did not have the wherewithall to fulfill it.

Apariçio de Marçales at first tried to bargain with his captors, while praying for rescue from the saints. Yet he failed to ensure that his redemption price would be paid (80: 3746–3752, p. 170 — see above, table 7). Apariçio was thrown deep into despair. His second invocation was of a much more hopeless nature:

començó de cabo de rogar mucho a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que por la su piadat le acorriessen aquella cueyta en que estava, por que no-l penassen tanto ni-l matassen, o que-l diessen ante la muerte. (80: 3753–58, p. 170)

in the end he began to pray a lot to God, and to Holy Mary and to Saint Dominic that, through their mercy, they might succour him in that suffering in which he found himself, so that they would not torture him too much or kill him, or that they would have him die rather than that.

THE ESCAPE

This account forms the core of the text; without this element there would be no collection at all. Escapes were attributed to Dominic on the basis of the captives' initial invocation of the saint and their escape through one or more providentially fortunate circumstances. It was Dominic who inspired captives to desire freedom, infusing a sudden, spontaneous impulse to take the chance of fleeing towards liberty. All that is extraordinary in these accounts is their paucity in the collection. They are recorded, indicating that only the captives' attribution of the escape to Dominic warranted the inclusion of their testimony into the shrine book. Other details depicting the saint's miraculous intervention were not required. These two non-miraculous accounts are both placed at the end of the collection, and their phrasing is formulaic. They occurred within less than a month of each other, taking place on 15 May and 13 June 1287 respectively:

Lunes, mediado mayo, era de mill e .CCC. e .XXV. annos, arava en una alcalia e enbió-l su sennor con Hámet a la villa que fiçíés' çena. Metió-l dios e Santo Domingo en coraçón que tomase el cavallo de su sennor e que viniessse en el pora christianos, e él aventuróse e tomó el cavallo e subió en él con sus fierros a los pies, e sallió de la villa e falló moros e nunca-l dixieron '¿Dó vas?' Arribó essa noche a Torres de Alicún e Pedro Díaz, adelantado de Quesada, mandó-l sacar los fierros. (89: 4053–62, p. 180)

Monday 15 May 1287, [Sancho de Úbeda] was ploughing in a field and his master sent him with Hámet to town that he might prepare dinner. God and Saint Dominic put into his heart that he should take his master's horse and come on it to Christendom, and he took his chance and took hold of the horse and mounted it with his irons on his feet, and left the town and found Moors and they never said to him, 'Where are you going?' He arrived that night at Torres de Alicún and Pedro Díaz, governor of Quesada, ordered that his irons be removed.

En la era de mill e .CCC.XXV. annos, vinieron a Santo Domingo Domingo Mínguez e Pascual Pérez e Sebastián e Domingo Pérez e Pascual Pérez e García e Iohán e Sancho Pérez e Pascual Pérez de Alcaraz, e dixieron que los captivara poder de Aboaçem, arrayaz de Andarax, e leváronlos a Granada, e metiéronlos en grandes fierros; de día façíanlos labrar e cavar en las vinnas, de noche metíanlos en la carçel. Yoguieron captivos III annos, ellos todavía rogavan a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que los sacassen de captivo. Martes XIII días de junio en la era sobredicha estavan todos cavando en la vinna de su sennor. Metiólos dios e Santo Domingo en coraçón a todos que se fuessen a tierra de christianos. Seyendo medio día tomaron a Mohámat, moro que los guardava, e echaron en un poço e diéronse a ir por las vinnas, e fallaron muchos moros en la carrera e ninguno non les dixo nada, e arribaron a Iahén. Sacáronles y los fierros; legaron al monasterio con sus fierros martes XII días de agosto. (88: 4031–49, pp. 179–80)

In the year 1287, Domingo Mínguez and Pascual Pérez and Sebastián and Domingo Pérez and Pascual Pérez and García and Iohán and Sancho Pérez and Pascual Pérez from Alcaraz came to Santo Domingo, and they said that a force led by Aboaçem, ruler of Andarax had captured them, and they took them to Granada, and they put them in mighty irons; by day they made them work and dig in the vineyards, by night they put them in the dungeon. They remained captive three years, always praying to God and Holy Mary and Saint Dominic to free them from prison. Tuesday 12 June in the aforesaid year they were all digging in their master's vineyard. God and Saint Dominic put into all of their hearts that they should go to Christendom. Since it was midday, they took hold of Mohámat, the moor guarding them, and threw him in a well and began to go through the vineyards, and they came across many Moors on the way and no-one said anything to them, and they came to Jaén. They took their irons off them there; they arrived at the monastery with their irons on Tuesday 12 August.

The late appearance of these two relatively unmiraculous escapes in the collection would imply that a certain familiarity amongst captives with the possibility of release had had to be created before an individual or a group would attempt a dash to Christendom, with or without violence, on what would otherwise appear as a whim. They are the last escapes to occur from Moorish captivity recorded in the collection.⁵⁰ Just as with the *Vita Dominici*, supernatural experiences give way to escapes which can only be claimed to be providential. It may well be that the interest of the monks, when faced with unmiraculous accounts, trailed off and they desisted from recording the tales of those who came, perhaps in a trickle to the monastery, to give thanks for their seemingly impossible escape.

Escapes were normally accompanied by some form of supernatural or visionary manifestation of the saint's presence. As we have seen, the most common form of visionary experience was the appearance of a brilliant light to captives in their dungeon, accompanied by a voice which encouraged them to escape. The very regularity of these *miráculos* led to a certain amount of standardization on the part of the shrine recorders towards the end of 1285, since from *miráculo* 70, it is clear that the captives are awakened by a voice, and then see the *claridat*, although in the narrative it is recorded, in line with the previous descriptions, that the *claridat* enters first — even though they are only aware of it when they are woken by the disembodied voice:

Sabbado .xv. días ante de Sant Iohán, era de mil .ccc.xxiii. annos, ante del gallo, apareció en la casa ó yazían grant claridat, e lamóles una boz e díxoles, 'Christianos, fijos de dios, vía vos comigo; yo só Santo Domingo de Silos que vengo por vos.' En esto despertaron todos; vieron grant lunbre; cuydaron que era de día. Díxoles otra vez la boz, 'Vía, andar, todos, non ayades ningún miedo que yo iré convusco'. Salieron de la casa, fallaron la puerta abierta e sallieron a la cal. (70: 3224–30, p. 152)⁵¹

On Saturday, a fortnight before the feast of John the Baptist, 1285, before the cock-crow, a great brilliance appeared in the house where they lay, and a voice called them and said to them, 'Christians, children of God, leave with me; I am Saint Dominic of Silos who has come for you.' At this they all woke up; they saw a great light; they thought it was day. Again the voice said to them, 'Get going, come on, all of you, have no fear, for I will go with you'. They went out of the house, found the door open and went out into the street.

Normalization, particularly of the extraordinary supernatural, is an important feature of the recorders' method, although excessive emphasis on this point would not be true to the wide variety of circumstances described and of phrasing used in the narrations.

The instruction given by the voice may not be to escape, but fulfill a premonitory function. Roy Pérez, held captive in Granada, was kept prisoner for four and a half years, labouring at plastering walls. He was warned by his master that he no longer worked as he was wont, and that he would be given forty lashes to encourage him; the man fell to praying through fear, promising to fast on Saturdays:

La oración acabada, avié comido el pan e tenía un poquiello de queso. Dixo en su voluntat, 'Guardarlo é pora cras'. En esto dixo-l una boz, 'Cómelo, que cras dios te dará.' Quando veno la media noche, vio grant claridat en la casa, e veno-l a voluntat que se fuesse su vía, e començóse a ir. Dixieron los otros cativos, 'Roy Pérez, ¿ó vas?' Díxoles, 'Vóme con Santo Domingo.' Sallió e metiósse por una carrera, ant'el muy grant claridat. (36: 1396-1403, p. 88)

Having finished his prayer, he had eaten the bread and still had a little cheese. He said to himself, 'I will keep it for tomorrow'. At this a voice said to him, 'Eat it, tomorrow God will provide for you'. When midnight came, he saw a great brilliance in the house and he began to want to escape, and he began to go. The other captives said, 'Roy Pérez, where are you going?' He said to them, 'I'm leaving with Saint Dominic.' He left and set out on a road, a very brilliant light ahead of him.

As with the voice alone, the *claridat* may come at a time of crisis. Miguel Pérez, given two files by María la Baldera de Quesada, a Christian concubine of the ruler of Guadix, broke through his irons, and, with two companions,

non sabién en cuál manera salíessen de la carçel. Estando en esta cueyta que avían miedo de ser descubiertos porque avían limados los fierros, rogaron muy de coraçón al nuestro Sennor Iesu Christo e a la gloriosa Santa María e a Santo Domingo que los acorriessen por la su merçet. Veno la su merçet, e muy grant claridat sobre la carçel; lamó la boz a cada uno por nonbre que eran .XV. cativos. Díxoles, 'Levat mios fijos e mios amigos que yo só Santo Domingo que vengo por vós, que comido avedes el pan que aquí avíedes a comer, que sacarvos quiero a christianos.' Los que avían limado los fierros dexáronlos, e los otros tomáronlos;

sallieron suso de la carçel, falláronla muy lana, e dos puertas que avién a passar falláronlas abiertas. (48: 2047–2061, p. 112)

They did not know how they might get out of the prison. Being in this distress since they were very afraid of being discovered because they had filed their irons, they prayed Our Lord Jesus Christ and the glorious Saint Mary and to Saint Dominic with their whole heart to succour them through their mercy. Their mercy and a very great brilliance above the prison came to them; the voice called each one by name (there were fifteen captives). It said to them, 'Get up, my children and my friends, for I am Saint Dominic who have come for you, for you have eaten the bread that you were to eat here and I want to bring you out to Christendom.' Those who had filed their irons left them, and the others took them up; they went out from the top of the prison, they found it very flat, and they found two doors open that they had to go through.

Although the shrine recorders (or perhaps one in particular) tended to stylize and normalize aspects of the miraculous appearance of the saint, there does not seem to have been any attempt to enforce a normative understanding of how or when the saint might appear. As we have seen in the narratives of Mariapariçio's and Benito de Baraxas's escapes, the shrine recorders responsible turned the captives' testimony into a coherent narrative through recording events in a sequential order, as they would have happened rather than as they were revealed to the captive. Thus the men's vision which instructed them to take Mariapariçio with them is narrated before they wake her, even though only she came to the shrine (50: 2158–81, p. 116; see above, pp. 304–05); and Domingo Munnoz's dream is told before he wakes Benito up and tells it to him (75: 3479–86, pp. 160–61; see above, pp. 312–13). Such a rearrangement is only human, and may have been effected by the captives themselves. The shrine recorder accepted Gil de Quesada's logical deduction that, after he had ran off from the *morezno* who was guarding him,

el morezno fue a su sennor e dixo-l como se era ido Gil, e fue a los ginetes que falló, e díxoles de cómo se era ido su cativo, e cavalgaron muchos dellos, e fueron en pós él, e este Gil estando a la çerca violes como-l buscavan e passaron çerca d'él e no-l dixieron nada. (21: 876–80, p. 69)

the Moorish boy went to his master and told him that Gil had gone off, and he went to the riders that he found and told them how his captive had escaped and many of them rode out, and went after him, and this Gil, being by the palisade, saw how they were looking for him and the went by near to him and said nothing to him.

That the shrine recorders tried to put a coherent narrative together from the escaped captives' testimony can be glimpsed in how the physical exit from the prison is described. Phrases such as 'non entendieron de cómo salieron de la carçel' are used (6: 350–51, p. 50; 14: 646, p. 60; 48: 2047–48, p. 11267:

3066–67, pp. 146–47; they did not understand how they got out of the dungeon), suggest that the shrine recorders' question was, in this instance, unanswerable. The interest shown in the mechanics of the escape is a sign of intellectual curiosity in establishing the nature of the miracles that take place (see above, Chapter Eight, n. 36 at p. 323). Other questions were of a more parochial importance. Arias Paez and his companions were freed when 'sabbado en la noche antes del gallo apareció en la cárcel muy grant claridat, e vieron un omne figura de monge, e con la grant claridat, non podieron devisar las vestiduras de qual color eran' (40: 1458–62, p. 90; Saturday night before the cockcrow a very great brilliance appeared in the dungeon, and they could see man, dressed like a monk, and with the great brilliance they could not tell what colour his clothes were). No doubt the interest would have been to use such visionary information as a guide to the production of statues of the saint. A description of Dominic's clothing is also given at 54: 2422–24, p. 124.

Numerous miraculous happenings are associated with the captives' journeys out of Al-Andalus.⁵² Most frequent is what might be called an invisibility motif, although it is rare for the narratives actually to spell out that the Moors did not see the captives whilst they made their escape (only 80: 3771, p. 170 and 73: 3398, p. 158). More common, and truer to the escaping captives' perceptions, is the observation that the Moors neither said anything to them nor prevented their escape, as in 46: 1926–27, p. 107, 'nunqua les dixieron nada, ni ovieron ningún embargo' (they did not say anything at all to them at any point, nor did they have any difficulty).⁵³ Captives were at times guarded from the eyes of humans, but not from the senses of animals (cf. 44: 1700–11, p. 99). At times animals would seem to have been complicit in the captives' escape. Martín de Cabra, escaping from Rute,

encontró una gallina, e tomóla e la gallina comenzó a graznar. Vinieron muchos canes de las oveias a las bozes, e legaron a él e no·l ladraron ni·l fizieron nada e tornaron a sus oveias. (71: 3283–86, p. 154; cf. 17: 742–44, p. 64)

he found a hen and took hold of it and the hen began to cluck. Many sheepdogs came at the noise, and they came up to him and they did not bark at him nor did they do anything to him and they went back to their sheep.

Even leaving the town may be inexplicable for some captives: 'salieron de la villa, non sabién cómo' (29: 1132, p. 78; they went out of the town, they know not how).

The various types of strange occurrence do not exclude each other in the narrations. When Gil Pérez de Soria and his companion Martín made their first move to escape, 'maguer los moros eran muchos, e Mahómat que los guardava non les dixieron nada, e fuéronse (51: 2225–27, p. 118; although there were many Moors, and Mahómat who was guarding them did not say anything to them, and they went). The following morning as they continued on their way, 'vinié un moro a arar; trayé ante si una yunta de bueyes e cavalló en

una yegua e trayé un roçín acogido. Espantáronse las bestias de los cativos, e el moro non los vio, nin les dixo nada' (51: 2231–34, p. 118; a Moor came to plough; he drove before him a yoke of oxen and he rode upon a mare and he brought a young horse beside him. The animals were startled by the captives, and the Moor did not see them, nor did he say anything to them). They moved on, but their troubled journey had not yet ceased. On the road between Granada and Alcalá de Vençayde (now known as Alcalá la Real), the captives had a nasty surprise:

encontraron al rey de Granada, que vinié de Alcaudet de taiar las vinnas con muy grant conpana. Estos cativos non se pudieron asconder, ca non avían logar, que no avía montes nin valles. Passaron entre la hueste. Paráronse muchos ginetes mirándolos e non los dixieron nada. (51: 2234–41, p. 118)

they came across the king of Granada, who was coming from Alcaudete [some twenty-five kilometres northwest of Alcalá la Real], having laid waste to the vineyards with a great number of soldiers. These captives could not hide themselves, for there was nowhere they could find, for there were neither mountains nor valleys. They passed through the army. Many horsemen stopped to look at them and said nothing to them.

When the *hueste* had moved on, they came upon a Moor chopping firewood, who did see and speak to them:

díxolos el moro en algaravía, '¿Qué fazedes aquí?' Ellos dixieron, 'Estamos cansados, que viniemos con la ueste, e querémosnos ir.' El moro tomó un bordón que traía Gil Pérez, e atólo en su lenna, e levólo e fue su vía. (51: 2244–48, p. 119)

the Moor said to them in Arabic, 'What are you doing here?' They said, 'We are weary, for we came upon the army, and we want to be on our way.' The Moor took a stick that Gil Pérez was using, and tied it with his firewood, and took it as he went on his way.

Such attitudes to escaping captives might well be described as indifference, at times showing a more humane side of Moors, rather than of masters who had financial incentives to maltreat their property.⁵⁴

Some other Moors did attempt to stop captives, but they were unable to take hold of them. Iohán de Marthos left the tent in which he was held captive: 'Començó se a yr. Viéronlo los moros. Fueron en pos él, e alcançáronle, e no'l pudieron tomar, e escurriénse las manos d'él. Quando sovieron un poquiello, nunca'l vieron más' (73: 3395–98, p. 158; he began to go. The Moors saw him. They went after him, and caught up to him, and could not take hold of him, and their hands slipped off him. When they had been there a little while, they could not see him any more). The Moors' inability to seize their captive is also witnessed to when Iohán de Luçena walked out of the besieged town of

Rute: 'Los moros eran todos fuera de la villa a las barreras, e los moros conosçieronlo, e quisiéronlo tomar, e non pudieron' (16: 712–13, p. 62; the Moors were all outside the town at the barricades, and the Moors recognized him, and they tried to take hold of him, and they could not). When his mistress attempted to prevent Iohán's escape, it was he who took the initiative, and caused her to be killed. 'Et su sennora la mora vio que se iba con sus fierros a cuestas. Echó mano d'él, e él abraçóla, e enpuxóla una penna ayuso contra los christianos, e cayó yuso, e murió luego (16: 713–16, p. 63; And his owner the Mooress saw that he was escaping with his irons on his back. She grabbed hold of him, and he embraced her, and pushed her over the battlements towards where the Christians were, and she fell down, and died instantly). A similar occurrence may be behind Rodrigo de Baena's all too brief account in 24: 1000–04, p. 73: 'dixo que estava preso en una tienda e que'l sacara Santo Domingo a medio día veyéndolo su sennor e otros muchos moros, e nunca'l pudieron tomar nin fazer ningún embargo, e dexó aquí los fierros' (said that he was held prisoner in a tent and that Saint Dominic had freed him at midday, whilst his master and other Moors could see him, and they could not lay hands upon him or stand in his way, and he left his irons here).

Numerous supernatural experiences were reported as having accompanied the flight to Christendom. The *claridat*, at times accompanied by the voice, also served to guide the captives as they made their way through enemy territory on their way to the Christian side of the frontier: 'Los cativos sallieron de la carçel e de la villa, non sopieron en quál guisa, e la claridat siempre ant'ellos e legaron essa noche a Lorca grandes .XV. leguas que non sintieron ninguna cosa. Otro día non se podían mandar tanto estavan cansados' (14: 645–49, p. 60; the captives left the prison and the town, they did not know how, and the brilliance ever before them and they arrived that night at Lorca, some fifteen leagues distant, although they did not feel a thing; the next day they could not do anything they were so tired). Captives escaping from Granada noted that, whilst they journeyed during the night, 'quando se catavan atrás non veían ninguna cosa si non grant tiniebra, e delant semeiávales de día, e arribaron essa noche a christianos' (15: 686–88, p. 62; when they looked behind they saw nothing but great darkness, and before it seemed to them to be day, and they arrived that night amongst Christians).

A 'sombra de omne' encourages Mari Pérez to continue her escape when she was resting beneath a palm-tree (79: 3685–87, p. 168): 'Mari Pérez, vete, ¿qué fazes aquí?' (Mari Pérez, on your way, what are you doing here?). Apariçio de Plazençia, on the feastday of Saint Michael, decided to try his luck with an escape:

ó estava entre unas figueras veno'l en coraçón que matasse un moro que dizían Brahén que'l guardava, e tiró al açada e mató-l, e fluxo a un carrascal e echósse ý a dormir. Et quando al ora del gallo veno a él un omne, e dixo-l, 'Apariçio, levántate, e ve tu carrera, que evas aquí tu sennor que te viene buscar.' Dixo-l, 'Sennor, ¿quí

sodes vós que esto me dezides?’ Dixo-l, ‘Yo, Santo Domingo, e vete pora la mi casa.’ E levantóse e dize que-l vio visible mient ant’él la claridad, e veno en pós ella, e subió en una sierra e amanesçiendo tornó la cabeça e vio su sennor ó estava en aquel logar dó-l lamó el omne que-l despertó. (26: 1044–55, p. 75)

where he was amongst some fig trees, it came to his heart to kill a Moor called Brahén who was guarding him, and he threw the spade and killed him, and he fled to a spinney and lay down there to sleep. And at cockcrow a man came to him and said to him, ‘Apariçio, get up and be off with you, for here is your master coming to look for you.’ He said to him, ‘Sir, who are you who tell me this?’ He said to him, ‘I am Saint Dominic, and get yourself to my church.’ And he got up and he says that he saw visibly before him the brilliance, and he came after it and he went up on a mountain and as it was dawning he turned his head and saw his master where he had been in that place where the man who woke him up called to him.

Here the action of Dominic was not in inspiring the captive to flee; Apariçio chose a day which seemed to him to be fortunate, seized the weapon with which his labour provided him, and made off. Dominic’s appearance served to save the captive from danger once he had already begun his escape. Yet Apariçio continued in the *sierra* for another twelve days and twelve nights, eating only wild herbs and finding nothing to drink, ‘e nunca se quitó la boz d’él’ (26: 1058, p. 75; and the voice never left him).

The most serious of obstacles for escaping captives were the natural features of the landscape. Understandably some captives did not wish to travel openly on the roads, but the dangers of being lost in an unfamiliar wilderness were great. The crossing of rivers posed another obstacle for the fugitive. Roy Pérez, being led on by the strange brilliance which none of his fellows in the prison had seen,

legó a un río que dizién Guadaxenín, e iva muy grant e rezio, e non avía puente ninguna. Estava en muy grant cueyta que vernían en pos él. Fizo de cabo su oración al nuestro Sennor Iesu Christo e a Santo Domingo que-l librasen d’aquel río. La oración acabada, apareşció ant’él una puente e metiósse por ella, e passó sin ningún miedo, e quando fue passado cató en pos sí, e non vio la puente e maravillósse mucho. (38: 1404–11, p. 88)

He reached a river which was called Gaudaxenín, and it was wide and swift-flowing, and there was no bridge. He was very anguished that they would come after him. In the end he made his prayer to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and to Saint Dominic that they might deliver him from that river. When he had finished his prayer, a bridge appeared before him and he went up onto it, and passed over it without any fear, and when he had crossed it he looked behind, and did not see the bridge and marvelled greatly.

Pedro de Tovarra, Iohán and Gilot arrived at a river and dared not cross it, until told to do so by a voice. ‘Metiéronse en el río, e passaron en guisa que

non les dava el agua más de fata el toviello' (57: 2669–71, p. 133; they set out into the river, and they crossed in a way that the water did not touch them further than the ankle). They subsequently crossed two other rivers in the same manner, perhaps unwittingly using fords each time. The rivers were perhaps the Río Blanco, the Río Cubillas and the Río Guadalulón, as they trekked north from Granada to Otinar, some fifteen kilometres from Jaén.

ATTENDANCE AT THE SHRINE

There were a hundred and forty-five captives that arrived at the shrine during the period covered by the collection. It is a staggering amount. Captives that escaped on their own are thirty-two in number; multiple escapes account for thirty-seven *miráculos* and for a total number of one hundred and seventy-eight captives freed (ignoring those in *miráculo* 8 and the 'eighteen' of *miráculo* 45). Of this huge number, one hundred and thirteen reached the shrine, two thirds of the total of those who escaped in groups (see table 5, above). If this tendency of a third toward non-attendance were manifested also in the escapes of one person, another ten or eleven captives would not have come to the shrine. Support for the view that the number of *miráculos* is under-reported can be found in Sancho García's coming to the shrine only when he had captured the son of his former Moorish master, not immediately after he had regained his freedom (7: 385, p. 51). Domingu'uanes, mindful of the niceties of Mediterranean *mores*, delayed his trip to the monastery until he had visited his mother in Córdoba (12: 531, p. 56).⁵⁵

Between 1232 and 1283, there were eighteen escapes from Moors attributed to Dominic, but in 1284, the shrine witnessed twelve, and in 1285, thirty-two. Yet the miracles did not only increase in number. They become more spectacular. Only five of the first eighteen escapes (twenty-eight percent) between 1232 and 1283 involve more than one captive. Between 1284 and 1285, there were twenty-eight (sixty-four percent) of this type of escape. Escapes involving single captives are the most common, followed by those in which captives escape in pairs. Regarding the tendency of captives to travel to the shrine, one may observe that those who escape together either all came to Silos as a group, or were represented by only one of their number. There are only two exceptions to this general rule: according to *miráculos* 33, 34, 36, 37 and 39, five captives come out of a total of thirteen; and three captives arrived independently having been released at the same time with several others (70, 72 and 77). But none of the captives recorded as having been freed from Ceuta in 47: 2014–16, p. 110, visited the shrine.

It would seem that, as miraculous escapes became more common, captives felt themselves less bound to attend the shrine in person. Between 1278 and 1284, eleven 'multiple' escapes took place. Of these eleven, three groups of captives were represented by only one person (17, 25, 48); one group by five of their number (33, 34, 36, 37 and 39); of the remaining eight, all attended the

shrine (6, 9, 14, 15, 18, 27, 35). During 1285, however, the percentage for partial attendance had risen from thirty-three to eighty-three percent; fifteen groups out of eighteen multiple escapes sent only one person. After one escape, both captives attempted to reach Silos, but one died in Ocaña (60: 2766–67, p. 136); three captives, as we have seen, witnessed to the same escape of eight Christians in 70, 72 and 77. In 1286 the trend continued, and the two multiple escapes were represented by only one of the captives (83 and 85). In 1287, however, escapes had become much rarer, and all freed captives travelled north to Silos (88 and 90).

The representative of a group of captives is at times the one whose origins are closest to the shrine. Arias Paez was from Orense (40: 1434, p. 90), and so could have taken in Silos on his way to Galicia; his companions were from the South (Portugal, Carmona and Córdoba, 40: 1454–55, p. 90). Larios de Burgos left García de Córdoba behind in his home town (43: 1633–34, p. 96). Gonçalo de Soria would have been more familiar with roads leading to Burgos than Pelegrín de Osuna (53: 2282–83, p. 121).⁵⁶ Domingo Bono de Fuent el Enzina was from near to Zorita, but neither the identity nor the number of his other companions in the escape is established (46: 1905–25, pp. 106–07).

The northern origins of captives was not always decisive in their decision to visit the shrine. Romero de Teruel did not attend, while García de Úbeda, who was sick when he escaped, travelled to Silos (67: 3080–81, p. 147). García was a ‘morador a la Collación que dizen de Santo Domingo’ (67: 331–32, p. 146; settler in the parish called Saint Dominic’s), which may imply that he either had a connection to the monastery or was devoted to Saint Dominic because of his settling under the saint’s protection.⁵⁷ García de Burgos did not attend, although his companion, Fernant Pérez from Castro-Urdiales, visited the shrine (74: 3046–47, p. 158).⁵⁸ At other times, it would seem to have been the most wealthy captive who undertook the arduous journey north. Ramiro was *almocadén* of Matrera; the other captives were two priests, nine men and a woman (47: 1979–86, p. 109). Although Iohán was from Arcos de Lebrija (now de la Frontera), just like his companions, the fact that he was recognized by the *almocadén* of Ecija would indicate that he was the better known (and, therefore, richer) amongst them (42: 1576, p. 94). However, ‘Iohán de Bannos, fijo de Alfonso *almocadén*’ would seemingly have been wealthier than Pedro Veçent, although it was the latter who travelled to the shrine (83: 3878–79, p. 174). The protagonist of the *miráculo* is often the individual who comes to venerate the tomb. Thus Miguel Pérez received two files in loaves of bread from the Christian concubine of his master, and initiated an escape that promised to go badly wrong before a miracle intervened (48: 2039–2060, p. 112). Gil Pérez was the individual to whom the voice addressed itself (51: 2215, p. 118). Domingo de Merlán was the recipient of a preparatory dream (66: 2999–3002, pp. 144–45), and it was on the authority of Caterina de Linares’ dream that the other captives left their prison (76: 3549–57, p. 163). Mariapariçio was woken up by Bartholomé de Xerex and Alfonso de Baesça,

who instructed her to accompany them (50: 2170–79, p. 116). As other women in the prison were left behind when she escaped, she may have felt particularly grateful to have been singled out.

Although we may speculate on the motivations or disinclination of captives to reach the shrine, the recorders never offer censure of those that do not attend to give thanks at the monastery, thereby depriving the monks of the irons with which they escaped and the miraculous tales of how they were freed. Furthermore, apart from the record that Iohán Domínguez de Sant Martín del Pino and his thirteen companions promised to bring the weight of their irons in wax (18: 799–801, p. 66), the only other donation to the monastery mentioned is that of Pedro Coviell's candles that were destined to serve for his wake before Dominic intervened (23: 951–53, p. 71) — but these had to be lit before the saint's altar. There is no attempt in the narratives to establish or emphasise that a fitting gift needed to be made to the monastery, other than the presentation of the captives' irons where possible, and it is to this weighty matter that we will now turn.

CHAINS, STOCKS, SHACKLES, IRONS AND HANDCUFFS

Central to the cult of Dominic as liberator of captives were the *ex votos* which liberated captives left: their chains, the symbol of their oppression. The stereotypical close to an escape miracle is the information the captives reached the monastery with their irons on such-and-such a day. Their arrival bearing irons clearly increased the miraculous nature of the escape, since, as they were escaping, the irons captives wore or carried on their backs or around their necks would have immediately distinguished them from the ragged and starving urban poor that thronged all medieval cities and so alerted those that saw them that they were trying to escape.

The visions and the narratives of the escapes are vitally concerned with the supply of *ex votos* to the shrine. The first narrative of the collection has the voice of Dominic say, 'Toma essa caldera e liévala a la mi casa, ca la quiero pora mí' (1: 26–27, p. 39; Take that cooking pot and carry it to my church, for I want it for myself). In other escapes recorded in the earlier part of the collection, the supernatural voice informs captives that they are freed from their chains and that they should pick up their irons as they escape (7: 373–75, p. 51; 16: 706–07, p. 62) or the captives are instructed to pick up the irons that have already fallen from them (8: 422–23, p. 52; 10: 474, p. 54; 14: 644–45, p. 60; 17: 739–40, p. 64). More precise details regarding these phenomena may be found in table 8, below. Yet subsequent disembodied voices almost cease to mention that captives have been freed from their irons or that they should bring them away with them; the sole invitation which Dominic makes is that they should escape. The only exceptions to this are Arias Paez (40: 1465–66, p. 90), Iohán de Segura (69: 3181, p. 150), Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales (74: 3431–32, p. 159), and Domingo Pérez de Salva Tierra (81: 3821,

p. 172). Some captives, once prompted by a supernatural intervention, simply set off wearing their irons.⁵⁹ When Pedro Gil was fearful that he would be taken to North Africa,

veno una boz e dixo-l, 'Pedro Gil, ve tu vía.' E él catósse en derredor e non vio nada e alegrósse mucho en su coraçón. Estando comidiendo qué podría seer, dixo-l otra vez la boz, '¿Qué estás, que non te vas?' Dixo, 'Sennor, ¿quí sodes vós que esto me dezides?' Dixo-l, 'Yo só Santo Domingo que vengo por ti e vete.' E metió-s por medio de la villa estando las calles lenas de moros a medio día, los fierros a los pies faziendo grant roído, nunqua-l dixieron los moros nada. (20: 849–57, p. 68)

a voice came and said to him, 'Pedro Gil, be off with you.' And he looked around and saw nothing and rejoiced greatly in his heart. Whilst he was thinking what it might be, the voice said to him again, 'What are you at that your not escaping?' He said, 'Sir, who are you who say this to me?' He said to him, 'I am Saint Dominic who have come for you and get going.' And he set out through the middle of the town, the streets full of Moors at midday, the irons on his feet making a great noise, the Moors never said anything to him.

Captives were at times aware of the din that their clanking irons made as they walked along. Benito de Aguilar was amazed that his master was not awakened by the clatter his and his companions' irons made as they slid down from the attic in which they were imprisoned (77: 3599–600, p. 165). Yuaanes Domingo de Córdoba was too frightened to walk though one of the gates of Granada 'que sonarién los fierros' (19: 828–29, p. 67; for his irons would make noise). He was encouraged both by a disembodied voice and by his irons falling off: he put them on his back and set off, under the noses of 'çient moros guarnidos que la guardavan' (19: 326–27, p. 67; one hundred Moors in armour who were guarding [the gate]). Others took steps to diminish the danger of discovery. The iron on Gonçalo de Sotavellanos's left foot fell off, and he and his companion 'entraron amos una casa ó calentava un moro el banno e enbolvieron el fierro que non sonasse' (31: 1208, p. 81; both went into a house where a Moor was heating a bath and they wrapped the iron so that it should not make a noise). Iohán Martínez de Sant Román wrapped his irons with linen rags after he had left his master's house (45: 1793, p. 102). Martín Domínguez de Aranda was woken at midnight by what he took to be 'un cativo que fazié grant roído con los fierros e levantó-s e echó en pos él, e el cativo fuyendo contra delant, e él en pos él, nunqua-l pudo alcançar' (44: 1690–94, p. 98; a captive who was making a lot of noise with his irons and he got up and ran after him, and the captive fleeing ahead of him, and he after him, he could not catch up to him). For some captives, the weight of the irons was miraculously unimportant during an escape: Iohán de Archos de Lebrixa noted that 'maguer traían los fierros non los enbargavan' (42: 1571–72, p. 94; although they were carrying their irons they did not hinder them); Benito de Aguilar noted that 'maguer aduzían fierros non los sintían nin dexavan de andar por esso' (77:

3064–65, p. 165; although they were wearing irons they did not feel them nor did they have to stop due to that). For others, such as don Miquel, the escape was hampered by their irons: ‘començaran a irse e non podían andar con los fierros que tenían muy grandes’ (72: 3354–55, p. 156; they began to get away and they could not walk with the very heavy irons that they had). Garçia de Úbeda and his companions were unable to walk with their irons and prayed for them to fall off, which they did (67: 3069–76, p. 147; cp. 68: 3131, p. 149).⁶⁰

Those that reached Christendom wearing their irons had to have them removed, and frequently the names of the frontier official who oversaw the operation is named (see table 8). Characteristically, don Miquel was too self-absorbed to be able to muster more than ‘los alcaldes’ (72: 3361, p. 156; the judges) — he could muster neither the names of those who were imprisoned with him nor who escaped with him (72: 3341, p. 156). For some captives, once out on the roads joining al-Andalus with Christian Spain, their irons miraculously fell from them. Pedro Gil’s escape, which we have seen above, continues in the following manner: ‘assí como-l sallió de la villa, cayéronse los fierros, e dixo-l la boz, “Tómalos a cuestras”’ (20: 857–59, p. 68; thus as he came out of the town, his irons fell off, and the voice said to him, ‘Carry them on your back’).⁶¹ Other fleeing captives broke their irons, such as Apariçio de Plazençia, who used ‘una maça que traía de madero con que maiava esparto’ (26: 1060–61, p. 75; a wooden mallet he was carrying with which he pounded esparto grass), thereby echoing Dominic’s first posthumous liberation (see above, pp. 172–74).⁶² Pedro de Tovarra and Iohán de Caztala broke their irons with stones, but, miraculously, they came apart ‘luego assí como si fuessen de cera’ (57: 2664–65, p. 133; right away just as if they were made of wax).⁶³

Some, perhaps more fortunate, captives found themselves wholly or partially released from their irons, and so began their escape.⁶⁴ The ratio of these to those who are moved to escape solely the supernatural figures, lights, voices or the opening of doors, is roughly 3:4. What is striking is that, as a general rule, when captives are released from their irons, they pick them up, rather than leaving or hiding them, and carry them to Christendom. Where this does not happen, the narrative goes to some detail to explain why not.⁶⁵ As we have noted, the vast majority of the accounts record that the captives brought their irons to present them at the shrine — a ratio of almost exactly 3:1 of narratives dealing with escapes from Muslims. Not only irons were brought: Pelayo and Iohán Buhón both brought cooking pots (1: 32, p. 39; 55: 2575, p. 129), however suspicious the arrival of the second captive may be. Sancho Garçia brought the lance and the chain with which he captured his former master’s son (7: 391–92, p. 51), and García Pérez de Lorca ‘aduxo el cuchillo con que sallieron de cativo e los fierros e dexólos aquí’ (25: 1031–32, p. 74; brought the knife with which they left their captivity and the irons and left them here). These objects had become infused with the numinous power to which devotees of the saint attributed their escapes. Their presentation as *ex-votos* at the shrine allowed the captives to give a gift in return to their liberator.

Table 8: The importance of the captives' *fierros*

A= Name and place of confinement; B=Visionary instruction;
C=how state of the captives' irons is communicated in the narration;

D=what captives do with their irons;

E=where the captives first reach when they arrive in Christendom;

F=who takes off their irons; G=whether their bringing irons to Silos is recorded

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Pelayo: Granada	toma essa caldera e liévala a mi casa	—		tierra de Chrisianos	—	Y
6	Pedro, Iohán: Rute	tomadlos e venitvos en pós mi	'non los tenedes'	tomaron los fierros	"	—	—
7	Sancho García: Granada	toma la cadena	'no tienes la cadena'	tomóla	cerca de Jaén	—	Y*
8	Arias de Zamora: Ronda	tomat vuestros fierros	—	tomaron los fierros	a cristianos	—	—
9	Iohán de Santa Yllana: Arcila	fijos via fuera que la virtud de dios es convusco	—	—	flota del Rey don Alfonso	—	Y
10	Pedro Martínez: Ronda	toma los fierros	los fierros fuera de los pies	tomólos	Jaén	—	—
11	Simón de Segura: Guadix	dreams he is flying	fuera de los fierros	—	Betmar	—	—
12	Domingu'- ianes: Gr.	levántate suso	cayéronsele los fierros	—	Córdoba	—	—
14	Domingo de Lista: Almaría	tomat los fierros	cayéronseles los fierros	—	Lorca	—	Y
15	Iohán Pérez de Jaén: Gr.	ytvos en pós mi	tomaron los fierros	—	a cristianos	—	Y
16	Iohán de Lucena: Rute	toma estos fierros	que tenedes sueltos'	*	hueste del Infant	—	Y
17	Pedro Fernández de Toro: Comares	tomat los fierros	salieron del çepo e cayeron las esposas e los fierros		Priego, castiello de Calatrava	—	Y*
18	Iohán Domínguez: Gr.	ytvos	los fierros quebrados	—	Archos	—	Y

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

- 7: Sancho García brought the chain that held him in Granada and the lance with which he captured his former master's son (7: 391, p. 51). There is no record of him bringing the price which his captive brought him (150 *maravedis*).
- 16: Although the information that his irons have fallen from him is conveyed in his vision of Dominic, Iohán must still open his stocks, which he does: 'falló a sus pies un fierro delgado como su dedo e con aquel abrió el çepo en que yazía' (16: 709–10, p. 63; he found at his feet a piece of iron thin as his finger and with that he opened the stocks in which he lay). He escapes 'con los fierros acuestas' (16: 715, p. 63; irons on his back).
- 17: Pedro Fernández is described as arriving at the door of the monastic church 'con sus fierros acuestas' (17: 754, p. 64; with his irons on his back). His wife was praying there.

Table 8 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
19	Yuanes Domingo: Granada	anda que yo iré contigo	cayéronse los fierros a los pies	a cuestas	Martos, castiello de Calatrava	—	Y
20	Pedro Gil de Luçena: Entequera	vete	los fierros a los pies	*	a cristianos	—	Y
21	Gil de Quesada: Gr.	ve tu vía	walks out with irons	*	Quesada	—	Y
22	Gil Pérez: Andujar	ve tu vía e tórnate por la carrera que venist	out of ropes binding him; unos fierros a los pies	—	Quintana Redonda (Baeza)	—	Y
25	García Pérez : Velez	—	—	—	Lorca *	—	Y*
26	Apariçio de Placencia: Málaga	kills guard and flees *	escapes wearing irons	—	Theba-hardales (a castle)	—	—
27	Pascual, Fernán, Iohán Pérez: Granada	dream; kill guard without encouragement	—	—	Lorca	—	Y
28	Pascual de Ençiso *	sees <i>claridat</i>	los fierros fuera de los pies quebrados	transported from prison	—	—	—
29	Martín de Xàtiva, Pedro de Alarcón: Alecún	see <i>claridat</i>	falláronse fuera del çepo e de la carçel	—	Torres de Quesada (a castle)	—	Y*
30	Nicolás de Alcaraz: Vera	¿cómo non te vas pora Lorca?	escapes in irons	—	Chuechos	Y	—

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

- 20: As soon as Pedro Gil leaves Entequera, the irons fall from him, and a voice tells him to carry them on his back (20: 858–59, p. 68), showing that they had fallen miraculously.
- 21: Gil was shielded from the search-party sent out to find him as he was hiding in the ditch beneath the palisade around the town. As soon as Dominic said to him ‘Gil, ve tu vía, non ayas miedo, que yo iré contigo’ (Gil, be on your way, have no fear, I will go with you), his irons fell at his feet and he put them around his neck (21: 881–83, p. 69).
- 25: ‘la Torre de Guyllén Pérez, una legua de Lorca’ (25: 1028–29, p. 74). ‘Aduxo el cuchiello con que sallieron de cativo e los fierros e dexólos aquí’ (25: 1031–32, p. 74).
- 26: Apariçio killed the Moor that was guarding him and hid in a spinney; ‘un omne’ (i.e. a voice) woke him at cockcrow warning him that his master was approaching and identifying himself as Saint Dominic, and further encouraging him, ‘Vete pora la mi casa’ (26: 1051, p. 75; go to my church). Apariçio fled up into the mountains following ‘la claridat’, and reached Christendom, breaking his irons with a hammer (26: 1059–61, p. 75). The placing of the breaking of irons out of order in the account is probably the sign the shrine recorder asked a direct question regarding how were they removed, which became a regular item of reporting in subsequent *miráculos*.
- 28: Pascual was freed from the Christian *merino* (judge) Ochoa López (28: 1090, p. 77).
- 29: ‘legaron aquí con sus prisiones’ (29: 1134–35, p. 78), phrasing not used elsewhere.

Table 8 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
31	Gonçalo de Sotavellanos: Málaga	¿Non te dix oy mañana que fuesses tu via?	iron falls from left leg	wraps it in cloth	Écija	Pedro Domingo de la Ronda	Y
32	Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias: Guadix	ve en pos mí non ayas ningún miedo	—	—	Torres de Alicún nr. Quesada	Y	Y
33	Alfonso Pérez de Lorca: Gr.	<i>claridat</i>	salieron con sus fierros a la cal	—	Alcaudete *	Roy Sánchez comendador	Y
34	Apariçio de Ubeda: Gr.	<i>claridat</i>	"	—	Alcaudete	Y	Y
35	Estevan de Matrera: * Algeciras	door open that usually locked	salieron fuera con sus fierros a los pies	—	Alcalá de los Gazules	Diego Maça, alcayát	—
36	Estevan de Montoro: Gr.	<i>claridat</i>	—	—	Alcaudete *	Roy Sánchez comendador	Y
37	Domingo Pérez de Sigüença: Gr	<i>claridat</i>	—	—	—	—	Y
38	Roy Pérez de Jaén: Gr.	<i>claridat</i>	—	—	Caztala, castiello de Jaén	Yuannes Domingo de Haro, alcayát	Y
39	Benito de Jaén: Gr.	as 34, 35, 36, 37.	—	—	—	—	Y
40	Arias Paez de Orense: Ronda	tomat los fierros que sueltos son	falláronse fuera del cepo e los fierros sueltos	—	Morón	—	Y
41	Remón de Mula: Purchena	—	falló los fierros quebrados fuera de los pies e del cepo e las manos fuera de las esposas	digs hole in wall; salió por él con sus fierros e la gorguera e las esposas	Collar, castiello del Arçobispo	—	Y
42	Iohán de Archos de Lebrixa: Ronda	tretvos comigo	—	maguer traían los fierros non los enbargavan	Alcalá, castiello de Jaén	Martín Domínguez, almocadén de Écija	Y
43	Larios de Burgos: Almuñécar	quando despertaron falláronse fuera del adarve	e los fierros fuera de los pies	—	Marchena	—	Y
44	Martín Domínguez de Aranda: Ronda	—	—	—	Osuna	Fortún Sánchez, cavallero de Osuna	—

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

33. 'castiello de los de Calatrava' (33: 1285, p. 84; castle of the [friars] of Calatrava).

35. Estevan was accompanied by Domingo de Burgos and Veçent de Almoguera.

36. 'castiello de los freyres de Calatrava' (36: 1358, p. 87; castle of the friars of Calatrava).

Table 8 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
45	Iohán Martínez de Sant Román: Algeciras	ve tu vía	wraps irons in cloth	*	Bejer	Lorencio e Miguel Pérez almocadenes	Y*
46	Domingo Bono: Algeciras	ytvos pora mi casa	los fierros quebrados fuera de los pies	tomáronlos	Alcalá de los Gazules	—	Y
47	Ramiro de Matrera: Ronda	yt a tierra de xpianos	falláronse todos fuera de los çepos	transported out	Morón then Seville	—	—
48	Miguel Pérez de Úbeda: Guadix	levat fijos míos e amigos míos	los que avían limado los fierros dexáronlos	e los otros tomáronlos	Lacra then Quesada	cavalleros, don Lorent e don Pedro Iohán	—
49	Rodrigo: Almaria	fijos moços chicos andat vuestra vía	—	—	Ogújar del rey de Castiella, cast.	Domingo Sancho, alcayat	Y
50	Mariapariço: Málaga		falláronse fuera del çepo e los fierros sueltos	tomaron sus fierros e ella por la mano	Estepa	—	—
51	Gil Pérez de Soria: Granada	ve tu vía pora tierra de xpianos	—	—	Alcaudete	Pedro Martínez un cavallero con sus omnes	Y
53	Gonçalo de Soria: Algeciras	vía vos conmigo	que sueltos sodes de las prisiones	con sus fierros	el castiello de Bejer	don Lorent el alguazil	Y
54	Domingo Pérez *	ve tu carrera que salvo eres	*	—	—	—	—
55	Iohán Buhón: N. Africa	ve tu carrera	lieva contigo la calderuela	*	—	—	Y
57	Pedro de Tovarra*: Gr	qué estás que non te vas?	fuera del çepo	*	Otinar *	—	Y

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

- 45: 'en la carrera sallíó's la sortija de los fierros de la pierna siniestra [...] e dexó allá en la iglesia los unos fierros' (45: 1865–69, p. 104; on the way the ring of the irons on his left leg came out and he left some irons in the church there [Sto D° de Río Pudio]).
- 54: Domingo Pérez escaped from the justice of Berlanga.
- 55: Iohán took 'la armella de fierro que tenié a la pierna diestra e sacó'sela él mismo con su mano' (55: 2509–10, p. 127; the iron ring on his left leg and pulled it off with his hand).
- 57: Pedro arrived with Iohán de Castala (58) and Gilot (59), Pedro's nephew. They escaped after Iohán blessed himself: 'luego fue abierto el çepo en que yazía. [...] Vinieron a un havar e escondiéronse ý. En la noche sallieron del havar a la carrera e tomaron sendas piedras e dieron en los fierros e quebráronse luego assi como si fuesen de çera e sacáronlos de la piernas' (57: 2651–65, p. 133; immediately the stocks in which he lay were opened. [...] They came to a bean-field and hid there. During the night they left the bean-field for the road and they both took a stone and hit their irons and they broke straight away as if they were wax and they extracted their legs). Otinar is a castle 'II. leguas de Jahén' (two leagues from Jaén).

Table 8 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
58	Iohán de Caztala: Gr.	—	—	—	—	—	Y
59	Gilot: Granada	—	—	—	—	—	—
60	Estevan Domingo de Cáliz: sea	levantatvos e vía vos comigo	—	—	Archos de Lebrija	—	Y
61	Domingo Bono: Ceuta	dreams	—	—	Valencia	—	Y
62	Miguel Pérez: Ceuta	called by Domingo B.	—	—	—	—	Y
63	Garçia de Córdova: sea	anda	—	non sopo cómo	Lucena	—	Y
64	Salvador de Sevilla: Vade Xemena	vía vos comigo	suelos sodes (bound by ropes)	—	—	Archos, at the Puerta de Matrera	—
65	Yuannes Domingo: Sergal	voice says to kill master & break irons	quebráronse luego como si fuessen çera	—	Moraçala* then Alcaraz	—	Y
66	Domingo de Merlán: Algeciras	vía suso vía vos comingo	los fierros quebrados e las cormas fuera de las piernas	—	Alcalá de los Gazules	aribaron a casa de Domingo Ueco	Y
67	Garçia de Úbeda: Almería	vía vos comigo	—	*	Lorca	—	Y
69	Iohán de Segura: Rute	toma esos fierros	tomo los fierros en su cuello	—	Castellán *	—	Y
70	Bernabeio: Málaga	vía vos comigo	—	—	Benaxerin *	Álvar Peres, alcayat	Y
71	Martín de Cabra: Rute	ve tu carrera	la cadena suelta e los fierros quebrados	—	castiello que dizen Zanbra *	—	Y
72	Miquel de Çetina: Málaga	venit en pos mí	—	—	Estepa	los alcaldes	Y

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

65: Moraçala: 'un castiello de los freyres de Sant Iohán del Tenplo' (a castle of the friars of Saint John of the Temple [i.e., the Templars]).

67: 'quando amanesçió avién andado tres leguas çerca de las cuevas, que non podían andar con los fierros que aduzian que eran grandes. Ficaron los ynojos, començaron de rogar a dios e a Santo Domingo que pues los avían sacado de cativo que fues la su merçet que los sacassen de aquellos fierros. La su oración acabada, quebraron luego las arnellos e salieronse los fierros de los pies' (67: 3069–76, p. 147; when it dawned they had walked three leagues near the caves, and they could not walk with the irons they were carrying which were large. They knelt, began to pray to God and Saint Dominic that since they had taken them from captivity, they might have mercy and take off their irons. Once they had finished praying, the rings broke and they took the irons off).

69: The castle belonged to the Maestro de Uclés; its *comendador* was Iohán Ocórez.

70: Benaxerín described as a 'castiello del obispo de Córdoba' (bishop of Córdoba's castle).

71: Zanbra claimed for the Order of Calatrava and whose *comendador* was Pedro Gonzales.

72: 'non podían andar con los fierros que tenían muy grandes' (72: 3354–55, p. 156; they could not walk with the irons they had which were very large).

Table 8 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
73	Iohán de Martos: Algeciras	ve tu carrera	fue luego suelto tied with ropes	opens irons himself	Torre de d. Xemeno *	—	Y
74	Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales: Ronda	vía vos conmigo	'tomat esta cadena que está ante vós'	—	Matrera cerca de las Albuheras	leave chain at Sto Do. de Río Pudio	Y
76	Caterina de Linares: Gr	vete tú pora la mi casa	—	—	Cabra, cast. Jaén	—	—
77	Benito de Aguilar: Málaga	vía vós conmigo	el çepo [...] las cormas [...] sueltos	*	Abenaxerin del obispo de Córdoba	Álvar Peres, el alcayat	Y
78	Marimiguel: Alecún	ve tu vía pora mi casa	—	—	Torres de Alicún *	—	—
79	Mari Pérez: Portal de Xerez	ve tú pora la mi casa	la armella de los fierros toli-ósela ela misma	—	Archos de Lebrija	Fernant Xuárez, alcayat *	—
80	Apariçio de Marçales: Algeziras	ve tu carrera	—	—	Palmones/Alcalá de los Gazules	Diago Maça, alcayat	Y
81	Domingo Pérez: Los Ancandiles	amigo liévete ve conmigo	fuera del çepo e de la cadena e de los fierros	'toma los fierros e vía andar'	Pegalajar castiello de Jahén	—	Y
83	Pedro Veçent: Granada	ve tu vía	sanctigósse sall-iéronse los fierros de los pies	—	Otinar, castiello	—	Y
84	Fernant Pérez de Baesça: Gr	—	—	—	Locovil *	—	Y
85	Simón de Mont Falcón: Almería	—	burrows out; cayéronse los fierros dentro	—	—	—	—
86	Domingu'-yuanes: Algeciras	—	—	*	—	—	Y
88	Domingo Mínguez: Gr	—	—	—	Jahén	Y	Y
89	Sancho de Úbeda: Guadix	—	—	—	Torres de Alicún	Pedro Díaz adelantado de Quesada	Y
90	Santa Ella: Algeciras	—	—	—	Lucena	Assensio López, alcayat	Y

Annotations (marked by *) to table 8, above.

73: The Torre de don Xemeno was in the district of the aldea de Martos.

77: 'maguer aduzían los fierros non los sintían nin dexavan de andar por esso' (77: 3605).

78: 'teníala Diego Alfonso, alcayat del arçobispo de Toledo' (78: 3650–51, p. 166; the archbishop of Toledo's castellan, Diego Alfonso, held it).

79: 'sacáronle la otra armella en casa de donna Pascuala un moro ferero que dizían Febrero' (79: 3698–700, p. 168; the other ring was taken off in doña Pascual's house by a Moorish blacksmith called Febrero [i.e., February — or a corruption of *ferrero*?]).

84: 'castiello de los freyres de Calatrava' (84: 3893–94, pp. 174–75; castle of Calatrava).

86: 'tomó una piedra pora quebrar los fierros e cayéronse pedaços' (86: 3966–67, p. 177; he took a stone to break the irons and they fell to pieces).

The narratives, as we have seen, have a recognisable structure, usually concluding with the observation that captives brought their irons to the monastery. So important is this feature that, although the accounts given for two captives freed with others who had already reached the shrine are highly truncated (Domingo Pérez de Sigüenza, 37: 1375–77, pp. 87–88; and Benito de Jahén, 39: 1428–31, p. 89, who arrived after their companions, Apariçio de Úbeda, 34: 1290–307, pp. 84–85, and Estevan de Montoro, 36: 1337–61, pp. 86–87), nevertheless the shrine recorder indicates for both that ‘legó aquí con sus fierros’ (37: 1378, p. 88; 39: 1431, p. 89; he arrived here with his irons). This group of captives arrived at Silos over the base part of a month (late January to late February 1285). But it is striking that captives should chose not to travel together to the shrine.

GATHERING THE COLLECTION TOGETHER

The work of the shrine recorders did not only concern giving structure to miraculous accounts. They also ordered the collection, placing narratives into a certain sequence, and it is this part of their activity which we will now consider. In doing so, we shall gain a firmer understanding of the evolution of the collection and see some of the decisions and working methods which led to the present state of the *Miráculos romançados*. Unlike the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, where deductions must be made on the basis of the order of the miracles — or lack thereof — in order to establish how they were recorded, the *Miráculos romançados* are bursting with dates, to the extent that it seems at times that the shrine recorder was seeking a date for every occurrence that the captive communicated to him. At first sight, it would seem that the collection is arranged on strictly chronological lines, but this is a misleading impression.

The miracles follow a chronological sequence between *miráculos* 1–18 in that they are ordered following the first date given in the text. A point-by-point justification of this assertion follows. The material is also disposed in table 9, below.

Miráculos 1 and 2 both begin with the date of *era* 1270 (AD 1232; 1: 5, p. 39, 2: 36, p. 40). 3: 82, p. 41, begins with the date, *era* 1284 (AD 1246); 4: 135, p. 43, with *era* 1293 (AD 1255); 5: 179, p. 48, with *era* 1312 (AD 1274), as does 6: 329, p. 49. Although Pedro and Iohán, servants of the order of Calatrava, reached the shrine during the Christmas festivities of AD 1282, the date which opens the narrative is AD 1274, the date of their capture. It is for this reason that 6: 329–357, pp. 49–50, is recorded as only the second escape from Moorish captivity, following a cure which takes place in 1274. 7: 360, p. 50, begins with *era* 1314 (AD 1276). A chronological order is therefore clearly established, from AD 1232 to 1276. The subsequent *miráculo* begins, ‘En la era sobredicha’ (8: 398, p. 52; In the aforesaid year); this could theoretically refer to either the year which begins the previous *miráculo*, AD 1276, or the year mentioned as that of Sancho García’s arrival at the monastery, *era* 1316 (AD 1278). The

date is the former, since the subsequent *miráculo* (9: 432, p. 53) begins with the *era*-date of 1315 (AD 1277), that is, one year after the date of *miráculo* 7; the two *miráculos* after *miráculo* 9 both begin 'En la era sobredicha' (10: 463, p. 54; 11: 481, p. 55). This, again, is AD 1277, since 12: 508, p. 56, begins with *era* 1316 (AD 1278) and 13: 535, p. 57, with *era* 1317 (AD 1279). 14: 625, p. 60, and 15: 654, p. 61, begin with 'En la era sobredicha', which is here the date AD 1279, not least because 16: 591, p. 62, begins with *era* 1318 (AD 1280), but also because Domingo de Lista was captured during Alfonso X's naval blockade of Algeciras, and therefore could not have been taken after the June of AD 1279 (14: 627, p. 60) and because he was freed on 28 October of the same year, reaching Silos a year later, on 7 September AD 1280.⁶⁶ Iohán Pérez de Jahén was freed on Saturday, 17 February AD 1280 (15: 665, p. 61) — he was therefore taken during the Spring or Summer of AD 1279, riding on *cavalgada* against Granada. The opening date of 16: 691–92, p. 62, is precise to the day: 'Era de mil trezientos dieciocho annos, lunes, ocho días de março' (Monday 8 May 1280), which was when Johán de Lucena was captured, for his release came when 'el Infant don Pedro [...] ovo de echar huest sobre Rut' (16: 698–99, p. 62; Prince Pedro besieged Rut) in 1281.⁶⁷ 17: 722, p. 63, repeats the *era*-date of 16, namely *era* 1318 (AD 1280), and 18: 760, p. 65, has 'En la era sobredicha'. The captives featured in the latter *miráculo* escape in AD 1284 (18: 765–66, p. 65).

Mostly the date given at the beginning of the *miráculo* is the year when the captive fell into captivity when these are escape miracles. But this is not an absolute rule, and it is quite uncertain whether the years of 1: 5, p. 39; 7: 360, p. 50; and 8: 388, p. 52, are the years of capture or release.

However, at 19: 804, p. 66, in spite of the phrasing being identical to 18: 760, 'En la era sobredicha', this year must refer to the arrival at the shrine. Were it to refer to the year in which Yuaes Domingo de Córdoba was taken captive, his escape would have occurred in AD 1300, a date which, as we have seen, is outside the scope of the collection. The three following *miráculos* all begin 'En la era sobredicha' (20: 840, p. 66; 21: 864, p. 68; 22: 888, p. 69). At 21: 864, however, the date explicitly refers to the arrival at the monastery, since the phrase 'veno aquí N.' (N. came here) is used for the first time, and continued to be used throughout the collection.

Yet there would seem to have been an error in the use of 'en la era sobredicha' for dating these miracles: Gil Pérez de Motos was taken during the 1281 campaign against Granada but his stay there seems to have been short, judging from 22: 899–902, p. 69, 'quando vio que non podié levar d'él nada, sacó-l de Granada pora passarle allent mar, que-l darían muchos dineros por él' (when he [his master] saw that he could not get anything out of him, he took him from Granada to take him across the sea, since a high price would be given for him). He most probably escaped on 20 October 1281 and came to the monastery in the same year, therefore at least a year later than the 'era sobredicha' which begins the miracle and refers back to *miráculo* 16's date of *era* 1318 (AD 1280). A date of 1281 for Gil Pérez's arrival at Silos fits

Table 9: chronology of *miráculos* 1–18

Miráculos which are not escape miracles are given as italic throughout
X=Years spent in captivity

	Opening Date	X	Date of Escape	Arrival at Silos
1	era 1270 (AD 1232)	4	AD 1232/36?	—
2	"	—	AD 1232	—
3	era 1284 (AD 1246)	—	(AD 1246)	(AD 1246)
4	era 1293 (AD 1255)	—	—	—
5	era 1312 (AD 1274)	—	—	—
6	"	8	era 1320 (AD 1282)	'Sabbado'
7	era 1314 (AD 1276)	2½	—	e.1316 (AD 1278)
8	en la era sobredicha	—	—	—
9	era 1315 (AD 1275)	—	—	15·IV e.1317 (1279)
10	en la era sobredicha	—	—	Mon. 5·III e.1318 (1280)*
11	"	1½	—	Sat. 12·IX (=1282)*
12	era 1316 (AD 1278)	—	—	"
13	era 1317 (AD 1279)	—	—	e.1318 (1280)
14	en la era sobredicha	—	(28·X·1279)*	Sat. 7·IX (=1280)*
15	"	—	Sat. 17·II e.1318 (1280)	Sat. 8·IV (1280?)*
16	Mn. 8·III e. 1318 ('80)	—	1281	Sat. 12·V (1281?)
17	era 1318 (AD 1280)	—	Sat. 13·I (1281?)*	—
18	en la era sobredicha	3	Sat. 1·IX e.1322 (1284)	—

Annotations (marked with *) to table 9, above

- 10: 5 March in 1280 was a Tuesday, not a Monday. Captives probably arrived on 4 March.
 11: 12 September fell on a Saturday only in 1282 between the years 1279–82.
 14: 7 September fell upon a Saturday only in 1280. The captives were freed on feast of Saints Simon and Jude, which falls on 28 October. They took nearly a year to reach the shrine.
 15: 1280 is the most likely year, although the day is wrong, since 8 April was not a Saturday: XIII was probably misread by the scribe as VIII.
 17: 1281 is the most likely year, although the day is wrong, since 13 January was not a Saturday: XVIII was probably misread by the scribe as XIII.

perfectly with the next reported miracle, 23: 926, p. 71, 'era de mill, trezientos, veynte annos' (AD 1282). The error perhaps began at 18: 760, p. 85, where Iohán Dominguez de Sant Martín del Pino and his companions were freed from Granada on Saturday 1 September 1284 after being imprisoned for three years — and were therefore most likely to have been taken during Alfonso X's campaign of 1281. However, we cannot redate the miracles after 18 to 1281, for Pedro Gil de Luçena arrived at Silos on Saturday 7 September (20: 861–62, p. 68), the same day that Domingo de Lista arrived (14: 651, p. 61), AD 1280. There was evidently some mistake in the initial ordering of these narratives which the scribe failed to notice.

Pedro de Coviell's cure (23: 926–68, pp. 71–72) dates to summer of *era* 1320 (AD 1282); the shaking of Dominic's tomb (24: 971–1004, pp. 72–73) to *era* 1321 (AD 1283) and *miráculos* 25–30 to *era* 1322 (AD 1284). However, even though we see the years succeeding each other with some regularity, paragraph by paragraph, chronological order is not observed in a precise fashion, as can be seen by comparing the dates of arrival for captives among *miráculos* 25–31 in table 10, below.

When the year 1285 is reached, however, the miracles obtain an absolutely chronological order relating to the arrival of the captives at the shrine. The one exception to strict chronological order is provided by Domingo de Merlán,

Table 10: chronology of *miráculos* 19–32

Miráculos which are not escape miracles are given as italic throughout
X=Years spent in captivity

	Opening Date	X	Date of Escape	Date of Arrival
19	en la era sobredicha	16	Sun. 27–I	Sun. 27–II (1281?)
20	"	—	—	Sat. 7–IX (1280)
21	"	—	—	6–XI (?1280/81)
22	"	4	20–X	13–XII
23	<i>era 1320 (1282)</i>	—	—	<i>after Easter 1282</i>
24	<i>era 1321 (1283)</i>	—	—	Fri. 29–X
25	<i>era 1322 (1284)</i>	<i>c. 1/2</i>	—	Sat. 23–XII (1284)
26	en la era sobredicha	7	29–IX (=1283)	Mon. 8–III (1284)
27	"	—	'un domingo' (?1284)	Sat. 10–XI (1284)
28	"	—	Sat. 25–II (?1284)	Sat. 8–XII (1284)
29	"	2 mths	1–XI (1284)	30–XII (1284)
30	"		15–VIII	13–XII (1284)
31	"		(?1283)	6–I (1284)
32	<i>era 1323 (1285)</i>	22 mths	Sun. 8–X	7–I (1285)

Annotations (marked with *) to table 10, above.

- 22: Gil Pérez de Motos arrived on the feast of Saint Lucy, 13 December (22: 923, p. 70)
- 25: Garçía Pérez de Lorca arrived at the monastery 'sabbado, dos días antes de Navidat' (25: 1030, p. 74; Saturday, two days before Christmas Day).
- 26: Apariço de Plazençia decided to escape on the Feast of Saint Michael, 29 September (26: 1043–44, p. 75), which, since he arrives in March 1284, was probably the previous year, 1283. The date of his arrival is incorrect: it should probably be Monday 13 March, XIII having been read as VIII (see above, *miráculo* 15, for exactly the opposite mistake).
- 27: The scribe has written X rather than the correct date, XI (Saturday 11 November).
- 30: Nicolás de Alcaraz escaped on the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August, 'el día de Santa María mediado agosto' (30: 1148, p. 79) and arrived at Silos on Saint Lucy's day, 13 December (30: 1171–72, p. 80 — as, three years earlier, did Gil Pérez de Motos, *miráculo* 22).
- 31: Gonçalo de Sotavellanos arrived at Silos on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January (31: 1224, p. 81); he therefore escaped during 1283.

whose arrival at the monastery was dated to the Translation of Saint Benedict, 11 July (66: 3027–28, p. 145), but his account preceeds that of Domingo García de Úbeda's, who arrived on Wednesday, 4 July, the Translation of Saint Martin of Tours (67: 3081–82, p. 147).

The investigation of the chronological structure of the collection points towards several conclusions. The manuscripts as we have them abound in dates, many accompanied by the additional information of the precise day of the week. These are often, but not always, wrong (discussed in the annotations to tables 9 and 10 and note 68).⁶⁸ Many of these mistakes can be accounted for by assuming that Roman numerals or abbreviations for days had been misread by the copyist, and we may therefore conclude, with some degree of certainty, that the *miráculos* were at first written in the crabbed medieval script reserved for note-taking, and that they were subsequently gathered up and copied into a manuscript using a book-hand; this manuscript then became the model for those copies which have either survived or of which we have notice. The abundance of dates is a sign of the care with which the accounts of the liberated captives were recorded, but it is also an indication of the poor hand-writing of the shrine recorders and the good faith of the copyists. This collection is not a forgery, since were it fraudulent — however piously so — it would have received much more attention to the accuracy of dates than has occurred in the very slap-dash *Miráculos*. The authors of this text were monks, not professional scribes. Furthermore, should extra evidence of their authenticity be needed, the *Miráculos romanzados* can be shown to date from the thirteenth century from two indulgences granted by the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople (Peter Corrado, †1302) and sundry other bishops. The first makes a general reference to the liberation of captives from the Saracens, the second glories in two of the most spectacular of Dominic's miracles. The indulgence was granted to encouraging the faithful to frequent

ecclesia et monasterium Sancti Dominici de Silus, burgensis diocesis [...] ubi diuina potentia in honore ipsius beati Dominici maxima dignatur miracula operare, christianos captos et in Sarrecenorum manibus detemptos de ipsorum manibus liberando facit eos supra mare, prout accepimus, siccis pedibus ambulare.⁶⁹

the church and monastery of Saint Dominic of Silos, in the diocese of Burgos [...] where, by God's power, in honour of the blessed Dominic, very great miracles are deigned to be worked, freeing captive Christians held by Saracen hands from their hands, he makes them walk with dry feet upon the sea.

The very great miracles are 60: 2753, p. 136, and 63: 2859–60, p. 140, which occurred on 19 and 26 May 1285 and were reported at Silos on the day before and the day after the feast of Saint John the Baptist of the same year.

The failure of *miráculos* 1–30 to respect a coherent chronological structure is especially interesting. They were ordered according to the date which headed the text, and this date might signify either the arrival of the captive at

the shrine or the date of capture. These two systems continued until 1282, since the last record under the first system (the date of capture), was made in that year (6: 334–57, pp. 49–50: Pedro and Iohán). The second system was adopted in 1280 or 1281, first appearing with 19: 804, p. 66. This dual system of keeping records can best be explained by two shrine recorders with different methods.

If the *miráculos* at the very start of the collection are considered in the order in which they were recorded rather than in the order in which they are presented, the origins of the collection begin to take shape. The initial *miráculos* are connected to some form of physical or written reminiscence preserved at the shrine. Pelayo's escape was remembered because of his mistress's cooking-pot which was kept near the saint's tomb to hold holy water (1: 32–33, p. 39; 5: 286–87, p. 48). Mahómat's vision of the saint was connected, however improbably, to the saint's statue on the altar, which the Muslim recognized as being the form under which the saint had appeared to him (2: 76–77, p. 41).⁷⁰ The escape of Sancho García was remembered because of his lance and chain with which he captured his former master's son, 'e está y la cadena e la lança a los pies del crucifixo que está cabo del coro' (7: 393–95, p. 51; and the chain and the lance are there at the foot of the crucifix which is at the top of the choir).⁷¹

Between *miráculos* 2 and 7 are three tales all concerned with Alfonso X: how he granted that an *escudero* guilty of rape had gained sanctuary in Dominic's church; how Dominic had appeared to him and prophesied the monarch's success; and how, when the king had paused on his journey at Silos, Iohán de la Marina was cured of his dumbness, was interviewed by Alfonso and taken with him to Beaucaire to be exhibited before the pope (3–5: 82–326, pp. 41–49). The *escudero* had carried his chains across the street with him, and the chaplain of the shrine and the sacristan witnessed the miracle (3: 106–10, p. 42); Alfonso had sent an account of the vision with which he was favoured written down 'en latín [...] seellada con su seello' (4: 275–76, p. 46; in Latin, sealed with his seal);⁷² and Iohán de la Marina was a compatriot of don Pedro, senior prior of the monastery (5: 281–85, p. 48).

The chaplain of the shrine was not the author of the narrative in which he was featured, since he is mentioned as 'Domingo Gómez que era entonz capellán del cuerpo santo' and the sacristan as 'don Gonçalo que era a la sazón sacristano' (3: 106–09, p. 42; Domingo Gómez who was then the chaplain of the holy relics; don Gonçalo who was at that time sacristan). The event is recorded as something in the distant past. Yet the narrator of Alfonso's vision was an eyewitness: when Alfonso prayed to Dominic, 'lo que-l rogó o-l pidió non lo pudimos saber a la sazón' (4: 150–51, pp. 43–44; what he beseeched or asked him for we could not find out at the time). The author of this account, then, was one of the small number of monks who accompanied Alfonso, the abbot and the cellarer, Sancho Pérez, in vigilling before the saint's tomb (4: 141–48, p. 43). This personal voice in the narrative excludes the

possibility that it is a direct translation of the Latin text written by Fray Iohán de los Descalços and sent to Silos.

The only narrative in the early part of the collection which is not connected in some way to *ex votos* or regality is an account of the escape of Arias de Çamora and six others from Ronda. Unlike the rest of the escape narratives, there is no final phrase indicating that one or more of these escaped captives came to the monastery, with or without irons. It is most likely, then, that this account was culled from a florid oral tradition surrounding the shrine. Arias was captured leading twenty-nine footsoldiers on a *razzia* (8: 388–99, p. 52), and so he was probably of some importance. News of his escape would no doubt have reached the monastery. The manner in which they were made to wear iron bits when milling grain has been discussed above at p. 338; it is probably a folkloric invention. The captives are described as falling asleep whilst praying and sharing a dream: ‘que les nascié un fenoio en los fierros e creçié en alto, mas que non eran ellos’ (8: 411–12, p. 52; that a fennel plant sprouted in their irons and grew up high, but it was not they). This distinctly strange oniric prophecy is followed by the appearance of a brilliant light to which they respond by praying to Saint Dominic, who instructs them to leave. The *finojo* they see may be connected to the *Finojosa* family whose mausoleum was placed in the Silos cloister.

Miracles that take place after the date of Arias de Çamora’s escape are much more careful to record when precisely the captive or captives arrived at the shrine, beginning with 9: 459–60, p. 54 (15 April 1279), followed by 13: 619, 59 (Alfonso X supposedly at the monastery in March 1280), 15: 589, p. 62 (probably 13 April, 1280), 16: 716, p. 63 (Saturday, 12 May), 14: 651, p. 61 (Saturday, 7 September 1280 — the same day that Pedro Gil de Luçena arrived, according to 21: 861, p. 69).

Miracles that occurred during or after 1279 were recorded immediately that they were reported, although without a precise indication of the year, leading to the confusion outlined above at pp. 373–74. The practice of giving the year becomes more firmly established during 1282. Thus the decision to record miracles coherently and, perhaps, to compose a vernacular record of those that had occurred in the more distant past (before 1279) is probably to be related to the accession of Abbot Iohán in 1282.

That the *miráculos* are ordered by the first date given in the narration implies that they were initially preserved on loose folios, and then ordered in the easiest fashion possible. That the relatively strict observance of chronological sequence begins at the start of 1285 with 32: 1227–57, pp. 82–83, leads to the conclusion that a conscious decision had been taken at the very beginning of 1285 to provide a systematic means of recording the arrivals of freed captives and other miracles that took place at Silos, that is, the creation of a shrine book proper. It was a wise decision, for the year of 1285 saw an abundance of captives arriving at the shrine to claim that Dominic had freed them from the Muslim yoke of oppression and maltreatment.

The first thirty-two miracles may have been written up at the beginning of this set of blank quaternions, thereby giving rise to some of the chronological problems we have discussed earlier. The one chronological disorder found after *miráculo* 32, *miráculos* 66–67 (see above, p. 376), may be explained by the reference both make to liturgical feasts. It may have been that the recorder was prevented from setting quill to parchment or paper by the dual duties of shrine guardian and monk, faced as he would have been with the supervision of large numbers of pilgrims, with extended liturgical obligations and with the no less important imperative of feasting. He preserved the memory of the miracles for posterity only after the hubbub had subsided, beginning with the one freshest in his mind. Those miracles which were not escapes (the cures of Marimartín de Serón and Pedro Coviél, perhaps even Iohán de la Marina) would seem to have been included because they contained visionary appearances of the saint; cures that were less spectacular were recorded as an addition to the index of ms. *S* of the *Vita Dominici* (see above, pp. 9–10).

The collection closed at the end of 1287, and it was then written up definitively in fine copy. The addition of *miráculo* 92 as separate from the rest of the collection shows that the *Miráculos romançados* were completed before the date of its report in the monastery, AD 1293, and that they were bound together with a copy of Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo* to provide a vernacular account of the saint's deeds. It is this procedure of publication to which one of the manuscripts refers when it claims Pero Marín's had them copied: 'e fizolos escrever Pero Marín, monge del monesterio' (ll. 2–3, p. 39; only in *S*). Pero Marín was not the author of the collection, in the simple sense that has been too easily accepted by those who have written about the *Miráculos*, with the honourable but wholly unsurprising exception of Fray Martín de Sarmiento.⁷³ Pero Marín was most definitely not the author, or even one of the authors, but was the work's patron. It was he, with a responsible position within the monastery's hierarchy, who sponsored the copying from the shrine recorders' notes into a legible book-hand. Then, as now, the production of books was an expensive business, impossible without significant help from generous donors.

Pero Marín is mentioned as singing mass for twenty-seven days before Dominic's altar on Alfonso's behalf after the king had visited the monastery (4: 202–06, p. 45). But the mention of the man rules him out as author of this narrative, since the true author hid himself beneath a cloak of monastic discretion and anonymity: he was one of those who accompanied Alfonso in vigil around the tomb. Pero Marín, *procurador* of the monastery in 1293, is mentioned as a witness with 'el abad don Iohán' and many other monks of the monastery who were witnesses to the extremely tall story that Ruy Pérez, 'un cavallero de Baeça' (a knight of Baeza), had come to spin to them.⁷⁴ Both references to the monk look to his patronage rather than his authorship. The mention of him in *miráculo* 92, in any case, looks to use his authority as a witness for material of the most dubious sort.

Pero Marín's sponsorship preserved the miracles worked by Dominic in the thirteenth century. Yet they also marked the end of the most significant period of the cult. Devotion to Dominic would survive, but the literary record of that devotion would pass out of the hands of the monks of Silos and into those of the compilers of sanctorals. Fittingly, the first hagiographer to compose an abbreviated life of the saint visited the monastery during the period covered by the *Miráculos*. Rodrigo de Cerrato was a member of the new religious order whose founder, Dominic of Caleruega, had been born within a day's walk of Silos at the end of the twelfth century, and whose cult was rapidly overshadowing that of Dominic of Silos. The presence of the 'other Dominic' was beginning to be felt in captives' visions as recorded in the *Miráculos romançados*, and several times the saint identified himself with what had probably become the phrase used to identify him, 'Santo Domingo, él de Silos' (53: 2338–39, p. 121; 63: 2856–57, p. 140; 64: 2895–96, p. 141; 66: 3008–09, p. 145; 67: 3062, p. 146; 68: 3118, p. 148; 72: 3338, p. 156; 81: 3819, p. 172),⁷⁵ to distinguish him from the saint presumably referred to 'Santo Domingo, él de los Predicadores' or 'él de Caleruega'.⁷⁶ There was another Dominic, too, 'Santo Domingo de la Calzada' (Saint Dominic of the Highway, i.e., the pilgrim's route to Santiago), whose relics lay in the town of that name, and with whom Dominic of Silos was confused in fifteenth-century breviary written for a canon of the cathedral of Santiago.⁷⁷

It is thus especially fitting that the high-point of Dominic of Silos's miraculous activity in confrontation with the Moors and for the benefit of Castile, should have been separately chronicled by a member of the new kind of religious order, international in organization and appeal. The second abbreviation was probably produced by a monk of San Millán, whose highly intelligent rendering, and the vernacular translation eventually made from it, will be considered after Rodrigo de Cerrato's curious summary.

NOTES

1. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 35.
2. Enciso (*España & Portugal*, p. 11, F(2) 23(5)) is a village some thirty kilometres southwest of Calahorra; the journey to Silos would have been roughly one hundred and fifty kilometres — a round trip of perhaps a week.
3. A similar turn of phrase is found at 54: 2371, p. 123, 'e diz que dixo' (and he says that he said). Another element drawn from personal testimony is the idiomatic observation of Gonçalo de Sotavellanos who, escaping from Málaga, went out of the Algeciras Gate towards the sea, 'e falló atantos moros como tenía cabellos' (31: 2110–11, p. 81; and he found as many Moors as he had hairs on his head). An assurance of truthfulness (and an awareness of the insecurity of estimates of large numbers of people) is given by the narration of Iohán Martínez's escape. The fleeing captive saw sixty knights going to raid Jerez: 'estava en tal logar que los pudo bien contar' (45: 1836, p. 103; and he was in such a place that he could count them precisely) — at that point he was hiding in the mountains above Algeciras.
4. The number is clearly wrong, since it would seem that Ramiro names them all. From the punctuation of ms. S, one might count ten: "esteuã pº migo. q'ze Siluestre. Bartolom'

Saluador. per andres. victores Dº Muñoz. apariçio. Dº rodrigo. Larios. pascual Gª. 7º garçia." But neither Estevan Pedro Mingo nor Victores Domingo Munnoz are usual names. I have given the names in the text as though there were sixteen (.XVI.), but a equally likely number to have generated 'XLV.' is fourteen (.XIV.). Bartolomé may well have been 'Bartolomé Salvador', but he is referred to solely as 'Bartholomé' at 47: 1957–58, p. 109. More likely candidates are 'Pedro Mingo' (short for Domingo), the second Domingo may have been 'Domingo Rodrigo'. But Pascual Garçia may have been two, namely 'Pascual, Garçia'. The Apariçio named is unlikely to be the Apariçio de Plazencia who reached Silos before Ramiro (*miráculo* 26, cited immediately previously), since Ramiro said that all but two of his men were killed, and the survivors were Bartolomé and Estevan.

5. Elena Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain', in her *Crusade and Colonization*, Variorum Collected Studies, 317 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), I 54–76, at p. 71, 'Perhaps the most important man in the army was the *adalid* or guide. Since the army entering enemy territory depended upon his good judgement he was given wide jurisdictional, administrative, and military powers during the campaign.' The *adalid* could be a commoner, and could rise through the ranks.
6. *Cantar de los siete infantes de Lara*, line 11, ed. by Carlos Alvar and Manuel Alvar, *Epica medieval española*, Letras Hispánicas, 330 (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997), pp. 242–70, at p. 243.
7. Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1983), p. 4.
8. See Cossio, pp. 57–61. Private expeditions were probably the following (the destination of the *razzia* is given in brackets): 7: 361–62, pp. 50–51 (Granada); 10: 464, p. 54 (Granada); 11: 481–82, p. 55 (Granada); 12: 509–10, p. 56 (Granada); ?15: 656–57, p. 61 (Granada); 16: 692–93, p. 62 (Rute); 20: 840–42, p. 67 (Entequera); 30: 1138–40 (Sierra de Cabrera); 36: 1338–39, p. 86 (Granada); 39: 1420, p. 89 (?Granada); ?40: 1435–36, p. 90 (Algeciras); 53: 2284–85, p. 120 (Granada); ?65: 2909–10, p. 142 (Sierra de Baza). 'Official' *cavalgadas*, organized by a representative of government are probably 8; 22: 889–91, p. 69 (Granada, with King Alfonso and Prince Sancho); ?34: 1291–92, p. 84 (Granada); 38: 1382–83, p. 88 (Granada, with Gonçalo Royz, maestre de Ucles); 42: 1525–26, p. 93 (Ronda, with Iohán Miguel almocaden de Archos); 43: 1582–84, p. 95 (Rute, with Pedro Martínez, almocaden); 44: 1639–40, p. 97 (Zafra, led by 'Martín Domínguez de Aranda [...] e otros tres almocadenes con .XL.VIII. peones'); 73: 3368–70, p. 157 (Algeciras). Christians using a *çelada* to catch Moors are found in 11, 42, 44, 81. I have adopted the classification of *cavalgadas* presented by Nicolás Cabrilla, 'Esclavos moriscos en la Almería del siglo XVI', *Al-Andalus*, 40, (1975), 53–128, at p. 59. On the *cavalgadas* and Muslim analogues, see Lourie, 'A Society Organized for War', pp. 68–69.
9. 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 40, 41, 47, 48, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62 (levaron le), 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76 ('levaron las'), 77, 78, 83, 86, 88.
10. 'Levaron lo(s) cativos a ...' occurs in 6, 21, 39, 49 and 58; 'levaron los cativos pora ...' in 14; 'levaron los presos a ...' in 11; 'levaron los allent mar', 9; 'levaron estas mugieres al', 79; levólo(s) occurs in the following: 25, 31, 34, 35, 36 ('levó-l'), 37, 42, 43, 46, 48, 55, 59, 81.
11. 1, 7, 8, 16, 19, 22, 24, 27, 38, 84, 85 (perhaps caused by a lacuna in the text), 89, 90.
12. 44: 1647–50, p. 97; 45: 1749–62, p. 101 (*treguas* — during a truce); 51: 2198–99, p. 117; 53: 2294–99, p. 120 (*treguas*); 80: 3709–13, p. 169.
13. 7: 364, p. 51 (probably taken to Granada initially, since he was going there on a *razzia*); 12: 511, p. 56; 15: 660, p. 61; 19: 805–06, p. 66 (captured by 'moros de Granada'); 21: 865–66, p. 68; 22: 891–94, p. 69 (attacking Granada and taken prisoner by 'almogavares de Granada'); 34: 1295, p. 84; 36: 1341, p. 86; 37: 1367, p. 87; 38: 1383–85, p. 88 (captured by 'el alabez de Granada' and placed with the king's captives); 39: 1423, p. 89; 59: 2700, p. 135; 76: 3535, p. 163; 83: 3868–69, p. 174; 88: 4035–36, p. 179. 'El alabez de Granada' is perhaps a reference to an individual called al-'Abbās, such as the ra'is of Granada (Mālik Ibn al-'Abbās, †1542) referred to as *Alabezius/Alabeçius* by Alonso de

- Palencia in his *Gesta Hispanensia ex annalibus suorum dierum collecta*, Decas I, VIII.5.2–3, II. 23–49, ed. Brian Tate and Jeremy Lawrance, 2 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998–99), II, 351–52. The Romance form of the Moor's name was *Alabez*: *idem*, p. 381, n. 54.
14. 27: 1067, p. 76 (simply described as 'cativos en Granada', captives in Granada).
 15. 8: 399–401, p. 52; 10: 466–67, p. 54; 40: 1438, p. 90; 42: 1539, p. 93; 44: 1650, p. 97; 47: 1960, p. 109; 64: 2871, p. 140; 74: 3412, p. 159.
 16. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 90.
 17. 13: 550, p. 57 (Vera); 14: 630, p. 60 (Almería: 'partiéronlos entre sí'); 15: 660, p. 61 (Granada); 16: 695, p. 62 (Rute); 17: 725–26, p. 63 (Comares); 20: 843–46, pp. 67–68 (Entequera: 'partiéronlos entre sí'); 26: 1037, p. 75 (Málaga, Ceuta, Tangiers); 39: 1423–24, p. 89 (Granada); 46: 1900–04, p. 106 (Ceuta); 48: 2031, p. 111 (Guadix: 'presentó los .v. a un su tío'); 64: 2873, p. 140 (but not the captive later freed); 65: 2918–20, p. 142 (Sergal); 73: 3374, p. 157 (Algeciras); 76: 3535–38, p. 163 (Granada: 'metieron a Cate-rina en el Alcázar del rey. Et este Mahómat pagósse della e metiôla en casa apartada, assi que ovo a passar a ella, e tóvola quatro annos e fizo en ella dos fijos'); 88: 4034, p. 179 (Granada).
 18. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, n. 23 to p. 5, at p. 142.
 19. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 90–93. Rodrigo was captured by Muça Barrahan, Çahem and Çahet Azenet; he was sold in the *almoneda* to 'su padre de Çahem que'l dizién Yahien Migahelin' (49: 2078–84, p. 113), but the difference here is that Rodrigo's price would be shared between the captors, which is not the case with the 'arayaz de Andarax' and his son, Brahem (34, 36).
 20. Don Miquel's price was slightly inflated by his companion, Benito de Aguilar, at 77: 3583, p. 164, to nineteen *doblas*. Since, as we have seen (above, pp. 310–12), Miquel was extremely punctillious about everything that regarded himself, we may assume that Benito rounded the price up to the nearest *dobla*.
 21. This did not escape José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, 7 vols (Madrid, 1861–65), IV, 71 n. 1, 'Curiosa es sobremanera la especie de tarifa que se observa en la venta de cautivos: generalmente hablando un hombre valia cinco, seis ú ocho doblas: un hidalgo llegaba hasta doce, catorce ó diez y seis; un caballero de hueste valia ya veinte, veinte y cuatro y aun treinta; pero esto era muy raro. Los cautivos se vendian y revendian tres, cuatro y más veces, conforme aconsejaba la codicia de los mercaderes' (It is extremely curious the type of tariff that can be seen in the sale of captives: generally speaking a man was worth five, six or eight *doblas*; a noble fetched up to twelve, fourteen or sixteen; a arms-bearing knight was worth now twenty, twenty-four and even thirty — but that was very rare. The captives were sold and resold three, four and more times, as the merchants' greed prompted them).
 22. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 90–92.
 23. Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias de Medina del Campo was sold for 25 *maravedís* (= *mr.*), and resold for 35 *mr.* — a profit of forty percent (32: 1234, 1239–40, p. 82). Martín Domínguez was sold for 13 *mr.*, resold for 15 *mr.*, and resold again for 23 *mr.* — fifteen and fifty percent profit respectively (44: 1653–56, pp. 97–98). Mariapariçio was sold for 14 *doblas* and resold for 19 *doblas* — thirty-six percent profit (50: 2151–52, p. 116). Benito de Baraxas was sold for three and three-quarter *doblas*, resold for four and a half, and sold on again for five *doblas* — twenty and ten percent profit respectively (75: 3457–59, p. 160). García de Ubeda was sold with his neighbour Fernando for seven *doblas*; he was resold alone for the price of five *doblas* and a 'çumel de oro' (67: 3037–39, p. 146; a measure of gold).
 24. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 124. The *maravedí* had been cut by Alfonso to pay for his wars against al-Andalus, such that one old (or Burgos) *maravedí* was worth, according to weight, nine new *maravedís* (called either 'de los dineros de la guerra' or 'de la moneda de la guerra') but was only worth, according to the official exchange-rate, six new *maravedís*. See Vivanco Gómez, *Documentación (1255–1300)*, doc. no. 310, p. 329 (26–II–1289), which is the record of a dispute between the abbey of Silos and the clerics of San Pedro, the

parish church of the town, over rent due to the monks, in which the clerics blatantly ignored both the terms of the lease and the corrosive effects of inflation.

25. Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, 'Prix et niveaux de vie dans les pays catalans et maghribins à la fin du XIII^e et au début du XIV^e siècles', in *L'Ibérie chrétienne et le Maghreb, XII^e-XIV^e siècles*, Variorum (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), II 475-520, at p. 498.
26. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 124, notes that around 1292-93, one *dobla* was worth just over 17 Valencian *solidi*, which were, in their turn, worth slightly more than Barcelona *solidi*.
27. 'Mahómat de Aramila' (22: 895, p. 69; Muḥammad of perhaps Armilla, *España y Portugal*, p. 51 U(1) 19(5), some five kilometres south of Granada); 'Mohámat Avdela' (25: 1012, p. 74; Muḥammad Abdullah); 'don Hámēt [...] Avdala e don Mahómat' (29: 1118-19; Hāmid, Abdulla, and don Muḥammad); 'Helil el balestero' (31: 1182, p. 80; Khalil the archer); 'Ali Helcalil', 'otro moro ferrero que-l dizien Hācīm' (32: 1235, 1239, p. 82; 'Ali al-khalil — another Moor who was a blacksmith called Hāshim); 'Braén' (34: 1296, p. 84; Ibrāhīm), son of the *arayaz* (al-raīs, ruler) of Andarax, which is in Las Alpujarras, near the source of the Río Andarax which flows through Almería: *España & Portugal*, p. 52, V(3) 21(0); 'Bovat el Corcobado', and the second master, 'Ali Alheral' (35: 1314-15, p. 85; Abu-bāth the hunchback; 'Alī ?); 'Brahem' (36: 1341, p. 86; Ibrāhīm); 'arayaz Albohācan' (37: 1368, p. 87; al-raīs Abū-Ḥasan); 'Avdalla Albefaquén' (40: 1439, p. 90; Abdullah Abi-faqi); 'alguazir Almañ' and 'Avdelhac, el alcayat del castiello' (41: 1492-93, p. 92; al-wazīr al-Muhīn and Abd-al-ḥaqq [*lit.* servant of the Truth], castellan of Porchena); 'Búcar' (43: 1589, p. 95; Bākr); 'Mahómat' and 'Mahómat otro tendero' (44: 1653-56, pp. 97-98; Muḥammad another tent-maker); 'dos [*sic*] hermanos, al uno dizien Bavdali Alhaquim, al otro Mahómat Almuedano, al otro Mahómat Ançadon, que tanto quiere dezir como lorigero' (45: 1769-71, p. 102; two brothers, one called Abdullah 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, the other Muḥammad of Almueda, the other Muḥammad the chain-mail maker [the Arabic is correctly translated]); 'dos moros, dizian al uno Baračubeyba, alcayat de Entequera, al otro Aboácín, aldali de Ronda' (47: 1958-59, p. 109; two Moors, one was called Baračubeyba [perhaps a Berber name, or one connected to *Burkaiba*], the castellan of Entequera, the other Abū-Ḥasan, *adalid* [guide] of Ronda); 'Fide Capón' (48: 2031-32, p. 111; Capon's son — for the 'sobrino de Capón' (Capon's nephew), see *miráculo* 78; Capón is probably a nickname since it is a Romance word that has no connection to Arabic); 'Yahien Migahelin' (49: 2084, p. 113; the name perhaps derives from Yahyā Mikā'il); 'un moro que avia nonbre Hācan, dizian a su mugier Marién' (50: 2150-52, p. 116; a Moor who has called Ḥasan, his wife was called Maryam); 'un moro que avia nonbre Abenbaxar, e otro Mahómat, e otro que era corredor de bestias que-l dizian Bovat' (51: 2202-2204, p. 118; a Moor called Ibn-Bashshār, another Muḥammad, and another who was a drover called Abū-bāth); 'Muça Barrabarach' (52: 2256, p. 119; Mūsā is the Arabic for Moses, but Barrabarach is probably Berber — cp. Baračubeyba, who figures in *milagro* 47); 'Nozeyfe el harinero' (53: 2302, p. 120; Nozaif or Nazif the flour-seller); 'un moro que era mercadero de Çepta, e avia nonbre Hámēt [...] otro moro de Çalé que-l dizian Brahen [...] Avdalla' (55: 2463-2470, p. 126; a Ceuta merchant called Hāmid [...] another Moor from Salé called Ibrāhīm [...] Abdullah); 'Hatía' (57: 2620, p. 132; Hatia — see also *miráculo* 59, where it is 'Hatila'); 'Yahyel Hādet' (58: 2685, p. 134; Yahyā al-Ḥad); 'Hatila' 59: 2703, p. 135 — as *milagro* 57, where 'Hatía'); 'Ómar' (60: 2734, p. 136); 'Hámēt el Truiamán', 'Abonaz' (61: 277880, p. 137; Hāmid al-tarjamān [i.e., translator, guide], Abū-nāz); second master, 'Avennabi' (62: 2815, p. 138; 'Abd al-Nabī); 'Mahómat Çaragoçi' (63: 2840-41, p. 139; Muḥammad of Zaragoza); 'Hámēt el Aporchenin' (65: 2924, p. 142; Hāmid of Porchena); 'Alcoçoli', 'Mahómat el texedor, e a Hali el carpentero, e a Mahómat el olero, e a Vebécar el corcobado, e a Maómat Almoaçen, tendero del rey' (66: 2983-86, p. 144; Muḥammad the weaver, 'Alī the carpenter, Muḥammad the oil-seller, Abū-bakr the hunchback, Muḥammad al-muḥāsin,

- tent-maker to the king); 'Avdalla', 'Hámét el Berengen' (67: 3037–40, p. 146; Abdullah, Hámíd al-birinji [i.e., the victorious]); 'Giber', 'Ali Albohaçán' (68: 3092–94, p. 148; Jabr, 'Ali Abū-Ḥasan); 'Algalarí', whose son was called 'Moçot' (69: 3148, p. 150; Al-Kalāri; Moçot is perhaps a form of Mūsā [i.e. Moses]); 'Ali Albohaçán' (70: 3210, p. 152; 'Ali Abū-Ḥasan — see *miráculo* 68); 'un moro que-l dizían Falfilla, a su mugier Xemçe, a su fijo Mahómat' (71: 3250–52, p. 153 (a Moor called Filfil [i.e., capiscum], his wife was Shems, their son Muḥammad); 'Ali Albohaçán, dizían a su fija Fatox' (72: 3304, p. 155; 'Ali Abū-Ḥasan, his daughter was called Ḥattush); 'un moro que-l dizían Brahén el Manquiello, que fue judío depués tornó-s moro' (74: 3413–15, p. 159; a Moor called Ibrāhīm the one-armed, who was a Jew then became a Moor); second master 'Abenfátima', third 'Albohaçán' (75: 3458–59, p. 160; Ibn-Fātima [i.e., a descendent of one of the Prophet Muḥammad's wives], Abū-Ḥasan); 'Ali Albohaçán' (77: 3583, p. 164); 'Mahómat sobrino de Capón' (78: 3628–29, p. 166 — for the 'Fide Capón, see *miráculo* 48); 'un moro de Bervería que-l dizían Nozeyfe, a su mugier Haxa. Diéronla a otro moro Eça que la guardasse' (79: 3664–66, p. 197; a Moor from Berbery called Nozeif, his wife was called Aisha. They gave her to be guarded by another Moor, 'Īsā); 'conpráronlo quatro moros: Brahén el Uelve, que quiere dezir de Uelbas natural, al otro Avdala Anéiar carpentero, e al otro Çahén Alarabí de tierra de Arabia, al otro su sobrino Çatán, nonbre de rey' (80: 3713–17, p. 169; four Moors bought him: Ibrāhīm from Huelva, Abdullah al-najjār (i.e., the carpenter), Shahīn al-arabī from Arabia, the other his nephew Sultān, a name for a king — it is likely that Çatan was originally spelt Çaltan, since it is highly improbable that the 'king's name' could have been Shaitān, Satan); 'Brahén adalil e su mugier Haxa' (81: 3791, p. 172; Ibrāhīm *adalid* and his wife, 'Ā'isha); 'Halit Andaluz, el mejor moro de Granada' (83: 3870, p. 174; Khālid the Andaluz, the best Moor of Granada); Hamet, e Farax, e Avdalla que fue cristiano' (84: 3889–90, p. 174; Hāmíd, Farah and Abdullah who was a Christian); 'su sennora Zānbra' (89: 3960, p. 177; his mistress Zānbara); 'Ali, primo del arayaz' (89: 4051–52, p. 180; 'Ali, cousin of the ruler); 'Abiūçaf de Alfaie' (90: 4069–70, p. 180; Abū Yūsuf of Alfaje). My thanks for assistance in identifying the Arabic names must be extended to Dr. Ron Buckley and Mr. Osman Eltayib.
28. For example, 'Hámét el Truimán [...] tóvolo .XV. días' (61: 277880, p. 137; Hámét the guide kept him for a fortnight — see above, n. 27); 'conprólos Avdalla, e tóvolos ý .XV. días' (67: 3037–38, p. 146; Avdalla bought them and kept them there a fortnight).
 29. 30: 1146, p. 79 ('un moro ginet'); 33: 1266, p. 83 ('arayaz de Andarax', whose son, Braén, is mentioned in *miraglo* 34); 42: 1540, p. 93 ('un moro que-l dizían alguazil de Affla' (perhaps Abila (*España & Portugal*, p. 52, U(6) 21(6)), in the valley of the Río Nacimiento, sixty or seventy kilometres upstream of Almería) — but his wife's name is given, 'Aziza'); 44: 1651–52, p. 97 ('un moro que era espeçiero'; a Moor that was a spice merchant); 64: 2872, p. 140 ('el alguazil'; the local judge).
 30. Eight wives are named in this section of the narration: 'Aziza' (42: 1541, p. 93; 'Aziza'; 'Marién' (50: 2151, p. 116; Maryam), 'Xençe' (50: 2153, p. 116; Shems); 'Çafra' (58: 2692, p. 134; Şafra [i.e., yellow]); 'Xemçe' (71: 3251, p. 153; Shems); 'Haxa' (78: 3629, p. 166; 79: 3665, p. 167; and 81: 3791, p. 172; 'Ā'isha). Three of the names of captors' wives occur in narrations provided by women (50, 78 and 79). 72: 3304, p. 155, provides the name of the Moor's daughter, 'Fatox' (Ḥattush). Two Moorish wives are named elsewhere: 'Ceyna' (31: 1184, p. 80; Zeina) and 'Zānbra' (89: 3960, p. 177; Zānbara).
 31. The respective depth in *braços* is given in parentheses after the reference to the *miráculo*, 14: 635, p. 60 (seven), 17: 729, p. 63 (sixteen), 18: 771, p. 65 (fourteen), 33: 1269, p. 83 (thirteen), 34: 1297, p. 85 (twenty-four), 36: 1344, p. 86 (twenty-four), 47: 1963, p. 109 (seven), 48: 2033, p. 112 (twelve), 60: 2724, p. 135 (nine), 69: 3153–54, p. 150 (eight).
 32. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 84–89.
 33. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', p. 81.
 34. A description of an earlier captive's treatment and his cell can be found in *Vita Dominici*, II.21.1–13, p. 356.

35. Earlier narrations use generic complaints about the 'muchas penas e mucha fambre' (6: 332–33, p. 49; 7: 365, p. 51; 20: 846, p. 68; 25: 1014, p. 74; many pains and great hunger), 'muchos açotes e mucha fambre' (15: 661, p. 61, 18: 772, p. 65; many lashes and great hunger); 'muchas penas e mucha lazeria' (9: 438–39, p. 53; many pains and much suffering), 'muchas penas' (11: 487, p. 55) 'grandes penas' (16: 696, p. 62), 'muy grandes penas' (14: 634, p. 60), 'muchas penas de muchas maneras' (17: 730–31, p. 63; many different pains). Nicolás de Alcaraz's fellow captives 'queriense morir de fambre' (30: 1157, p. 79; were about to die from hunger).
36. Although note that, at Rocamadour, the only captive to complain of hunger was held prisoner by Moors: Bull, *The Miracles*, 1.53, pp. 135–36.
37. The ban on horsemeat is expressed by Pope Gregory III (†741) in a letter to Saint Boniface, c. 732, *Bonifatii et Lullii epistolae*, Epistola 28, ed. Tangl, pp. 49–52, at p. 50, ll. 24–28, 'Inter ea agrestem caballum aliquantos adiunxisti comedere, plerosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps sanctissime sinas frater, sed, quibus potueris Christo iuvante modis, per omnia conpescere et dignam eis interdicto paenitentiam; immundum enim est atque execrabile' (Amongst other things you added that some eat the wild horse and many the domesticated. Never do this from henceforth, most holy brother, but, in as far as you are able in the manner which Christ commands, suppress [this custom] and impose a fitting penitance upon them; it is truly unclean and deadly). Pope Zachariah was no less condemnatory of the practice writing again to Boniface: 'In prima de volatilibus, id est graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis. Quae omnino cavendae sunt ab esu christianorum. Etiam et fibri atque lepores et equi silvatici multo amplius vitandi' (Epistola 87, pp. 194–201, at p. 196, ll. 24–27; First regarding birds, that is jackdaws and crows and storks. These are wholly to be avoided in the diet of Christians. Also beavers and hares and wild horses are to be shunned even more). See Kolbaba, *The Errors*, p. 147, for the dietary legislation of the mid- to late-fourth century Apostolic Canons, which were adopted into Western canon law during the sixth century thanks to the translation by Dionisius Exiguus.
38. Brodman, 'Municipal Ransoming Law', p. 318.
39. Cossío, p. 75.
40. *Cantigas de Santa Maria* 158, ll. 7–8, ed. Mettmann, ll. 152, is explicit in linking imprisonment with the captor's search for gain: 'en carcer tēevrosa/o meteron e en ferros, | como gente cobiçosa' (they like greedy people, placed him in irons in a dark dungeon). The captors in this case were not Moors, but the real villains of the world of the *Cantigas*, bad Christians.
41. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ll. 17, ll. 3–6, ed. Maya Sánchez, p. 203; tr. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 211–12. A further description can be found in the account of the captive whom Dominic freed during his own lifetime, 'Vir itaque quidam, nomine Dominicus, natus ex uillula que dicitur Sotus, a Sarracenis captus et iam per multum temporis duro honore catenarum ingentium afflictus et inclusione, horrore obscuritateque diri carceris uehementes fatigatus, exigebantur ab eo quingenti numorum solidi, quibus persolutis, redderetur libertati' (*Vita Dominici*, 1.12.1–5, p. 266; And so a certain man, Dominic by name, born in the little town called Soto [de San Esteban, Soria], captured by the Saracens and already for a long time suffering under the terrible weight of the chains and the imprisonment, wearied by the horror and darkness of the awful dungeon, was required to pay forty silver coins, which, once paid, would free him).
42. A captive who owed his liberation to Our Lady of Rocamadour invoked the Virgin because he did not have the wherewithall to pay his ransom: Bull, *The Miracles*, p. 133 (1.50).
43. 31: 1370–71, p. 87; 69: 3157–58, p. 150; 81: 3803–04, p. 172 uses *ataiar* rather than *pletear*. Twice 'fata que ovo de pletear' is used (71: 3258, p. 153; 90: 4072, p. 180), and once the phrase, 'ante los muchos açotes que-l dava, ovo...' (72: 3308–09, p. 155).
44. See Bull, *The Miracles*, p. 36, for a similar judgement on those who travelled to Rocamadour.
45. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives*, p. 5.
46. God or Jesus Christ and Saint Dominic are solely invoked at 1: 23, p. 39; 8: 406, p. 52; 9: 443, p. 53; 10: 469, p. 54; 11: 487–88, p. 55; 12: 513–14, p. 56; 13: 564–65, p. 57; 14:

- 637–38, p. 60 (xp); 16: 696–97, p. 62 (although there is an invocation of Saint Dominic alone at 16: 702, p. 62); 17: 731–32, p. 63; 20: 637–38, p. 60 (xp); 25: 1020, p. 74; 26: 1041, p. 75; 27: 1068–69, p. 76; 38: 1393, p. 88. The Virgin Mary is prayed to, along with God and Saint Dominic, at 22: 909, p. 70; 29: 1123–24, p. 78; 32: 1242, p. 82; 33: 1273–74, p. 84; 34: 1299–300, p. 85; 35: 1321, p. 85; 36: 1346, p. 86; 37: 1370, p. 87; . Dominic is invoked alone at 21: 867–69, p. 68: Gil de Quesada ‘acomendávasse de día e de noche a Santo Domingo que-l sacasse daquela pena en que estava’ (commended himself day and night to Saint Dominic so that he might free him from that suffering in which he found himself). Here there is unlikely to be a textual lacuna (where ‘dios e’ has been omitted), since the verb used to refer to the saint is in the singular. No indication of a prayer is given after the description of the captives’ misery at 15: 663, p. 61, but this is most probably due to a textual lacuna, since the narrative continues ‘quando fue la merçet de dios, por ruego de Santo Domingo, *quiso oírlos* un sabbado .xviii. días de febrero’ (15: 663–65, p. 61; when God had mercy, through the prayers of Saint Dominic, God *heard them* [i.e., the captives] on a Saturday, 17 February). Similar phrasing is found, after an invocation, at 17: 733–34, p. 63. No invocation is found at 19: 807, p. 66, but this may be because of the structure of the narrative: Yuares Domingo’s master tells him he wishes him to become a Muslim in a month’s time; Yuares Domingo agrees, but then complains to other Christians; a voice tells him to escape (19: 808–20, pp. 66–67). Nicolás de Alcaraz is not recorded as invoking any saints until his escape; but when he came to a river in which many Moors were washing clothes, ‘rogó a Santo Domingo que-l guardas que no-l embargassen aquellos moros, e metiósse por el río e diéronle la passada los moros, e no-l dixieron nada’ (30: 1164–66, p. 79; he asked Saint Dominic to look over him so that those Moors might not hinder him, and he made his way across the river and the Moors made way for him and they said nothing to him). Something similar occurs with Domingu’yuares de Sevilla, who, having walked out of Algeciras and broken his irons in the mountains, saw both his master and the latter’s wife on horseback coming towards him: ‘començó de acomendarse a dios e de rogar a Santo Domingo que-l librasen dellos ante que llegassen a él’ (86: 3970–72, p. 177; he began to commend himself to God and to ask Saint Dominic to free him them before they reached him). The extremely short report of Rodrigo de Baena’s escape (24: 998–1004, p. 73) has no invocation of the saints, nor has the almost equally short report of Fernant Pérez de Baesça’s escape from Granada (84: 3885–95, pp. 174–75). The escapes of Domingo Mínguez and Sancho de Úbeda both fail to mention any invocation, but do claim that ‘metió-l(os) en coraçón dios e Santo Domingo’ (88: 4042, p. 179; 89: 4056, p. 180) that they should do what was necessary to escape, in the first case kill their guard and throw him down a well, in the second, to mount and ride his master’s horse to Christendom. The narrations of Benito de Jahén (39: 1419–32, p. 89), Iohán de Castala (58: 2680–96, p. 134) and Gilot de Tovarra (59: 2698–707, p. 135) are accounts given by ex-captives of already-recorded miracles, and so do not contain invocations, although similar narrations do (Apariçio de Úbeda, 34: 1299–300, p. 85; Estevan de Montoro, 36: 1345–46, p. 86; Domingo Pérez de Sigüença, 37: 1369–70, p. 87; and Miguel Pérez (who escaped from Ceuta with Domingo Bono de Palma, 61: 2772–805, pp. 137–38), 62: 2820–21, p. 138).
47. See R. P. Gutiérrez Lasanta, ‘Gonzalo de Berceo, cantor de la “Gloriosa”’, *Berceo*, 5 (1950), 733–748.
 48. At 14: 637–38, p. 60, the captives ‘rogavan todavía a Santo Domingo que rogasse a Iesu Cristo por ellos’ (continually prayed to Saint Dominic to pray to Jesus Christ for them).
 49. For the eleventh-century devotion to Saint Martin of Tours at Silos, see above, pp. 69, 71, 86–88, 142, 145–46 and 174.
 50. That is, according to the date at which they took place rather than the date at which they were recorded. Both 90 and 91 follow them in the collection; but 90 took place before both 89 and 88; and 91, which in turn took place two months and a half after 88 (i.e., 30 August 1287), is an escape from the king’s justice, not the Moors. 92, which was added subsequently to the collection, was claimed to have taken place in 1284, and, in any case, relates to the liberation of sheep, not Christians.

51. Other examples of the same form of normalization are: 72: 3332–36, p. 156, 74: 3426–29, p. 159, 77: 3594–97, p. 164–65, 79: 3676–78, p. 167, and 81: 3815–19, p. 172.
52. Martínez Carrillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 77–79, points to the precision and suitability of the descriptions of the landscape that captives crossed in their escape.
53. Cf. 6: 352–3, p. 50; 8: 425–26, p. 52; 10: 476–77, p. 54; 12: 530–31, p. 56; 19: 833–34, p. 67; 20: 857, p. 68; 21: 884, p. 69; 27: 1082–83, pp. 76–77; 30: 1167, p. 79; 31: 1211–12, p. 81; 38: 1413–14, p. 89; 46: 1926–27, p. 107; 55: 2519–20, p. 127; 57: 2661, p. 133; 66: 3016, p. 145; 69: 3186, p. 151; 70: 3230–33, p. 152; 72: 3355–56, p. 156; 78: 3467, p. 166; 81: 3825, p. 172; 88: 4047, p. 180; 89: 4060, p. 180; 90: 4080–81, p. 181. This occurs also with one captive fleeing Christian justices, 54: 2430–35, p. 124.
54. See 44: 1668–88, p. 98, discussed above at pp. 300–01. The humanity of those not directly involved in the imprisonment of captives could be found amongst Christians as well: the Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour relate how a badly wounded knight, attempting to escape from a castle, was sheltered by a townsman overnight and smuggled out of the town the following day; the knight's brother was allowed to slip out of the town gates by a compassionate watchman during the same night: Bull, *The Miracles*, III.23, p. 197.
55. Arias Paez and his five companions, after reaching Morón, travelled on to Seville (40: 1480–81, p. 91). Don Garçia, Larios de Burgos's companion in captivity, is recorded as remaining in Córdoba, whither they travelled after reaching Marchena (43: 1633–34, p. 96). Martín Domínguez de Aranda spent two days in Osuna and then continued on to Seville (44: 1735, p. 99). Domingo Bono de Fuente El Enzina and his companions remained in Alcalá de los Gazules for a week (46: 1931–32, p. 107). Ramiro de Matrera's companions are described as all remaining in Seville (67: 2016–17, p. 110). Rodrigo and Juanet travel from Oguijar by sea to Barragena (49: 2137, p. 115). Iohán Buhón's wanderings (55: 2550–73, p. 128) are discussed above, Chapter 8, n. 32 at pp. 322–23. Pedro de Tovarra, Gilot and Iohán were guided the two leagues to Jaén by someone from the castle of Otinar (58: 2675–76, p. 133). Yuannes Domingo, who escaped with Estevan Domingo de Cáliz (i.e., Cádiz) from a boat at sea, died in Ocaña, presumably on the way to Silos with the latter. They had spent a week in Archos where they made landfall (60: 2765–67, p. 136). Yoanes Domingo de Sergal left the Templars' castle of Moraçala to go to Alcaraz before travelling to Silos (65: 2965, p. 143). Domingo Munnoz de Jaén travelled from Tebar, a castle of the Castilian king, to Lorca (68: 3136–37, p. 149). Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales, after reaching Matrera, rendered pilgrimage to Santo Domingo de Río Pudio (74: 3441, p. 159). Martín Falcón left his brother in Alicante and went to Sicily (85: 3945–46, p. 176).
56. The voice instructs 'Peregrín e Gonçalo e Domingo Pérez' to escape (53: 3224, p. 121), but in García's account of his companions, no Domingo Pérez is mentioned, although a Estevan Pérez de Córdoba is (53: 2322, p. 121). García's (or perhaps Pascual de Moya's) nephew, Domingo, was captured with him, although there is no information as to whom he was sold (53: 2286, p. 120). There were six further men in García's dungeon, but he did not know their names (53: 2324–25, p. 121).
57. The parish was probably that in Córdoba: see Manuel Nieto Cumplido, ed., *Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense*, 2 vols (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1979–80), II, 50; doc. no. 493 (21–XI–1257). The parish priest in 1260 was don Gonzalo: doc. no. 549, at II, 74.
58. Two others escape with them (Iohán and Fernant Domingues), but their origin is not established (74: 3419–20, p. 159).
59. 19: 823–27, p. 67; 20: 849–57, p. 68; 21: 873–76, p. 69; 27: 1080–85, pp. 76–77; 30: 1161–62, p. 79; 32: 1244–52, p. 82; 33: 1275–79, p. 84 (and 34: 1301–04, p. 85; 36: 1350–53, p. 86; 37: 1376, p. 87); 35: 1325–28, p. 85; 38: 1397–1403, p. 88; 42: 1556–72, p. 94; 45: 1789–92, p. 102; 49: 2101–09, p. 114; 51: 2215–25, p. 118; 55: 2504–2510, p. 127; 60: 2746–52, p. 136; 61: 2788–97, pp. 137–39; 67: 3064–67, pp. 146–57; 78: 3642–65, p. 166; 80: 37566–69, p. 170; 86: 3964–65, p. 177.
60. The difficulty posed by irons when walking is not specifically mentioned in 22: 915–21, p. 70; 25: 1025–29, p. 74; 27: 1080–84, pp. 76–77; 30: 1162–69, p. 79; 31: 1210–23, p.

- 81 (although the captive only has the iron on one leg); 32: 1252–55, pp. 82–83; 33: 1278–85, p. 84; 35: 1327–32, pp. 85–86; 38: 1401–15, pp. 88–89; 44: 1688–735, pp. 98–99; 48: 2059–67, p. 112; 49: 2108–34, pp. 114–15; 51: 2227–49, pp. 118–19; 53: 2340–56, pp. 121–22; etc.
61. Other examples are 21: 881–83, p. 69 (Gil de Quesada); 67: 3069–76, p. 147 (Garçia de Ubeda); 85: 3934, p. 176 (Simón de Mont Falcón). Iohán Martínez de Sant Román's irons on his left leg come apart during his long and circular journey to Christendom (45: 1865–66, p. 104).
 62. Dominic's second posthumous liberation (where the captive is told in a vision to escape the following Friday, II.25.49–58, p. 372; see above, p. 177) is echoed in the escape of the Sicilian merchants, Simón and Martín de Mont Falcón, who, although they had never heard of Dominic before their captivity, received a vision of the saint: 'Vino a ellos Santo Domingo e despertóles, e ellos viéronle visible mente con vestimenta blanca e díxoles, "Non desmayades, que el otro viernes que viene vos fará dios merçet e saldredes de captivo". Ellos yaçiendo en aquella carçel que estava en el muro de la villa, ribera de la mar, atendiendo la merçet de dios, e el viernes si sería lo que les dixo Santo Domingo. Vino el viernes, e todos los moros fuéronse grant mannana a la mezquita e çerraron bien la carçel, e ellos despertaron e ellos dixeron, "¿Si nos fçiesse dios oy merçet, así como nos lo dixo Santo Domingo!". En esto apareció en el muro de la carçel contra la mar un forado pequeno. Dixo Martín Falcón, "¿Si fues la virtud de dios e de Santo Domingo que podiésemos salir por aquel forado!" Fue y, llegó's a él e sacó una grand piedra del muro, metió la cabeça por él e cayéronse los fierros e salió al otro cabo a la mar, e luego salió en pos él Simón de Monte Falcón e Matheos e cayéronse los fierros dentro' (85: 3919–37, pp. 173–74; Saint Dominic came to them and woke them, and they saw him with their own eyes wearing white garments and he said to them, 'Do not despair, for next Friday God will have mercy upon you and you will leave your captivity'. They, confined in that prison which was in the town wall, by the edge of the sea, waiting for God's mercy and for Friday [to see] if what Saint Dominic had told them would be true. Friday came and all the Moors went very early in the morning to the mosque and the locked the prison carefully and they woke and said, 'Would that God will have mercy upon us today, just as Saint Dominic told us!' At this, a little hole appeared in the prison wall, the one towards the sea. Martín Falcón said, 'If only the power of God and Saint Dominic would allow us to get out of that hole!' He went there, brought himself up to it and pulled out a big stone from the wall, put his head through it and his irons fell from him and he went out to the other side by the sea, and then Simón de Monte Falcón and Matheos came out after him and their irons fell inside the prison).
 63. Other examples are Iohán de Martos, who found 'un estaco chico, abrió con él los fierros que tenía, sacólos de los pies, començó de andar' (73: 3398–400, p. 158; found a small stake, opened the irons he had with it, took them off his feet, began to walk); Mari Pérez, who took the ring off one of her legs herself immediately after she had dreamt of Dominic (79: 3678–79, p. 167); Domingu'uanes de Sevilla, who 'tomó una piedra pora quebrar los fierros e cayéronsele pedaços' (86: 3966–67, p. 177; took a stone to break the irons and they fell from him in pieces).
 64. 22: 912–15, p. 70; 31: 1207–08, p. 81; 41: 1511–18, p. 92; 46: 1916–25, p. 107; 50: 2161–80, p. 116; 54: 2417–31, p. 124; 57: 2637–47, p. 132, and 2651–57, p. 133; 66: 3009–11, p. 145; 77: 3594–99, pp. 164–65 (but this not recorded in 70: 3223–29, p. 152 and 72: 3331–41, p. 156); 71: 3275–77, p. 154; 73: 3385–95, p. 158; 83: 3876–78, p. 174; 90: 4078–79, p. 181.
 65. For example, noting that Martín and Simón de Monte Falcón's irons fell off behind them as they squeezed out of a hole they had made in the wall of their prison (85: 3934–36, p. 176), cited above in note 62.
 66. For the raising of the seige, Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: El Albir, 1963), p. 903.
 67. *Ibid.*, p. 942. Don Pedro is not otherwise recorded as being with his elder brother Sancho on the campaign of 1280, but was certainly involved in the 1281 campaign.

68. In the later *miráculos*, 33: 1276, p. 84, has 'viernes .VIII. días de Noviembre', which should read 'miércoles' (probably an error resolving the abbreviation for the day, *ii* against *iii*); 41: 1522, p. 92, 'domingo, .XII. días de março' was originally 'XI'; 44: 1736–37, p. 99, 'sabbado, .VI. días de abril' was 'VII' and 44: 1665–66, 'viernes, primer día de febrero' was no doubt originally written 'mierne' .II. [...]; 55: 2575–76 'sabbado de la Trindat, .XVIII. días de mayo' was 'XVIII' (Saturday 19 May, the eve of Trinity Sunday); 66: 2997–98, 'un sabbado en la noche, quince días de março' was perhaps originally 'XVII' (17 March), and the date given as 'viernes, día de Translatio Sancti Benedicti' (II. 3027–28) is probably a confusion of the abbreviation for *miércoles*, as above; 67: 3050–51, p. 146, 'el yueves primero de iunio' was a misreading of *uernes* as *ieueves* (*uierne*/vs. *iuene*); 74: 3424–25, p. 159 'sabbado .VIII. días del mes de iunio' was originally 'VIII' (9 June) and I. 3445, 'iueves .XXI. días de agosto' was perhaps originally 'XVI' (16 June). 72: 3321, p. 155, 'sabbado, .XV. días de junio' was 'XVI' (16 June); 74, 'sabbado .VIII. de iunio' was 'VIII', i.e., 9 June. The dating 'martes .III. días de febrero' (84: 3887–88, p. 174) hides 'XII', Tuesday 12 February 1286. Such mistakes are easy to make. An example can be found in the first sentence of Martínez Carillo's article on the *Miráculos romançados*. Basing herself upon Pérez de Urbel's dubious authority, she claims that 'El Monasterio de Silos fue fundado en el siglo XII según una serie de tradiciones que se vienen aceptando secularmente' (The monastery of Silos was founded in the twelfth century according to a series of traditions that have been accepted for centuries). Here, of course, XII should be read as VII, although the emendation does not make the claim any more believable.
69. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación* (1255–1300), doc. no. 327, p. 274 (July 1297); doc. no. 329, p. 276 (September, 1297).
70. Mahómat's recognition of the statue as the form under which Dominic appeared to him is a later addition to the story. The story presents Mahómat going to the Puente de Alcolea and coming across 'en medio la puente un omne con muy grant claridat' (2: 40–41, p. 40; a man with a very great brilliance mid-way across the bridge), but it is the brilliance and not the man which speaks to him when he asks who it is: 'E dixo-l la claridat, "Yo só Santo Domingo de Silos"' (2: 42–43, p. 40). When Mahómat tells the story to Fernando III, he does not mention a man: 'vi muy grant claridat e pregunté qué era, e dixome que era Santo Domingo que iva a Córdoba a sacar cativos, e contó el moro al rey todo como-l contesció con Santo Domingo assí como escripto es desuso' (2: 68–71, p. 41; I saw a great brilliance and I asked what it was, and it said to me that it was Saint Dominic that was going to Córdoba to free captives, and the Moor told the king everything that happened to him with Saint Dominic just as it is written above [i.e., he told him about the captives Dominic freed, narrated at 2: 44–58, p. 40]). Fernando is depicted as sending Mahómat with a guide to look at Dominic's shrine, where he recognized the statue. The story ends with a proclamation of its truth: 'Et el Rey don Fernando contó todo esto como gelo dixiera aquel moro' (2: 76–78, p. 41; And King Fernando told all this as that Moor had told him), although, since Mahómat was returning home, he could hardly have told the king about his recognition of the statue. The kernel of the original story, which Fernando III transmitted, was that Mahómat had seen a brilliance identifying itself as Saint Dominic and that captives had escaped from Córdoba that very night. The detail regarding the 'omne' and the statue are pious legends inserted into the account. The connection with the statue was the price paid for the continuing existence of the tale in the monastery's oral tradition — the appearance of a saint to an infidel who later recognizes the saint in a statue is a common *topos*, and may be found in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 335, ed. Mettmann, III, 175–78; another version is in *Cantiga* 196, ed. Mettmann, II, 234–26.
71. Compare Bull's conclusion regarding the compilation of the Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: 'Overall, we may say that a small proportion of our author's material dated from far back — either stories remembered by other institutions and individuals, or part of Rocamadour's own collective memory, in some instances shaped by the presence of old *ex votos* in the church' (Bull, *The Miracles*, pp. 62–63).
72. I translate 'latin' as 'Latin' guardedly. Although 'latin' in 2: 42, p. 40, signifies Romance, there the word is used to distinguish it from Arabic. Here, however, there would not seem

- to be any need to differentiate conceptually between spoken languages, but rather an attempt to specify the nature of the text sent to Silos and (perhaps) to show it as different from the Romance text which narrates the story. On the meaning of 'latin', see Wright, 'Latin and "ladino"', p. 267, who suggests that even in the Alfonsine corpus of writing the conceptual distinction between 'latin' and 'romance' was not watertight: 'There is one Alfonsine reference to Romance as being "nuestro latin" [our Latin] and once (*Partida* 1. 5, ch. 37) the Castilian word *honestad* [honesty] is said there to be "latin".' Portuguese of the early sixteenth century used 'latim' to refer to difficult words calqued upon Latin roots that were alien to common speech (see Gil Vicente, *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, l. 776, ed. Anthony Lappin, *Three Discovery Plays. Auto da Barca do Inferno, Auto da Índia, Exortação da Guerra: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1997), pp. 28–92, at p. 86). This use can perhaps be related to the second of the Alfonsine anomalies, and underlines how context must affect the meaning of the word. See also *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X*, ed. Lloyd A. Kasten and John J. Nitti, 3 vols (New York: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2002), II, 1093A, which gives all three meanings (the Latin language, a Latin word used in Romance, Romance).
73. Martínez Carillo, 'Historicidad', pp. 70, 84; García de la Borbolla, 'La espiritualidad de los cautivos de Santo Domingo en la obra de Pero Marín', p. 257; Sarmiento, *Obras*, p. 256, 'el Monge D. Pedro Marín, quien dispuso se escribiesen aquellos milagros' (the monk don Pedro Marín, who arranged for those miracles to be written).
 74. Martínez Carillo, 'Historicidad', p. 95, for the text; Pero Marín is named as *procurador* (legal representative) of the monastery, in Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación (1255–1300)*, doc. no. 310, p. 222 (26–II–1289).
 75. A visionary appearance identifies itself merely as 'Santo Domingo' in 1: 26, p. 39; 4: 161, p. 44; 6: 346, p. 50; 7: 371, p. 51; 8: 421, p. 52; 12: 526, p. 56; 14: 653, p. 60; 15: 670, p. 61; 16: 705, p. 62; 17: 739, p. 64; 18: 782, p. 65; 19: 825–26, p. 67; 20: 854, p. 68; 26: 1051, p. 75; 48: 2055, p. 112; 49: 2117, p. 114; 51: 2217, p. 118; 65: 2953, p. 143; 66: 3002, p. 145; 73: 3394–95, p. 158; 77: 3596, p. 165; 79: 3679, p. 167; 83: 3876–77, p. 174; and as 'Santo Domingo de Silos' in 2: 43, p. 40; 32: 1247, p. 82; 40: 1465, p. 90; 42: 1565, p. 94; 47: 1994, p. 109; 50: 2163, p. 116; 57: 2640, p. 132; 61: 2749, p. 136; 70: 3225–26, p. 182; 71: 3273, p. 154; 74: 3428, p. 159; 75: 3683, p. 161. Plain 'Santo Domingo' is most common during the first part of the collection, to roughly 1280; it is then more or less replaced by 'Santo Domingo de Silos' or 'Santo Domingo, él de Silos' during 1285, before returning during 1286–87. 'Santo Domingo de Silos' was the more official title of the saint, as can be seen in 85: 3911, p. 175, where the Sicilian merchants are invited to pray to him by the 'freires de Sant Olalla' of Barcelona, or at 24: 978, p. 73, to distinguish the saint from Santo Domingo de la Calzada. The 1270s saw Alfonso X's sponsoring of the Dominicans, and it is from this point that the cult of Dominic of the Preachers began to make itself most strongly felt. See Francisco García Serrano, *Preachers of the City: the Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217–1348)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997), pp. 27–37.
 76. It is perhaps germane to note that the one correction to the abbreviated life of Dominic of the Preachers contained in a thirteenth-century Silos manuscript of the *Legenda Aurea* was made to give the correct birthplace of the saint, 'Caleroga': Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 10, fol. 319^r. The only other annotation is a short line in the margin at fol. 328^r to mark Dominic's vision when celebrating the eucharist. Silos itself had been party to Alfonso X's devotion to Dominic of the Preachers. On 22 September 1272, they gave over the village of Bañuelos to the king in exchange for part of Alfonso's rights over Huerta del Rey, Quintana del Pidío and Guimara, so that the king might donate Bañuelos to his newly established foundation of Dominican nuns in Caleruega: Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 103.
 77. Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, breviario, f. 302^{vb}, where the prayer for Saint Dominic of Silos refers, instead, to Santo Domingo de la Calzada; the prayer is repeated verbatim for the feast of the latter saint at f. 370^{vb}.

CHAPTER 10

DE SANCTO DOMINICO DE SILIS THE CULT OF DOMINIC OUTSIDE SILOS

Our attention now turns to the literary and artistic relics of Dominic's cult which were not produced at Silos and which, in at least one case, could be inimical to the monastery's best interests. We will consider the *abbreviationes*, two short lives of Dominic written during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No longer the sole focus of a single work, Dominic would rub shoulders with other Spanish and foreign saints in compilations structured according to the liturgical year and designed to be read by the pious or the curious.¹ Dominic was one of the saints offered liturgical veneration and as such had his place in these compilations. Rodrigo de Cerrato's brief summary, written in 1276,² perhaps reflects a lack of interest on his part; the San Millán version is fuller and shows a profound knowledge of the saint's cult. Written probably in or for San Millán, it counted upon a much greater interest in the saint, since he was, in essence, a local boy made good. Dominic was also subsumed into the late thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, made under the auspices of Alfonso X. Finally, we shall glance all too briefly at the splendid painting by Bartolomé Bermejo or de Cárdenas († c. 1498), which was positioned altarpiece over the high altar in the parish of Santo Domingo de Silos in Daroca.

RODRIGO DE CERRATO, *DE SANCTO DOMINICO DE SILIS*

The Dominican's *abbreviatio* of Dominic's life has been edited by Brian Dutton as an appendix to his edition of the *Vida de Santo Domingo*.³ The summary provided of the *Vita* is remarkable, since the friar radically re-ordered the account of Dominic's life, even omitting several episodes or contradicting what is found in Grimaldus's *Vita*. It forms a useful foil to Gonzalo de Berceo's version of the life. As Díaz y Díaz commented, 'El interés del Cerratense es enorme para la hagiografía y para la literatura, porque maneja muchas fuentes y muy diversas, pero las arregla, reduce, ajusta de una manera muy personal' (the interest held by Rodrigo de Cerrato is enormous for hagiography and literature, since he handles many and very different sources, but which he orders, reduces and adjusts in a highly individual way).⁴

Rodrigo de Cerrato's text begins with the information that Dominic was from Cañas, but from parents who were commoners: 'Sanctus Dominicus de Cannis ex parientibus mediocribus oriundus'. This downgrading of his parents contradicts all of the hagiographic tradition, and may have been motivated by the information that Rodrigo de Cerrato immediately includes: Dominic had been a shepherd for four years during his youth before beginning his studies for the priesthood ('relictis paternis ovibus quas adolescens per quadriennium [Dutton: 'quadriennium'] custodierat, sacras scripturas didicit studiose').⁵ A further consideration might have been that there was simply no noble house in the thirteenth century that could lay claim to direct descent from Dominic's kin: since Dominic's father and his brothers had joined him in his refounded priory (I.5.194–209, pp. 206–08; see above, pp. 15–16, 35), it must be that the family had died out. It is possible that Rodrigo de Cerrato was correct, and that Grimaldus's attribution of nobility to Dominic is a pious fiction, referring to the moral and religious qualities of the saint and of his father. The hagiographer's failure to mention the mother's nobility may thus be due to her having refused to enter into religious life under her son's aegis. The *topos* of the high-birth of the saint's family even though he worked as shepherd to their flocks in his youth can be found in the twelfth-century *Vita Leonis Lucae* from Italy, whose editor comments that this presentation should be understood as referring to the 'nobiltà d'animo di questi pastori onesti e timorosi di Dio' (nobility of soul of these honest and God-fearing shepherds).⁶ But it is unthinkable that a family of shepherds could train one of their sons for the priesthood in the economic conditions of the early eleventh century, or that San Millán should rapidly promote a horny-handed son of toil. No: Dominic's success was in part due to his aristocratic background and the prestige that abandoning this comfortable lifestyle brought him.

Condensing the story, Rodrigo has Dominic leave for the eremitical wilderness immediately that he was made a priest ('et factus presbiter secessit in heremum ubi sine omni humano solatio per annum et dimidium vixit'). He omits the troubling details of the secret flight to the *eremus* without informing his parents and the consequent dereliction of his flock at Cañas that this implied. His turning to San Millán for the monastic habit is described as being due to divine command ('Deinde divino iussu monachi suscepit habitum in monasterio Sancti Emiliani'). No doubt Rodrigo's acceptance of the rightness of the Benedictine rule's insistence upon the importance of initial cenobitic experience for hermits had its part in the divine ruling he writes about.⁷ Rodrigo completely ignores Dominic's difficulties with his fellow monks and his crucial period at Cañas. Instead, he has Dominic promoted in San Millán on merit alone, no doubt being influenced by his experience of his own order: 'ubi laudabiliter vivens factus est prepositus monasterii' (where, living praiseworthy, he was made *prepositus* [prior] of the monastery).⁸

Rodrigo has the gist of the story of Dominic's confrontation with García, although the king is not named but is blamed for expelling Dominic from the

monastery and the kingdom, in a description which does not attribute any shame to the abbot or allow that the decision to leave both García's kingdom and the monastery was taken by Dominic: 'Cumque sub abbate iubere et utiliter et irreprehensibiliter in omnibus preeset, expulsus est a rege navarrensi de cenobio et de toto regno' (And where, beneath the rule of the abbot and being foremost both usefully and irreprehensibly in all things, he was expelled from the monastery and all of the kingdom by the king of Navarre). Dominic's monastic career is now summarized in less than forty words, a concision that betrays Rodrigo's excellent Dominican formation: 'Expulsus igitur venit ad Fernandum regem Legionis et Castelle; a quo honorifice susceptus, factus est abbas cenobii de Silis, quod iam pene destructum, reedificavit et plures ibi fratres ad serviendum Domino congregavit, pluraque ibi miracula fecit' (Therefore, exiled, he came to Fernando, king of León and Castile; welcomed with honour by him, was made abbot of the monastery of Silos, then almost wholly destroyed, which he rebuilt and gathered together many monks there in the Lord's service, and there performed many miracles). It is difficult not to admire in this small vignette Rodrigo de Cerrato's reproduction of the division of Dominic's life originally drawn by Grimaldus: the righteous beginnings in La Rioja and the thaumaturgic wonders in Castile.

Rodrigo now passes onto Dominic's miracles, which he relates before Dominic's visions, which in turn dovetail into a detailed account of the saint's death, followed by a short summary of his posthumous miracles. The *in vita* miracles that Rodrigo relates are those of the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, but the order and the details he supplies make it clear that he found his information in neither the Latin *Vita* nor the saint's office.

The first of the *in vita* miracles is the liberation of Oria from a demonic infestation (*Vita Dominici Exiliensis* 1.9); here, however, the serpentine vision appears only when Oria prays and disappears when Oria makes the sign of the cross, reflecting a decorous belief in the power of this action as a defence against the powers of hell. Rodrigo fails to mention any communion of which the anchoress partakes, although he does have Dominic's saying mass and sprinkling her cell with holy water, at which the devil disappeared for good ('Demon in specie serpentis quamdam reclusam infestans in oratione illius, in signo crucis descedebat ab ea. Cumque huic viro dei nunciatum fuisset, missam celebravit, aquam benedictam celle eius per fenestram aspersit, statimque demon evanuit, nec ibi ulterius apparuit'; the devil, plaguing a certain anchoress at her prayers, left her at the sign of the cross. When this was announced to the man of God, he celebrated mass, sprinkled holy water through the window of her cell, and immediately the demon vanished, to return there no more).

The putting to flight of the demon is immediately contrasted by Dominic's liberation of a captive (*Vita Dominici*, 1.12). Here Rodrigo places, as did Berceo, the emphasis upon the captive's being a Christian ('Pro quodam christiano a Sarracenis captivato, missam celebravit et in ipsa hora cathene

confracte fuerunt'; He celebrated mass for a certain Christian held by Saracens and at that moment [his] chains were shattered), but, instead of having the man travel to the monastery, Rodrigo has him return home after a few days ('et post paucos dies ad propria rediit').

Vita Dominici I.10 and I.11 are next recounted, strengthening the impression that Rodrigo has rearranged the order because of the importance of the miracles: I.10 is reduced to the bald statement, 'Pro quodam ceco celebravit et eum illuminavit' (He celebrated [mass] for a certain blind man and gave him back his sight: I.10.14–20, p. 258); The paralysis and coma into which Maria from Castroceniza had slipped (I.11.25–28, p. 262–64) is reduced to an uninformative illness ('Quamdā mulierem infirmam'), but the therapeutic action is retained ('curavit dato ei vino quod sanctus benedixit'; he cured by giving her wine which the saint blessed). The cure of Garcia Munnionis of Gumiel is related (*Vita Dominici* I.14), but here the Dominican mistakes the sex of the beneficiary, and, in a fashion similar to Berceo, indicates that the cure was most definitely from epilepsy, but does not reveal the intense difficulty the Dominic had in curing the sufferer ('Quamdā [sic] ieiuniis et orationibus a guta curavit'; he cured a certain woman from epilepsy through fasting and prayer). This cure is followed by Dominic's prophetic knowledge of the Saracen captives' escape from his monastery which is given in nucleic but exact form ('Sarraceni quidā compedi servientes monasterio Silensi quadā nocte fugerunt, cumque hic vir dei longe positus per spiritum cognovisset, quesivit eos et invenit'; certain Sarracen captives used in the monastery of Silos fled one night, and when the man of God, far distant, found this out by the spirit [of prophecy], he sought and found them [cf. Matthew 7, 7]).

The escape of the Saracens is immediately followed by the account of Gotina, whose stomach spewed forth the serpent that had nested in it for nine months the moment she set foot upon Saint Dominic's territory (*Vita Dominici* III.32). The story has considerably changed: 'Pro puella serpentem in ventre habentem celebravit et puella serpentem in tres partes divisum evomit' (he celebrated [mass] for a girl who had a snake in her stomach and the girl vomited up the snake in three bits). This cannot have come from the *Vita Dominici*; there it is clear that the miracle was worked posthumously by Dominic. Its position amongst the *in vita* miracles no doubt depends upon its presence in Book I of the *Vita* in the *SR* manuscript tradition (see above, pp. 18–22), but has been altered to show that Dominic was alive when the miracle was worked. Gotina, 'quedā mulier gallegiana', according to the *Vita* (III.32.1, p. 508; a certain Galician woman), is transformed into a *puella*; Dominic is depicted in his usual thaumaturgic guise, celebrating the eucharist in order to obtain a cure; and the snake comes out of the girl dead, in three parts, not alive, wriggling and covered in blood. Rodrigo follows this with the cure of Munio Garcia of Yecla, freed from fever through the saying of mass and the giving of communion (I.17, p. 286). Rodrigo has the detail that the

man suffered for a year from these fevers. Berceo, it should be noted, omitted this miracle, but here Rodrigo uses it to close Dominic's *in vita* thaumaturgy.

He avoids mentioning *Vita Dominici*, I.15, the sole vengeance miracle, no doubt for similar reasons to those that motivated Berceo to adapt it considerably; nor does he mention the cure of the laybrother whose hand had swollen through the offering of the mass (I.18, p. 228), a cure which Berceo reduced to an absolute minimum. Despite Rodrigo's inclusion of Dominic's prophetic knowledge of the Saracen captives, he does not include either the foiling of the trickery of the dishonest pilgrims (I.20) nor, much more importantly, Dominic's prophecy of the monastery's greatness after his death (I.8), nor the grain sent by Fernando I to alleviate the famine which had assailed the monastery. As we have seen, Berceo felt himself forced either to alter the sequence of the miracles (placing the story of the famine distant from the end of Dominic's life) or altering the sense of Dominic's prophecy. Rodrigo concentrates upon cures in his allocation of the miraculous to Dominic's life, which, as we have seen, is quite proper to the thirteenth century. And both he and Berceo found certain narrations difficult to stomach.

In Rodrigo's narration of the girl's cure from the snake, however, we may glimpse what was probably the oral tradition of the monastery. The narration found in some manuscripts in Book I has been re-elaborated, perhaps with the liberation of Oria in mind. Thus Gotina becomes, like Oria, a *puella*. Dominic says mass for her. The vomited snake is, in its three segments, perhaps a nod in the direction of the almighty Trinity, but is more likely to be evidence that the story had been submerged in the minds of the folk for some time. A transposition may also have gone on: in the *Vita*, Dominic was dead, but the snake survived; in the *Abbreviatio*, the snake died, but the saint was alive.

Rodrigo passes on to the saint's visions and death. This re-organization of the material is as radical as Berceo's demotion of Dominic's first vision, away from its being understood as a wonder and towards its comprehension as a divine consolation. Rodrigo also turns it into a consolatory vision, but one that foretells Dominic's death. The details are essentially those of the Latin *Vita*, but Rodrigo specifies that the two men dressed in white were angels; one crown is said to be brighter than the other two, but not it is not specified by how much; Dominic is invited to cross the bridge by both angels; and the words of the promise are truncated. There are still three elements: 'Hanc tibi offertur pro mundi contemptu, hanc autem pro integritate, ista vero pro Silensis monasterii reparatione' (this is offered to you for [your] contempt of the world, and this for your virginity, this truly for the repair of the monastery of Silos). All sense of promise and prophecy is lost. The first crown is destined specifically for his monastic vocation, as with Berceo. Since Dominic's time at Cañas had not been mentioned as part of the saint's time at San Millán, it is not surprising that there is no mention of his restoration of the priory. But there is also no mention of his devotion to the Virgin, and the focus (radically different to Berceo's) falls upon the saint's virginity. The third

crown is offered to him for his completed restoration of Silos. Wholly absent are notions of perseverance or struggle against the devil; the suppression of these elements follows in a trajectory that Berceo had already sketched.

Rodrigo turns Dominic's vision, which for Grimaldus was the very start of his especial sanctity, into a premonition of his death, a confirmation of his holiness which it was only proper to achieve once the eternal reward was already in sight. The vision ends with the angel's words explaining the meaning of the crowns and Rodrigo begins again: '*Igitur gravi corporis infirmitate concontractus*' (*Therefore, stricken with a serious bodily illness [my italics]*), before telling of Dominic's preparations for his death.

In this section of Rodrigo's abbreviation, we find an intelligent concision of the material presented in *Vita Dominici*, I.21 — more successful, one might say, than Berceo's version. Following his vision and consequent illness, Dominic instructed solely the *procurator* of the monastery to prepare what was necessary in readiness for the king and queen within seven days. The bishop is not mentioned as arriving, and only appears as Dominic breathes his last. In the *Vita Dominici*, Dominic spoke to the *prepositus* and the *dispensator*. Rodrigo simplifies the scenario by having only one official of the monastery; that he specified that Dominic spoke to the *procurator* (rather than the prior or the cellarer) may have been suggested by an unfamiliarity with the Mozarabic term *dispensator*.

The reaction of the *procurator* to Dominic's instruction was more decided and sure of himself than his Mozarabic models: 'qui, miratus, sciens regem et reginam propter distanciam venire non posse, propter obedienciam tamen quod iusserat adimplevit' (who, amazed, knowing that the king and queen could not come because of the distance, fulfilled what he had commanded through obedience). On sixth day, the feast of the Virgin, the *procurator* expressed his certainty that the king and queen would not arrive. In Rodrigo's version, Dominic says the king and queen had already visited him that night and they had invited him to their banquet within three days. Rodrigo was at this point copying out from a text of at least this part of the *Vita Dominici*, since he made a slip. Although he replaced the *prepositus* and the *dispensator* with the sole *procurator*, he continued in his copying without making the requisite alteration to the person of the verb in depicting the reaction to Dominic's words: 'Hiis auditis intellexerunt quod de Christo rege celesti et de eius genetrice coeli regina fuisse locutus.' (On hearing these things, *they* understood that he had spoken of Christ, the heavenly king and of his mother, the queen of heaven).

Since the arrival of the bishop was not foretold, the leavetaking and Dominic's earnest entreaties to him to remain could be happily omitted. What is left is for Dominic to say — still on the Friday — to those around him that they should summon the bishop. To the tearful question, 'Adest hora obitus tui, pater?' (Has the time of your death arrived, father?), Dominic may reveal that his death has been postponed until the bishop should come, which he duly does the following day — the seventh —, allowing Dominic's prophecy of his

death to be correct. He dies in the presence of the bishop and his monks, having taken the viaticum and received extreme unction. This contrasts slightly with I.23.73–78, p. 306, where it is recorded that the bishop arrived after extremunction and the viaticum had been administered and Dominic died almost immediately afterwards. Rodrigo de Cerrato thus gives the impression that the bishop had been summoned to administer the last rites.

The oblates' vision at the time of Dominic's death is also recorded, but again in simplified form. Only one of the boys standing near to the saint sees the vision, which is not of Dominic's soul being carried aloft by crowns but is, instead, of two crowns which come to settle upon his head. The number of crowns also obtains in the *Abbreviatio Aemilianensis*, and this, as we have seen above (at p. 57), was the figure reproduced in *S*, a manuscript which, at least in its account of Dominic's death, was designed for reading on the saint's feasts;⁹ 'two' was most probably the original reading.

Rodrigo gives the date of Dominic's death, which is wrong ('Obiit enim XIII kalendas ianuarii, feria VI^a anno Domini MLXIII'; he died 13 kalends of January (20 December), Friday, AD 1063' — Dominic did die on 13 kalends of January, but in 1073), and gives a figure for the length of Dominic's abbacy which is also wrong ('Rexit autem cenobium annis XXII, mensibus VI et diebus XXV'; and he ruled the monastery for twenty-two years, six months and twenty-five days). Dutton quite plausibly suggested that this figure should be corrected to thirty-two years and eleven months, but Cerrato was reproducing, in part, the tradition of the monastery. When, in AD 1283, news reached the monks of the threat posed by a new church to Saint Dominic being raised near his birthplace of Cañas in Laguna de Cameros, which was furthermore laying fraudulent claim to his relics,

Respondieron el prior e el convento, 'Non es verdat, e quiquier que lo diz o lo dirá miente, que Santo Domingo, él de Silos, aquí fue abbat benito veinte tres annos menos .xxxv. días e aquí fino en este monasterio e daquí de la claustra fue traslaudado a la iglesia e creemos que allí yaz e ésta es la verdat e lo ál todo es nada.' (24: 982–87, p. 73)

The prior and the monks replied, 'It is not true, and whoever says so now or in the future is lying, for Saint Dominic, he of Silos, was a blessed abbot here for twenty-three years less thirty-five days and died here in this monastery, and from here to the cloister was translated to the church and we believe that he lies there and this is the truth and the rest is all nothing.'

In Silos, then, at the end of the thirteenth century, the monks thought that Dominic had ruled their predecessors for twenty-two years, eleven months and between twenty-five and twenty-seven days. Rodrigo's dates, although partly garbled by his copyists, seem to reflect a living tradition of the shrine. That tradition was wrong, but fits with the ten years shorn from the date of Dominic's death in Rodrigo's estimate: MLXIII (1063).

Rodrigo picked up this information first-hand, since he had visited the shrine. After affirming that Silos was the saint's resting-place ('Tumulatum est corpus eius in eadem ecclesia') — had an account of *miráculo* 24, referred to above, been provided for him? — he went on to list the illnesses cured: blindness, deafness, paralysis of limbs, lameness, demonic possession, fevers *et cetera* ('ubi Dominus multa per eum miracula operatur, nam ceci, surdi, manci, claudi, demoniatici, febricitantes et diversis infirmitatibus laborantes recipiunt sanitatem'), before stressing the specialization of the shrine:

Captivi de carceribus vincumque sed precipue de Sarrecenorum partibus extracti suos compedes ibi deferunt, ex quibus compedibus licet ad diversos usus divisa cotidie fiunt in eodem monasterio ferramenta, tanta nunc superest copia que per totam ecclesiam suspendita quam narratu incredibile forsitan videretur.

Captives freed from prisons everywhere but principally from the lands of the Saracens bring their shackles there, from which shackles they make tools for varied uses in that monastery; there is such an excess that they are hung throughout the church, which may seem incredible to tell.

Rodrigo's final observation that the number of irons throughout the church seemed incredible is crucial for our understanding of the shrine-recorders' insistence in noting whether captives arrived with their irons. For Dutton, it is 'interesante notar este detalle del Cerratense sobre el uso económico de los hierros traídos por los libertados' (interesting to note this detail of Cerrato regarding the economic use to which the irons brought by the freed captives were put), a observation wholly in line with his belief that the cult of saints could be explained though the application of the barest of capitalist economics and reduced to the overweening desire of greedy monks for hard cash. Obviously money was important and had to be used well. But Rodrigo de Cerrato shows that the irons made Silos itself into a wonder and for which it was famed. That was a key reason for which they were important.

When did Rodrigo visit Silos? The friar witnessed a document in Caleruega in 1071, and so it is tempting to link his presence in the birthplace of the founder of his order with his passing through the resting-place of that founder's namesake. Yet, were Rodrigo in any way involved with the convent of Caleruega, or were he travelling at all in Castile, then it is most likely that he had visited Silos more than once in the five years before he wrote his abbreviated lives of the saints. Since Rodrigo had visited the shrine at most in the early 1270s, he did not witness the enormous increase in escapees of the 1280s — and, one must assume, the increase in the number of irons hung around the church. One wonders what he would have made of it.

Rodrigo de Cerrato's possible sources for his *Abbreviatio* may be counted as four: his own experience of the monastery; the oral tradition he found there; a text of the *Vita Dominici*; the office for the saint's feast day. The oral tradition (the story of the snake) and his own experience of the monastery

have already been discussed. The question of the nature of the text of the *Vita Dominici* is of some interest, since it is undoubted that he was using a written source for at least some of his *Abbreviatio*. As can be seen from table 11, the closest verbal similarities between the *Abbreviatio* and the *Vita* are to be found in the account of Dominic's death. Here it is absolutely certain Rodrigo was adapting a text. Yet before the saint's death, there is nothing in Rodrigo's text which can be described as definitive evidence for his use of the *Vita Dominici*, and apart from the liberation of Oria, the miracles that Rodrigo describes do not have any linguistic echoes of the *Vita* at all. The conclusion must be that he took these from the oral tradition of the shrine. The text he did have of the *Vita*, then, was probably a liturgical reading for the saint's feast which detailed his last moments upon earth.

If this is the case, then one would expect Rodrigo de Cerrato to have also made use of the office for the saint's feast day. The evidence is inconclusive, and there are no direct verbal parallels. Rodrigo describes Dominic as becoming a hermit immediately after his ordination to the priesthood, just as the office presents matters.¹⁰ Dominic's descent from the wilderness to join San Millán 'divino iussu' (by divine command) may be a rephrasing of the first antiphon of the second hour of the night, 'Inspirante uero Iesu domino' (By the Lord Jesus' inspiration). The omission of any mention of Cañas may follow the leap made by the responsories for the second hour of the night, which suggest Dominic was promoted on merit.¹¹ However, Dominic's restoration of a *cella* is mentioned in the antiphons to the same hour.¹² There is no mention of Dominic's promotion to the rank of *prepositus* in the office. Rodrigo's account of the saint's vision of the angels and crowns is more detailed than that provided by the office, and the connection between the vision and his preparations for death cannot have come from there either, since the office separates the vision of the crowns from his death by two other responsories relating the cure of Iohannes of Salas de los Infantes from blindness and the outcome of the famine that assailed the monastery.¹³ Few of the miracles which Rodrigo relates could be drawn from the office, since only one miracle *in vita* is related, and the range of miracles that Rodrigo attributes to the saint *post mortem* is wider than familiarity with just the office would allow.¹⁴ Of course, the office was not his only source. But the absence of verbal parallels between the text of the office and his own work suggests that he did not have a text before him as he would seem to have had with the *Vita*. Perhaps attendance at the offices of the feastday had left the general shape of the saint's life in his mind, and we should imagine that he wrote the initial parts of his *abbreviatio* humming the antiphons to himself as he inscribed the parchment before him. Rodrigo is as an important witness to the cult of Dominic, particularly because the friar stood apart from and was independent of the monastery. Chance had perhaps determined that Dominic of the Preachers had been born down the road from Silos. But the Dominican nunnery founded there perhaps provided Rodrigo with the opportunity to record the cult at Silos.

Table 11: Comparison between Rodrigo de Cerrato's *Abbreviatio* and the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*

Italic is used to indicate where the texts differ

<i>De Sancto Dominico de Silis</i>	<i>Vita Dominici Exiliensis</i>
factus presbiter secessit in heremum (ll. 3–4)	presbiter factus <i>ad heremi loca</i> recessit (i.3, title, p. 182)
monachi suscepit habitum (l. 5)	abitu <i>m sacre religionis</i> suscepit (i.4.31, p. 192)
prepositus monasterii (l. 6)	prepositus monasterii (i.4.234, p. 210)
honorifice susceptus (l. 11)	honorifice [...] suscepit (i.6.51–52, p. 230)
pene destructum (ll. 11–12)	pene destitutam (i.6.85–86, p. 234)
aquam benedictam celle eius per fenestram aspersit (ll. 15–16)	aqua benedicta per fenestram ipsam cellulam aspersit (i.9.27–28, p. 256)
Pons vitreus (ll. 30)	Pons uitreum (i.7.32, p. 240)
gravi corporis infirmitate <i>confractus</i> (l. 37)	<i>correptus est</i> graui corporis infirmitate (i.23.2–3, p. 302)
necessaria prepararet (l. 39)	necessaria <i>prepare</i> (i.23.9, p. 302)
Vere dico vobis (l. 43)	dico uobis uere (i.23.36, p. 304)
transacto hoc triduo letus interero eorum convivio (ll. 44–45)	hoc triduo transacto, [...] letus <i>et felix</i> interero eorum <i>celeberrimo sacratissimoque</i> conuiuio (i.23.38–40, p. 304).
Hiis auditis intellexerunt <i>quod</i> de Christo rege celesti <i>et</i> de eius genetrice coeli regina <i>fuisse locutus</i> . Expensas vero quas preparare <i>iusserat</i> sepulture sue esse necessarias providebat (ll. 45–47)	His auditis [...] intellexerunt <i>eum</i> [...] de Domino Iesu, celesti rege, <i>ac</i> de genetrice eius, Maria, regina celorum, <i>dixisse</i> ; expensas <i>autem</i> quas [...] <i>iubebat</i> preparare, preuidebat sui sepulture necessarias esse (i.23.41–45, p. 304)
circumstantibus ait: 'Ite cito <i>et</i> dicite eiscopo ut absque <i>mora</i> ad me <i>dignetur</i> venire, adsunt enim qui me dignati sunt invitare.' Cui quidam lacrimans ait: 'Adest hora tua <i>obitus</i> , pater?' Respondit: 'Adest, sed ab invitatoribus meis inducias impetravi, donec veniat episcopus ad quem <i> misi</i> .' (ll. 48–52)	circumadstantibus ait: '[...] cito ite <i>atque</i> episcopo dicite ut absque <i>omni tarditate</i> non <i>dedignetur</i> ad me uenire, <i>denique</i> adsunt qui me inuitare dignati sunt.' Cui quidam <i>fratrum</i> , [...] lacrimans ait: 'adest <i>iam</i> hora <i>migrationis</i> tue, pater?' Respondit [...]: 'adeste <i>uere</i> , [...] sed ab inuitatoribus meis inducias impetraui, donec ueniat episcopus ad quem <i> direxi</i> .' (i.23.65–71, p. 306)
In hora sui exitus quidam de pueris astantibus vidit duas coronas aureas nimio fulgore fulgentes super caput ipsius, quarum splendorem omnia <i>luminaria</i> coram posita obscurabantur (ll. 54–57)	In <i>ipsa</i> hora sui exitus quidam de pueris [...] astantibus uiderunt duas coronas aureas, nimio fulgore fulgentes, super caput ipsius, quarum <i> nimio splendorem omnes humane lucerne ante beatum uirum</i> posite obscurabantur. (i.23.91–95, p. 308)

DOMINIC IN THE SOUTH

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* represent a grandiose and monomaniacal attempt by Alfonso X to shore up his depressing domestic difficulties and his disintegrating rule of the kingdom by presenting himself as a monarch with a profound devotion for the Blessed Virgin, whose bounteous favour he also received.¹⁵ Deprived of his own mother, Beatrice of Swabia, Alfonso could not follow his saintly father's habit of referring all his actions to the woman who had given birth to him, and so turned to the heavenly mothering offered by the Theotokos.¹⁶ Part of the ideological trajectory of this devotion was to stress how the Mother of God was far superior to and much more powerful than any other saint. To this end, three Spanish saints appear in the collection: Ildephonsus, Dominic of the Preachers and Dominic of Silos. The *cantigas* which deal with Ildephonsus and Dominic of the Preachers give examples of the devotion they showed to the Theotokos during their lives and the consequent earthly and spiritual rewards that this veneration brought. Ildephonsus wrote a book defending Mary's virginity, and was presented with an angelically sewn chasuble which only he might wear: it strangled his successor when he unwisely and over-ambitiously determined to adorn himself with it.¹⁷ Dominic of the Preachers prayed to the Virgin on behalf of a sick friar, and the latter was cured by a special visionary anointing carried out by the Blessed Mother and other beautiful virgins.¹⁸ Dominic of Silos's case, though, is different.

Although Dominic was pre-eminent (according to the messengers who spoke to him in his vision) in his cult of the Virgin, the author of the *cantiga* 368 chose to focus neither on Cañas, nor the vision of the crowns nor the vision of Christ and his mother before the saint's death. He recounted a miracle story. A woman from Seville suffered from a snake in her stomach. A voice which came to her in a dream instructed her to go to Silos for her cure, which she did. Whilst in the church, she fell asleep and Dominic appeared to her, instructing her to return to a shrine of the Virgin at Puerto de Santa María. There, again in a dream, she was redirected to Seville, where she was cured by the mere sight of the cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. In the *Cantigas*, for both Ildephonsus and Dominic of the Preachers, the Marian favours they received were a constituent of their own sanctity (and therefore helped to construct Alfonso X's sanctity as a Marian devotee), we may intuit a much more hostile intent in the treatment of Dominic of Silos.

As we have seen from Rodrigo de Cerrato, the cure of Gotina from her serpent had become inserted into an oral tradition that preserved the memory of the saint's living miracles. It had, furthermore, been inserted for quite some time. If one suffered from a snake dwelling in one's innards, Silos was a natural choice as a shrine at which to pray for deliverance. Yet the disembodied voice which instructed the woman to begin her miraculous odyssey is a recurrent feature of the *Miráculos romançados*, and, as we have seen, the

details of these escapes were well-known on the frontier and al-Andalus even before the late 1270s or very early 1280s when this *cantiga* was written. Both elements, then, draw upon immediately recognisable features of the cult of Dominic in order to subvert it in favour of the Virgin's shrine in the Cathedral of Seville. The voice that spoke to her in a dream identified itself in telling her to go to Silos, 'u nos moramos /[...]/que fomos end' abade' (where we dwell, of which were abbot).¹⁹ This instruction recalls both Dominic's commands in the *Miráculos romançados* to travel to 'la mi casa' (e.g., 3: 1607–08, p. 96; 45: 1782–83, p. 102) and also his early appearances as recounted in the *Vita Dominici*, where he identified himself twice as 'quondam Exiliensis monasterii rectorem' and once as 'quondam Exiliensis monasterii abbatem' (II.21.29, p. 356; II.50.7, p. 442; II.23.47, p. 372; abbot of the monastery of Silos). The woman's curious route takes her back to Puerto de Santa María, which housed one of Alfonso's favoured shrines, but the cure was to take place at the cathedral.

Alfonso was devoted and indebted to Dominic of Silos in the early part of his reign, but his own devotions changed together with his geopolitical interests. When Alfonso prayed at Silos, he was heading north to the Basque country to quell a revolt. When the *cantiga* in question was written, Alfonso had not stirred from Seville for a number of years. He had, moreover, donated his own thaumaturgic statue of the Virgin (an improbable gift from the king of Granada) to the Cathedral of Seville, and there is some evidence to suggest that he was intent upon making the city his capital and thereby abandon the peripatetic condition of the Spanish monarchy.²⁰

Silos was too far north to make it a useful recipient of royal religious patronage. And Dominic, although he had a national (i.e., Castilian) profile, was too limited in his geographical sphere of action and influence for a king who felt called to higher things, and who was king not just of Castile, an awareness that the events of the 1270s had forced upon him.²¹ Dominic, as we have seen, was conceived by his devotees as being wholly opposed to the Moors, and even Muslims thought it unwise to rile him. Dominic could not function as a channel of *convivencia*, compromise and political pressure in the same way as Holy Mary, whose cult was shared between Christians and Moors and could therefore be used to diffuse (rather than express) the tensions caused by increasing Christian colonization of the frontier lands. When regal devotion was institutionalized in the fourteenth century, it was at Guadalupe, conveniently situated upon the transhumance routes of Asturian shepherds, crucially south of the Tagus and, above all else, dedicated to Our Lady.²² No doubt the enormous enthusiasm of Dominic's frontier devotees provoked a certain consternation, unease and even frustration on the part of those attempting to nationalize religion under an earthly king whose rule had come to be based upon the claim that he was acting as the vicar of the Queen of Heaven, and it is perhaps to these emotions that the curious *cantiga* 368 owes its birth.

THE *ABBREVIATIO AEMILIANENSIS*

The other abbreviation of Dominic's life that we will consider is considerably longer than Rodrigo de Cerrato's and was probably carried out at San Millán. It is contained in Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 10, folios 123^v–136^r; the text begins, 'Incipit Vita Sancti Dominici Siliensis' (Here begins the life of Dominic of Silos). This *Vita* forms but one account in a collection of abbreviated lives. It bears the notable distinction of having generated some form of critical discussion relating to its date, if nothing else. Since the text contains an account of a miracle otherwise found only in Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo*, the account of how peasants tried to steal the monastery's leeks and which is therefore termed 'de los puerros' (see above, pp. 233–34), Dutton was unsure whether the *abbreviatio* pre- or post-dated Berceo's poem. Valcárcel was adamant that Berceo had first recorded the miracle, and that therefore the *abbreviatio* was later than the Riojan poet's versification.²³ I incline, on the evidence of Berceo's poem, to support Valcárcel's position (see above, pp. 267–68 n. 30), but recognize that it is a chicken-and-egg situation. Either Berceo found his story within the *Abbreviatio Aemilianense* and included it in his *Vida de Santo Domingo*, and therefore claimed, with a certain degree of truthfulness, that he had added it to his source (the *leyenda*, the *Vita Domnici Exiliensis*); or Berceo had taken the story from an oral tradition regarding the saint and the author of the *Abbreviatio Aemilianense*, knowing Berceo's poem, subsequently included the tale in his own work.

The only way out of this vicious circle is to find other evidence, which is in fact forthcoming from the *Abbreviatio* itself. Amongst the miracles that it attributes to Dominic, it specifies the cures of the possessed; the blind; the deaf and the dumb; the lame and those without the use of an arm; epileptics; captives were released and 'multos etiam naufragos a maris eripuit tempestate' (indeed many shipwrecked people were taken from the stormy sea). It is a strange miracle to be ascribed to a saint, the centre of whose cult is in land-locked Castile, and who never became a favourite of sailors. The reference to many people is hyperbolic, and the mention of captives immediately before this description indicates the source: the author had paid close attention to the *Miráculos romançados*. Garçia de Córdoba was being transported over the sea to be sold in Ceuta by his master, when 'andando por la mar, veno el viento, bolvió la mar por .IIII. días que cuidavan peresçer. Començó de rogar e acomendarse a dios e a Santa María e a Santo Domingo que'l oviessen merçet que no'l passassen la mar' (63: 2848–52, p. 139; going by sea, the wind rose, it roughened the sea for four days so that they thought they would perish. He [Garçia de Córdoba] began to pray and commend himself to God and Holy Mary and Saint Dominic that they might have mercy on him and that he should not cross the sea). The narrative is an escape from Muslim captivity, similar in some ways to 61: 2772–805, pp. 137–38, the escape of Domingo Bono de

Palma from a Muslim carrack. The *Abbbreviatio*, then, is later than AD 1284, the date of Garçia de Córdoba's arrival at Silos, and probably later than the final edition of the *Miráculos romançados*, 1293–97. It is eminently reasonable to ascribe the work to the fourteenth century. Furthermore, since the account of Dominic's miracles gives no particular weight to miraculous liberations, and certainly does not present them as a specialization of the saint, then the work is probably from at least the second quarter of the fourteenth century. This dating, of course, has ramifications on the dating of the manuscript.

Valcárcel has shown without doubt that the *Abbbreviatio* is textually dependent upon the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis*.²⁴ Yet, as we have seen in our discussion of its dating, its author had at his disposal the *Vida de Santo Domingo* and a detailed knowledge of the *Miráculos romançados*. Considering the breadth of the man's knowledge of the saint's cult, it is not unsuitable to wonder whether the text was actually written at San Millán, or whether, in fact, it was composed in Silos. However, the interest shown in creating a miraculous history for Cañas (for which, see below) would argue strongly for a Riojan origin to the *Abbbreviatio*.

The *Abbbreviatio* is structured in twelve paragraphs, and is organized so as to present the biography of the saint, beginning with his birth and ending with his death. The text is further divided into eight segments, numbered I–VIII, presumably for liturgical reading, only as far as the story of the restoration of the priory of Santa María de Cañas. The monks of San Millán perhaps found the treatment meted out to Dominic by their predecessors in the monastery too unifying for public recollection.

The depiction of Dominic's childhood follows the *Vita Dominici* closely, although, in the *Abbbreviatio*'s description of Dominic's father, there is a vacillation over his nobility which, whilst not as forthright as Rodrigo de Cerrato's, still suggests that Rodrigo's misgivings were shared in the following century: Dominic 'ex patre generoso ad modum et honesto, Iohanne nomine, extitit procreatus' (was born to a father noble to a degree and good-living, called Iohannes). The development of Dominic's career, from shepherd (with its allegorical significance) to priest to hermit and then to monk follows the *Vita* closely in content, meaning, and often even in phrasing.

The spurious account of the dedication of Santa María de Cañas (see above, pp. 14–18) is included as part of the narrative of the saint's return to Cañas, rather than as one of his miracles, as occurs in the manuscripts SR of the *Vita Dominici*, and was adopted by Valcárcel in his edition (I.19). Yet a blatant departure from both the text and the sense of the *Vita* is found in the close of the account of Dominic's time as prior of Cañas:

In ipso quoque loco meritis sancti uiri multa miracula sunt patrata, et multi ad ipsius monita et exempla a peccatis ad penitentiam sunt conuersi, necnon pater et mater eius, et fratres ad persuasionem ipsius, relicto seculo ad uitam monasticam conuolarunt.

And so in that place many miracles were worked by the merits of the holy man, and many by his advice and example were converted from their sins, including his father and his mother, and his brothers through his persuasion, having left the world flew together to the monastic life.

The author of the *Abbreviatio* has struggled manfully with the narrative problems bequeathed to him by the development of the *Vita Dominici*: Dominic's mother cannot both have been his high-class cook and a brazen woman deaf to her son's entreaties. But the author's main motivation is shown by his claim that many further miracles were worked by Dominic at Cañas, when Grimaldus was explicit that Dominic only began to work miracles at Silos. To preserve the coherence of his account, he inserted the tale of the dedication of the church before his almost verbatim copying of the *Vita*'s recollection that Dominic converted many to the monastic way of life, including father and brothers. With the addition of his mother to this list, and the consequent suppression of Dominic's spurning her on her deathbed, the anonymous author could present a family united in religious devotion, preserve the one miracle that could be claimed for Cañas in his text, and, using that as a foundation, launch an unsubstantiated claim that many more miracles took place there. Local pride was perhaps at stake, and he may have been aware of other local traditions (such as those which are represented by the story of the dedication of Cañas and perhaps also the miracle of the leeks) which he felt unable to set down in detail.

The narrative follows the *Vita* closely for Dominic's return to San Millán, his confrontation with García, his demotion and abandonment of La Rioja to travel to the court of Fernando, the prayers of Licianus, and his ordination as abbot. He borrows from Berceo the detail that the monastery was soon restored to its pristine glory (*VSD* 216).

It is in his account of Dominic's thaumaturgy that the abbreviator comes into his own. Beginning with a rhetorical flourish: 'Quis uero enumerare sufficiat miranda magnalia et gloriosa opera sancti huius, et quantis reuelationibus letificatus fuerit ad huc vivens?' (Who would be able to enumerate the very great wonders and glorious works of this saint, and how many revelations made him rejoice whilst living in this world?). What follows is a paragraph given over totally to the divine revelations by which the saint benefitted: his vision of the crowns, the escape of the Saracen captives, the deceitful pilgrims, the peasants out to steal the monks' leeks. First is Dominic's vision of the crowns. Stripped of its eschatological landscape, the vision is of 'duos angelos, albis indutos, tres coronas splendidissimas deferentes' (§12; two angels dressed in white carrying three most splendid crowns). The bridge, the rivers and the invitation to cross have gone. So has the differentiation between the crowns, with the most splendid being for Silos. The first crown is for his leaving the world and all its pomps and for following Christ perfectly; the second for the restoration of the church of the glorious

Virgin and the saint's unspoilt virginity; the third for his restoration of Silos and for the people gained in it, all seen as achieved in the past. As in Berceo's poem, the instruction to persevere is placed at the end of the vision, and the saint is told that he will reign with Christ, but the angels humbly avoid including themselves in the eternal government, unlike the *preconii* (messengers — never specified as angels) of the *Vita Dominici*. As with Rodrigo de Cerrato, the vision ends with the words of the angel. The abbreviator may have followed the office for the saint's feast in his stripping of the landscape from the vision.

The revelation of the flight of the Muslim captives is split into two: in the night, the Holy Spirit reveals to the saint that the captives had fled; in the morning the same Holy Spirit leads him to them. The account of the deceitful pilgrims is given without specifying where they had hidden their clothes, and concentrates upon the saint's virtue: 'deludens prudenter eorum uersuciam simulatam' (prudently disappointing their feigned need). Berceo gave an account of peasants who, attempting to steal leeks, were forced by supernatural power to dig the monastery's kitchen garden throughout the night. This story is reproduced without the humour and without the saint's inviting the exhausted and ashamed peasants to breakfast with his monks in reward for their labours.

The author passes on to the saint's 'signs and virtues' with another rhetorical flourish: 'Quantis autem signis atque uirtutibus beatus Dominicus ad huc uiuens in ista effulserit regione, non est nostrarum uirium per singula enarrare' (It is not within our power to tell individually with how many signs and virtues the blessed Dominic shone whilst living in this kingdom). What follows is a remarkably concise summary of the whole spread of miracles claimed for Dominic, both *in vita* and *post mortem*. The liberation of Oria is singled out for particular mention, as is Gotina's snake, the death of a 'rusticus' who stole the monastery's crops (Garsia Munnioz) and the relief of the monastery's famine. The author is more concerned with providing a complete list of miracles attributed to the saint than with accuracy or canonical definitions of the miraculous. Even more importantly, he sees prophecy and divine communication as being far more important than the straightforwardly miraculous.

The events surrounding Dominic's death witness to some changes of emphasis. It is the gravity of his illness which persuades Dominic that he is about to die. Berceo is preferred to the *Vita Dominici* in that it is not the *prepositus* and the *dispensator* but the monks ('fratri') who receive the abbot's command to prepare what is necessary for king, queen and bishop. The subsequent text is taken almost verbatim from the *Vita Dominici* with the few changes being motivated more by a desire for concision than any wish to change an emphasis. It is recorded that the saint was buried in the cloister (a detail Rodrigo de Cerrato skipped over), but, unlike the latter and like Berceo, no specific mention is made of his translation to the church. The author does

note, however, that whilst buried in the cloister for some years, his relics shone with miracles ('intra claustrum fuit honorifice sepultum, ubi per annos aliquot requiescens multis miraculis coruscavit'), thereby implying that a translation had taken place, perhaps glossing over its celebration under the Mozarabic liturgy. The *Abbreviatio* ends by presenting Dominic as a fitting intercessor with Christ, picking up the words the bishop speaks to him as he dies. In its concentration of all of Dominic's thaumaturgy into his life, it speaks of a tomb-cult which had withered or was wholly unimportant to the writer. In the abbreviator's choices, we may begin to glimpse an interest in the biography of this present, mortal life over and above the next. Dominic as a saint had become an intercessor and example to imitate, not a wonder-worker to be invoked through proximity to his relics. We may even begin to glimpse a taste for simple biography above the evocation of the celestial power of the beatified soul.

The *Abbreviatio Aemilianense* was translated into the vernacular; the text is found in two manuscripts, both anthologies of saints' lives: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 12.688, folios 56^{VA}–62^{VB}, and ms. 780, folios 102^{VB}–107^{VB}.²⁵ The first of these is published by Dutton, *Santo Domingo*, pp. 268–73, from a copy by the late John Walsh. Dutton dated the translation to *circa* 1400. However, due to the total abandonment of any distinction between -s- and -ss-, a date approaching (or after) 1500 would be more suitable.²⁶ No new material is added to the translation, although the translator showed himself independently knowledgeable regarding the cult of the saint, and did not translate the claim that Dominic's mother had joined him in monastic life. The translation is marked by a search for a vividness of narration and an equally vivid avoidance of any phrases of the Latin which were found to be at all difficult to understand. The rhetoric is simplified and at times simply abandoned in favour of a *sermo humilior*.

SAINT DOMINIC ENTHRONED AS ABBOT

Santo Domingo entronizado como abad is the title which the Prado currently gives to one of the jewels of its collection, a luminous painting by Bartolomé Bermejo that characteristically combines Flemish precision and chromatic brilliance with a depth, humanity and *brío* which is properly Spanish. According to the contract established between the artist and the men of the parish of Daroca on 5 September 1474, Dominic was to appear dressed as a bishop seated on a throne, on which the seven virtues were to be depicted.²⁷ Two narrative scenes were to be placed either side of the main picture, whilst underneath a predella would be formed of a central stone tabernacle with two paintings either side. The contract specifies that Bermejo was to paint any nudes with his own hand. This predella was therefore to be relatively similar to that which has survived from the *Santa Engracia* altarpiece by Bermejo, which was probably carried out immediately after the main panel of *Santo*

Domingo. The Santa Engracia predella has five segments; the central picture of the Resurrection and that on the extreme left (a hermit garbed only in an ivy loin cloth) both show Bermejo's stunning ability to render the gradations of bare skin. Young suggests that the figure of a seated 'episcopal saint', now held by the Art Institute of Chicago, was one of the figures from the *Santo Domingo* predella. The crucifixion by Martín Bernat which would have topped the altarpiece was lost during the second world war.²⁸

Bermejo, originally from Córdoba, had moved to Daroca in the previous years, perhaps because the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel had made travel easier.²⁹ There he contracted a marriage of his own, and then left the town in the following three years, moving with his wife, and probably studio, to Zaragoza, thereby abandoning his painting of Dominic for a time. Another contract, drawn up by the parish with his collaborator, Martín Bernat, was signed on 29 September 1477: Bernat promised to complete, either with or without the assistance of Bermejo, those elements specified in the original contract which still languished unfinished. A month and a half later, on 17 November, Bermejo himself reaffirmed his desire to respect the original contract. This final agreement explicitly mentions a 'bridge of glass' already sketched by Bermejo in one of the panels which he was requested to bring to a completed state. The central panel is not mentioned in these secondary contracts, and so it must have already been painted.³⁰

Dominic is presented with a vivid and compassionate humanity; the realism of his presentation is augmented by the finery of his robes which, even if they do not represent an actual ecclesiastical vestment, present robes as they might have existed.³¹ There is thus a vivid play between the realism with which the saint's existence is depicted and the equally and strikingly real female Virtues which surround him. The scene itself was perhaps suggested by the hymn for Dominic's feast, 'Intronizatur hodie/Dominicus vir inclitus' (Dominic, the glorious man, is enthroned today), although seated saints were common in Aragón and in Bermejo's work.³² The painting is poised between the abbot's actual, historical enthronement and his spiritual enthronement 'in coelestibus sedibus' (in the chairs of heaven).³³ This dual possibility is reinforced by the 'seated saint' (perhaps Saint Isidore) from the predella, who with a similar mitre and halo to Dominic is depicted pausing in his writing to consider whether his quill needs sharpening or what he should next put down on parchment. In the cloister which forms the background, herbs are sorted and made into medicines by brother monks whilst a purple gallinule stalks across the floor.³⁴ The arm-rest of Isidore's throne is completed by a gigantic snail, its shell appearing to be a curved knob-like ending for the arm of the throne. On a wall behind the gallinule is a goldfinch. Although the scene is highly naturalistic, both snail and goldfinch symbolize the resurrection, and Friedmann takes the gallinule to symbolize *pudicitia*.³⁵ Isidore is clearly in a monastery, writing the works that would diffuse both knowledge and sanctity.

Dominic's case is slightly different. The Virtues that decorate Dominic's throne are another part of the artist's play between history and transcendence. They are either delicate statuettes upon a gilded abbatial throne, carved with Late Gothic exuberance, fitting for the abbot of a powerful monastery on the day he is entrusted with its rule. Or they are allegorical expressions of Dominic's possession of all of the virtues, his use of them through his abbacy and his consequent enthronement in heaven. This theme would have been carried through onto one of the panels that did not survive, that which contained the glass bridge, a clear allusion to Dominic's vision of the crowns and the promise he received of heavenly reward. Even a slight awareness of Bermejo's remarkable artistry and painterly intelligence can only cause one to mourn the fact that it has not survived. It is perhaps because the crowns were depicted in the side panel that we do not find them even alluded to in the main picture. But the eschatological symbolism of the rivers may well have suggested the unusual representation of Fortitude, at the left foot of the chair, recuing a naked man with her sword from the gaping mouth of a devil (Hades?) — a spiritual liberation, rather than a physical one, indicated by the man's nakedness. Justice, immediately above her, also holds a sword at the same angle as Fortitude's, but Justice's sword points upwards, not down. Prudence, on the right of the chair and at the same height as Justice, holds a long candle (at the same angle as the swords), and reads a book in her other hand. Only Temperance, bottom right, among the Cardinal Virtues breaks these deliberate lines by pouring water into a bowl of wine held directly in front of her.

The Theological Virtues are represented on the upper part of the back of the throne, higher than the Cardinal Virtues. These three would all seem to be depictions of the same woman, emphasising both their essential unity and the superiority of Charity, whose representation (with two kneeling beggars before her) is placed at the apex of the composition, directly above the abbot's mitre. Only she and Dominic look directly out of the picture at the viewer. The Cardinal Virtues are all intent at looking at what they are doing; the Theological Virtues look beyond themselves: Hope stares intently at Justice; Faith coyly upwards, to the right. The seven Virtues are paralleled by the seven saints that are visible as embroideries upon Dominic's pluvial: three apostles (Peter, Andrew, Bartholemew) and four female saints (Barbara, Appolinaria, Catherine of Alexandria, Martha).³⁶ They, like the Virtues, are sheltered beneath canopies, as are the four saintly figures to be seen on the gold abbatial staff. Within the curve of the crook, the Virgin suckling the infant Jesus is depicted beneath the enraptured gaze of two angels. Here we may have a recollection of the saint's devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Charity is, furthermore, represented under the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy, her cloak enveloping and protecting the two poor men at her feet.

The contract which stipulated how Dominic was to appear, in asking for him to be depicted as or like a bishop, recalls a visionary account of the

appearance of the saint from the *Miráculos romançados*. Domingo Pérez saw Dominic wearing 'una capa bona de seda, atal como visten los obispos e los abbades a sus processiones' (54: 2422–23, p. 124; a fine silken cope, just like bishops and abbots wear in processions). The requisite to have Dominic appear like a bishop might have been due to cultic statues of the saint in which he was represented as such, following (or even preceeding) Domingo Pérez's vision.

The final element of the medieval cult of Saint Dominic was made far from Silos, and there is a sense in which it came about through chance. As part of settlement patterns and the popularity of the saint in the twelfth century, a parish church was dedicated to him, which, by the end of the fifteenth, had grown sufficiently in wealth for its parishoners to desire a fitting statement of their riches and pride in their local community. They were also fortunate that, for perhaps only a couple of years, one of the most talented of Spanish painters was available to fulfil their commission. In his painting, Dominic appears royally surrounded by the Virtues, enthroned upon allegory. But he is also stripped of his crowns and his habit; his tonsure is not visible, and his connection to his own monastery must be intuited. He is without any of his normally identifying features, and is most definitely not being cast as the liberator of captives nor as patron of Castile or Hispania. The cult of Dominic had not ended, but the days of its glory were far in the past.

NOTES

1. Although not appreciably structured according to liturgical time, Bernadus Briocanus's text of the *Vita Dominici* is part of a compilation — only here providing as full a text as possible rather than a summary. *C*, too, is found in a compilation of abbreviated saints' lives, but there the compiler lazily only copied out 1.1 of the *Vita Dominici Exiliensis* rather than producing something that might have approached Rodrigo de Cerrato's or the San Millán compiler's work.
2. Díaz y Díaz, 'La obra de Bernado de Brihuega', p. 151.
3. Dutton, ed., *Santo Domingo*, pp. 274–75; at p. 274 n. 28, Dutton wrote that 'Este trozo corto se basa en mi edición de los dos Mss., Universidad de Madrid y Catedral de Segovia' (This short excerpt is based on my edition of the two manuscripts, Universidad de Madrid and Segovia Cathedral), although he did not provide a full *apparatus criticus* but did note major differences between manuscript readings.
4. Díaz y Díaz, 'La obra de Bernado de Brihuega', p. 151 n. 26.
5. The *mediocres* were neither *viles* nor *pauperes*, and '*Mediocris* was [...] a recognized social status in northern Italy, southern France, and north-western Spain from the ninth until at least the twelfth centuries' (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought*, p. 350); see *ibid.*, p. 356, for the use of the term in thirteenth-century hagiography.
6. *Vita Leonis Lucae*, ed. Maria Stelladoro, *La Vita di San Leone Luca di Corleone. Introduzione, testo latino, traduzione, commentario e indici* (Grottaferrata: Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, 1995), p. 70, ll. 3–4, p. 72, l. 12, and p. 116 for Stelladoro's evaluation of the saint's family.
7. A summary of Benedict's view of eremitism is given by Leyser, *Authority and Ascetism*, p. 118, 'those who achieve purity of heart as cenobites may go on to lead lives of anchoritic perfection — but extreme care was needed before permitting this to happen'. See also above, p. 33.

8. There was still nearly a decade to go before Munio of Zamora would be elected Master General in 1285: see Peter Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 98.
9. See, for example, the inclusion of the beginning of a Gospel reading ('In illo tempore dixit iesus discipulis suis: uidete, uigilate et orate, nescimus enim quando tempus sit, et reliqua'), inserted before the account of Dominic's translation (l.23.111, p. 310).
10. Fernández de la Cuesta, §6.
11. Fernández de la Cuesta, §§20–21.
12. Fernández de la Cuesta, §§15–16.
13. Fernández de la Cuesta, §§23–26.
14. Fernández de la Cuesta, §§24, 28–32.
15. Lappin, 'The Thaumaturgy of Regal Piety'; I owe the observation that Alfonso's Marian devotion may have been linked to his marital woes to Dr Peter Linehan.
16. For Fernando III's dependence upon his mother Berengaria, see the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea, *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1984), p. 53, l. 24 – p. 54, l. 8; p. 58, l. 4 and ll. 23–28; p. 60, ll. 24–25; p. 61, ll. 10–25; p. 62, ll. 22–24; p. 72, ll. 25–26; p. 84, ll. 19–20; pp. 94, ll. 27–30.
17. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 2, ed. Mettmann, I, 59–61.
18. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 204, ed. Mettmann, II, 249–51.
19. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 368, ll. 18–20, ed. Mettmann, III, 247.
20. Although Alfonso had expressed a desire to be buried in Cádiz in the church of the Holy Cross in 1263, by the mid-1270s, pride of place in his urban affections had been gained by Seville, and it was thither that he translated his mother; Fernando III's tomb, begun in 1279, bore an epitaph which referred to Seville as 'capud [...] et metropolis totius Hispaniae' (capital and metropolis of all Hispania); the contemporary vernacular translation refers to Seville as 'cabeça de toda España': Henrike Flórez, OSA, *Eliogios del santo rey San Fernando, puestos en su sepulcro de Sevilla, con hebreo, y arábigo hast hoy no publicados con las inscripciones latina y castellana dedicados al Rey nuestro Señor* (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1754), pp. 5, 7. See also Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 451 and notes 124–25. The king of Granada's gift of the statue is related in *cantiga* 215, ed. Mettmann, II, 272–75; the statue was donated to Seville Cathedral according to *cantiga* 324, ed. Mettmann, III, 150–52, but its cult was perhaps supplanted by the tomb cult of Fernando III.
21. Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 420.
22. Peter Linehan, 'The Beginnings of Santa María de Guadalupe and the Direction of Fourteenth-Century Castile', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 284–304.
23. Valcárcel, p. 574 n. 6.
24. See Valcárcel, pp. 573–77.
25. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 12.688 is continued in ms. 12689. Both these manuscripts and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 780, represent what has been termed 'Compilation A' of vernacular saints' lives by Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh, 'Old Spanish Manuscripts of Prose Lives of the Saints and their Affiliations, I: Compilation A (The *Gran Flos Sanctorum*)', *La Corónica*, 15 (1986–87), 17–28. See also Fernando Baños Vallejo and Isabel Uría Maqua, ed., *La leyenda de los santos (Flos sanctorum del ms. 8 de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo)*, Estudios de Literatura y Pensamiento Hispánicos, 18 (Santander: Asociación Cultural Año Jubilar Lebaniego–Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 2000), pp. 63–65.
26. Although devoicing of alveolar fricatives was a feature of extreme northern dialects of Ibero-Romance during the latter centuries of the Middle Ages, it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that it became common in Madrid and even later in Toledo: see I. R. Macpherson, *Spanish Phonology: Descriptive and Historical* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), pp. 156–57; Ralph Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 86–88.
27. The image can be viewed on the Prado's web-pages: <http://museoprado.mcu.es/prado/html/84.html> (as of 2 October 2001).

28. Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. v: *The Hispano-Flemish Style in Andalusia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 103–08, 115, 123. Eric Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo: the Great Hispano-Flemish Master* (London: Paul Elek, 1975), pp. 42–43.
29. Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Catalan Painting: from Gothic Splendor to the Baroque*, tr. Michael Heron (Geneva: Albert Skira, 1991), p. 121.
30. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. v, pp. 115, 123; Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 46–47, 49–50. The contracts are published by M. Serrano y Sanz, 'Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante el siglo XV', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 31 (1914), 445–48; 36 (1916), pp. 482–85.
31. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. v, p. 124, citing Cabré, 'El retablo bordado, de Don Pedro de Montoya, Obispo de Osma', *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 4 (1929), 12; Cabré believed he could point to direct analogues.
32. Augusto L. Mayer, *Historia de la pintura española* (3rd edn, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947), p. 121.
33. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, IV.26, l. 8, ed. de Vogüé, III, 84.
34. Herbert Friedmann, *Bartolomé Bermejo's 'Episcopal Saint': a Study in Medieval Spanish Symbolism*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 149: 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1966), p. 2. Friedmann, at p. 13, notes the pun between the Spanish name for the bird, *calamón* and the word for quill, *cálamo*.
35. Friedmann, *Bartolomé Bermejo's 'Episcopal Saint'*, pp. 7–9.
36. The saints are identified by Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo*, p. 139.

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INDEX

- Abbo, abbot of Fleury 42
Abbrevatio Aemilianense 403–077
 Abd al-Rahmān III 190
 Abel 16, 32, 49, 232, 238
 Abenaxarin, castle 308, 311, 370, 371
 Aboaçan (Abū-Ḥasan) of Granada 276, 289
 Aboâçem (Abū-Ḥāshim), ruler of Andarax 354
 Aboacin (Abū-Ḥāshim), guide of Ronda 333
 Abohaçin (Abū-Ḥāshim), sorcerer 306
 Abraham, patriarch 187, 188
accedia 176
 Acebrón, El 102
 Acts of the Martyrs 132, 205
 Adam 67, 115, 176
 Adaulfo, bishop of Santiago-Iria 38
 Aemilianus, Saint 32, 33, 50, 51, 67, 69, 71, 86, 87, 199, 214, 232, 237, 250, 263
 Aesculapius: see Asklepios
 Aigulfus, abbot of Lérins 42
 al-'Abbās 381 n. 13
 al-Ghazālī, Abū-Ḥāmid, 162
 al-Manṣūr 41, 190, 195 n. 47, 280
 al-Navāwī 195 n. 42
 Albelda, monastery 77 n. 44, 80 n. 77
 Alberic of Montecassino 46
 Albert of Cologne, bishop of Armagh 243
 Alcalá de los Gazules 368, 369, 370, 371, 387 n. 54
 Alcalá de Vençayde (now Alcalá la Real) 345, 358
 Alcalá la Real 103
 Alcalá, castle 368
 Alcandiles, Los 348
 Alcaraz 370, 387 n. 54
 Alcaudete 344, 358, 368, 368, 369
 Alcázar del Rey 102
 Alcobaça ribbons 344
 Aledo 8, 104, 175
 Alexander II, pope 183
 Alexander of Hales 270 n. 54
 Alexis, Saint 83 n. 134
alfaques 310, 348
 Alfons III, king of Aragón 350
 Alfonso de Baesça, captive in Málaga 304, 362
 Alfonso Pérez de Asturias, soldier 345
 Alfonso Pérez de Lorca, farmer 331, 344, 368
 Alfonso VI, king of León and Castile 8, 27 n. 23, 82 n. 110, 87, 121 n. 18, 149, 164 n. 4, 177, 178, 179, 182, 198
 Alfonso VIII, king of Castile 257
 Alfonso X, king of Castile and León 4, 275, 278, 281, 283, 314, 317, 343, 366, 377, 381 n. 8, 391, 401, 401
 Alfonso XI, king of Castile and León 103
 Algarve 342
 Algeciras 281, 287, 321 n. 19, 324 n. 44, 334, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 382 n. 17, 386 n. 48
 Ali Helcalil of Guadix 287
 Alicante 387 n. 54
 Alicún 334, 344, 348
aljubar 341, 342, 343, 348, 349
 Almería 334, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 382 n. 17
 Almonacid de Zorita 102
almoneda 334–35, 339
 Almoravids 27 n. 23, 150, 179, 181, 188
 Almuñécar 287, 368
 Alonso de Palencia 381 n. 13
 Álvaro Peres, castellan of (A)benaxerín 308, 370, 371
 Amador de los Ríos, José 382 n. 21
 Amaya, monastery 80 n. 77
 Ambès 322 n. 32
amplificatio 263
 Ananía de Tabladillo 243
 ancestor veneration 291–92, 351
 Andrés, don, official of Silos 318
 Andrew, apostle 87–88, 409
 angels 132–33, 143, 146, 190, 197, 237, 250, 292, 395, 399, 405
 Angilbert, Saint 111
 Antón, son de Yoanes Domingo 346
 Antony the Great, Saint 32, 68, 164 n. 10, 204, 232

- Apariçio de Marçales, settler in the Cortijo de don Bretón (Jerez) 340–41, 352, 348, 371
- Apariçio de Plazença, soldier 331, 332, 343, 359–60, 365, 367, 375, 381 n. 4
- Apariçio de Úbeda, footsoldier 344, 368, 386 n. 48
- Aphrodite: see Venus
- Apocalypse 48, 49, 237
- apophthegmata patrum*, Apostolic Canons 338
- Appolinaria, Saint 409
- arca* of San Millán 199
- Archos de Lebrija (now Arcos de la Frontera) 366, 370, 371, 387 n. 54
- Arcila 324 n. 44, 334, 342
- Arenal, El 101
- Arenillas 149
- Arévalo 101
- Arias de Çamora, *almocadén* 338, 342, 366, 378
- Arias Paez de Orense 340, 345, 357, 362, 363, 368, 387 n. 54
- Ariz, Luis de, abbot of Valvanera 265–66 n. 10
- Armengol Rugerio, 'monk of Ripoll' 76 n. 27, 266 n. 10
- Armentarius 136, 153, 157
- Arnoul de Soissons 64
- Arroyo del Salado 103
- Ash Wednesday 93
- Asklepios 204
- Assensio López, castellan of Lucena 371
- Assumption, feast of 375
- Atapuerca 39
- Atienza 178
- Atlas mountains 290
- Augustine, bishop of Hippo 53, 153, 176
- Autbert, Saint 210 n. 22
- Ávila 102, 94, 179, 327 n. 76
- Baena 346
- Baeza 231, 298, 334
- balacina* 349
- Bañares 257
- Baños, monastery 80 n. 77
- banquet 55
- Bañuelos 390 n. 76
- Baraçubeyba, castellan of Entquera 333
- Barbara, Saint 409
- Bari 88
- Barragena 387 n. 54
- Bartholemew, apostle 409
- Bartolomé Bermejo 391, 407–10
- Bartolomé de Xerez, captive in Málaga 304, 362
- Bartolomé, footsoldier from Matrera 345
- Barton, Simon 192 n. 15
- basilisc 118
- bat 157
- bath 364
- Baza 347
- Beatrice of Swabia 401, 411 n. 20
- Beaucaire 286, 377
- Beauvais 118
- Bedmar 366
- beggars 61, 68, 234
- Bejer, castle 369
- Bellitus 9, 27 n. 23, 178, 184
- bells 76 n. 27, 280, 281, 282, 288, 304
- Benaxerin: see Abenaxerin
- Benedict of Nursia, Saint 68, 69, 87–88, 164 n. 6, 210 n. 22, 250, 252, 269 n. 44, 376, 410 n. 7
- Benedictine Rule 121 n. 11, 33, 36, 42, 237
- Benito de Aguilar de Gonçalo Yoanes de Ovinán 307, 308, 312, 364, 348, 371, 382 n. 20
- Benito de Baraxas, merchant 312–13, 338, 348, 356, 382 n. 32
- Benito de Jahén, soldier 345, 368, 372, 386 n. 48
- Berengar of Tours 63
- Bernabeio de Alcanet, shepherd 307–12, 347, 370
- Bernard of Clairveaux, Saint 243
- Bernard of Sédirac, archbishop of Toledo 88
- Bernard the Penitent, Saint 124 n. 44
- Bernardus Briocanus 3–4, 410 n. 1
- bestiola* 116
- birds 159
- Blanco, river 361
- blindness 64, 85, 109, 112, 139
- blood 48, 203
- Bohemond 180
- Boniface, Saint 78 n. 58, 164 n. 3
- Boylan, Anne 25 n. 3
- Braulius, bishop of Caesaragusta 34
- Bravo, José 266 n. 10
- bread 338
- Bremundus Rodric 9, 96 183
- bridges 46–49, 360, 395, 405, 408
- Brodman, J. W. 339
- Brozas 103
- Bruges 322 n. 32
- bulls 160
- Burchard, bishop of Worms 183
- Burgos 12, 76 n. 27, 101, 257, 272 n. 88, 306; cathedral 121 n. 15; Burgos Casket 189–91
- Cabra, castle 371

- Cáceres 103
 Cádiz 411 n. 20
 Caesarius, bishop of Arles 83 n. 125, 123 n. 39
 Çafra (Şafra'), wife of Hyáyel Hádet, slave-owner 341
 Çahem 382 n. 19
 Çahet Azenet 382 n. 19
 Calahorra 272 n. 88
 Calatrava, friars of 290, 342
 Caleruega 390 n. 76
 Camino de Santiago 99, 124 n. 43, 124 n. 45, 165 n. 23, 174, 380
 Campogrande de Aliste 124 n. 45
 Cañada de Segovia 124 n. 45
 Canales de la Sierra 150
 candles 132, 247
 canon law 7, 37, 259, 338
Cantigas de Santa Maria 116, 117, 275, 296, 391, 401, 402
 captives, price of 287, 334–36, 342–49
 Caracenilla 102
 Carboneras de Guadazaón 103
 Cardeña 54
 Carmona 103
 Carolingian script 5–6, 213
 Carrión de los Condes 113, 200
carta de hermandad 254, 256
 Cassian, John 50
 Castellán, castle 370
 Castile 54, 229, 230, 380
 Castro 346
 Castro Alcozar, 12
 Castro, Juan de 222–23
 Castro-Urdiales 322 n. 32, 362
 Castrocuriel, 12; see Curiel de los Ajos
 Castromuño, 11, 164 n. 8
 Castroviejo 149
 Caterina de Linares 295, 362
 Catherine of Alexandria, Saint 409
 cattle 148
cavalgadas 333–34, 343–44
 Caztala, castle 368
 Celadas 102, 148, 150
 Cerberus 204
 Cerezo, monastery 80 n. 77
 Ceuta 292, 294, 332, 334, 336, 345, 346, 382 n. 17, 386 n. 48, 403
 Çeyna (Zeina), slave-owner 299
 chains: see irons
Chanson de Roland 187
 Charcot, J.-M. 151–54
 chasuble 50
 cheese 338, 351, 355
 Christmas Day 56, 93, 94, 375
Chronica latina regum Castellae 230
Chronicon regum Legionensium 27 n. 18, 65
 Chuechos 367
 Cicero 127 n. 61
 Cid, a pauper 246, 253
 Cilleruelo de Abajo 136, 149
 Cinco Villas 321 n. 21
 Clunia 13, 93, 257
 Cluny 33; Cluniacs in Spain 121 n. 16
 Code of Tortosa 334
Codex Calixtinus 174
 Collar, castle 368
 Colonicum, church 174
 Columban, Saint 46
 coma 64, 136, 139, 246, 394
 Comares 343, 382 n. 17
 Compás de Santo Domingo 124 n. 45
 confession 236, 238–39, 303, 242
 Conques 174
 Constantine of Orvieto 269 n. 43
 Constantinus Africanus 82 n. 117
contemptus mundi 83 n. 136
 cooking pots 285, 291, 363, 365
 Copts 321 n. 17
 Córdoba 103, 272 n. 90, 280, 339, 346, 361, 366
 Corneille, Saint 124 n. 44, 267 n. 26
 Cornelianos 11
 Corpa 102
 Corral, Alonso de 76 n. 27
 Coruña del Conde: see Clunia
 Cossio, José María de 276, 339
 Cote 345
 Covarrubias 80 n. 77
 Coyanza, Council of 39, 132
 Cristina, Infanta 65
 crowns 48, 50–52, 57, 69, 190, 215, 233, 236, 250, 395, 397, 399, 401, 405, 409
 crystal 237
cuaderna vía 260
 Cubillas, river 361
 Cubo de Tierra del Vino, El 124 n. 45
 Cuéllar, *demoniaca* of 135, 143, 149, 161, 200
 Cuenca 102, 189
 Cueva de Roa, La 101
 Cueva de San Clemente 11, 12
 cultic group 155
 Daroca 101, 407, 408
 Datian, Roman emperor 53
 David, king of Israel 16, 32, 232
 deafness 95, 97, 109–11
 deer 116
 deformities 109, 111; see also hunchbacks

- Dehesa del Horcajo 103
 deification 83 n. 133
 demons 14, 34, 50, 66–68, 70, 112, 113, 117–18, 131–48, 199, 204, 205, 227, 235, 236, 243–44, 245, 261, 262, 393;
 see also dogs, snakes
 Demre: see Myra
 Desert Fathers 35, 43, 51
 Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino, 47–48;
 see also Victor III, pope
 devil: see demons
 Diago de Celleruelo 244, 253; see also Didaco of Cilleruelo
 Díaz y Díaz, M. C. 391
 Didaco of Cilleruelo 136–37, 141, 144, 159; see also Diago de Celleruelo
 Didacus, *princeps* 108
 Diego Alfonso, castellan of Torres de Alicún 371
 Diego Maça, castellan of Alcalá de los Gazules 368, 371
 dogs 118, 148, 159, 160, 199, 204, 205, 262, 299, 313, 318, 337, 357
 Domingo Benito, butcher 304
 Domingo Bono de Fuent el Enzina, *almocadén* 345, 362, 369, 387 n. 54
 Domingo Bono de Palma, merchant 346, 370, 386 n. 48, 404
 Domingo de Ágreda, merchant/muleteer? 344
 Domingo de la Calzada 390 n. 76
 Domingo de Lista, sailor 342, 351, 366, 374
 Domingo de Merlán, official messenger 280–81 299, 334, 337, 347, 362, 370, 375
 Domingo de Soto 226, 233, 234, 238–39;
 see also Dominicus of Soto de San Esteban
 Domingo Fernández, sub-prior of Silos 284, 286
 Domingo Gómez, chaplain of Dominic's shrine 283, 377
 Domingo Martínez, under-sacristan of Silos 284
 Domingo Mínguez, captive in Granada 349, 354, 371, 386 n. 48
 Domingo Munnoz de Ágreda, cleric 283
 Domingo Munnoz de Jahén, messenger 284, 313–12, 335, 347, 387 n. 54
 Domingo Pérez de Bejer, soldier 343
 Domingo Pérez de Berlanga 281, 410
 Domingo Pérez de Salva Tierra 299, 363
 Domingo Pérez de Sigüença 344, 368, 372, 386 n. 48
 Domingo Pérez de Xódar 290
 Domingo Pérez, blacksmith 330
 Domingo Pérez, captive in Granada 354
 Domingo Sancho, castellan of Oguñar 369
 Domingo Ueco, inhabitant of Alcalá de los Gazules 370
 Domingo Yuannes de Lorca, soldier 344
 Domingu'ianes de Córdoba, soldier 316, 342, 361
 Domingu'yuanes de Sevilla, captive in Algeciras 338, 349, 371, 386 n. 48, 388 n. 63
 Dominic of Silos, Saint: as abbot 32, 38–42, 46, 51, 53–54, 56, 60–62, 67, 214–15, 251–53, 258, 393, 408–10; chalice 62; childhood, 32–33; churches dedicated to 99–103, 109, 272 n. 80; date of birth 32; death 55–60, 242, 250–51, 396, 406–07; depiction of sanctity 32–37, 42–43, 48–50, 54, 55, 59, 62, 63, 66, 68–69, 213–26, 234, 240, 264; devotion to eucharist 62–64, 66, 204–05, 203–05, 243, 303, 324; devotion to the Blessed Virgin 49, 71, 237–38, 395, 409; diocesan investigation into sanctity of 85–86, 133; epitaph 47; exile 38, 50–51, 214–16, 392–93; father (Iohannes) 16, 36, 68; hermit 33–34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 66, 68, 214, 232, 392, 399, 404; imagistic representations of 58, 172, 190–91, 197–203, 240, 288, 298, 357, 389 n. 70, 407–10; labouring with own hands 35, 38, 67; liberator of captives 66, 69, 103, 104–05, 171–91, 207, 216, 226–31, 233–34, 255–58, 264, 277–78, 285, 393, 398, 410; miracles 61–67, 90–120, 213–26, 234–35, 241–47, 254, 353, 393–95, 406; nobility 32, 214, 392; preaching 64–65, 225, 232, 234; *prepositus* of San Millán 37–38, 50–51, 183, 235, 248, 392, 399; priest 33, 61, 63, 232, 392, 404; prior of Santa María de Cañas 34–36, 237, 404–05; prophetic gift 53–54, 62, 64, 68, 184, 238, 240, 394–97, 405–06; siblings 36, 404–05; Spanish/Castilian 214, 231, 279–80, 410; tomb of 7–8, 47, 244, 254, 281–87, 289, 310, 375; translation of relics 5, 7, 26 n. 10, 85–87, 90, 97, 120 n. 3, 145, 217 n. 12, 227–28, 406–07; treatment of mother 15–17, 32, 38, 68–70, 404–05; visions 31, 34, 42–57, 202–03, 215, 233, 235, 236–37, 238, 240, 248–49, 251, 252, 395–96, 399,

- 401, 405–06; visionary appearances
104–105, 113–120, 118, 119, 131,
171–78, 197–208, 240–41, 278–79,
285–86, 287–89, 296–98, 299, 302–
03, 304–05, 306, 307, 308–11, 321 n.
25, 351, 389 n. 70, 401–02, 410
Dominic of the Preachers, Saint 238, 266 n.
10, 325 n. 64, 380, 390 n. 76, 399, 401
Dominicus of Soto de San Esteban 184
donkeys 148, 300
dove 210 n. 22
Dover 322 n. 32
doves 117–18, 204, 205, 251, 310, 325 n.
66
dropsy 109, 203
Du'l-Nūnids 189
dumbness 96, 105
Dutton, Brian 52, 222, 225, 254, 398, 403
dysentery 109
eagle 333
Easter Sunday 93, 94, 303
Écija 307, 332, 368
Edmund of Abingdon, Saint 243
Egga 138, 144
Elduara, Countess 65
Elia, archbishop of Bari 88
Elvira, donna, wife of Pedro Fernández de
Toro 285
Entequera 381 n. 8, 343, 382 n. 17
Eolalia of Santa María, *demoniaca* 139,
157–58
epilepsy 65, 138, 140, 158, 204, 243, 394
Epiphany, feast of 304, 375
eremitism 33, 35
ermine 116, 204
Ermita de Santo Domingo 103, 124 n. 45
Espanna, *espannol*, *espannón* 230, 266 n.
20
Espejón 11
Estepa 311, 369, 370
Estevan de Aguilar, soldier 349
Estevan de Matrera, servant of the
comendador of Matrera 338, 344, 368,
372, 386 n. 48
Estevan Domingo de Cáliz (i.e., Cádiz),
sailor 295, 346, 351, 370, 387 n. 54
Estevan Pérez de Córdoba 387 n. 56
Estevan, footsoldier of Matrera 345
Ethiopians 34
eucharist 225, 239, 303; see also Dominic
of Silos, Saint: devotion to eucharist
Eufemia of Olmillo, *demoniaca* 136–37,
141
Eustace of Faversham 243
Eutrope, Saint 124 n. 43
Evelasius 94
exoculation 37
exorcism 10, 62, 109, 111–12, 131–64,
204, 239, 243–45, 248, 253, 255
exorcist 142–47, 158, 160, 163, 239
Extremadura 229, 231
Fabian, Saint 87
Facundus, Saint 257–58
faith 119–20, 176, 177, 178
Faith, Saint 174, 177
Falces 100
Falcone 349
famine 40, 68, 69, 225, 230, 242, 251,
252, 395
Fātimids 188
Felix of Bilibio, Saint 33, 232
Felix, Saint 234
Ferán Pérez de Priego, captive in Granada
293, 343, 367
Ferdinand and Isabel, the Catholic monarchs
408
Fernán González 121 n. 11
Fernando de Lorca, farmer 343, 347, 351
Fernando I, king of León 38, 40, 41, 52, 53,
54, 68, 182, 225, 242, 251, 253, 258,
393, 395
Fernando III, king of Castile and León 231,
256, 257–58, 261, 278, 389 n. 70, 411
n. 20
Fernant Domínguez, captive in Ronda 286
Fernant Pérez de Baesça 349, 371
Fernant Pérez de Castro Ordiales, sailor
286, 348, 362, 363, 387 n. 54
Fernant Xuárez, castellan of Arcos de
Lebrija 371
Férotin, Marius, OSB 317
fever 64, 108–111, 114, 225, 394
fig tree 287; figs 338
Finojosa 265 n. 2, 378
Fís Adamnáin 46
Flanders 322 n. 32
Fonte Arcada, monastery 209 n. 10
Fortún Pérez, justice of the king 283–84
Fortún Sánchez, knight of Osuna 301, 368
Fortunius, abbot of Silos 61, 87, 88, 147,
171
Freud, Sigmund 152
Friday 186–88, 308
frontier 149–50, 177, 180, 184, 299
Fructuosus of Braga, Saint 33
Fuente el Fresno 102, 103, 109
Fuentesauco de Fuentidueña 101
Gabriel, archangel 248
Galindus 131, 133, 197, 199
gallinule 408

- Garci Munnoz 242; see also Garsia Munnioz
 García Munnionis of Gumiel 204, 394; see
 also García Munnoz of Gumiel
 García de Burgos 286, 362
 García III Sánchez, king of Pamplona 37,
 38, 40, 51, 71, 183, 235
 García Munnoz of Gumiel 243, 253, 255;
 see also García Munnionis
 García de Córdoba, don, soldier 294, 323 n.
 36, 346, 362, 369, 387 n. 54, 403
 García de la Torre del Campo de Jahén,
 merchant 345
 García de Úbeda, settler in the colony of
 Santo Domingo 362, 347, 370, 376,
 382 n. 32, 388 n. 61
 García Pérez de Lorca, farmer 343, 351,
 365, 375
 García Pérez de Xerez, soldier 343
 García, footsoldier from Zamora 342
 Garsia Munnionis of Gumiel 65–66, 147
 Garsia Munnioz 61, 68, 406; see also: Garci
 Munnoz
 Gaudaxenin, river 360
 Gehinnom 175
generalis acclamatio 92
 Geoffroy of Auxerre 243
 George, Fr 157, 158
 Gerard of Salles, Saint 267 n. 27
 Gerasene demoniac, 136–37, 160, 239, 244
 Giber (Jābr), slave-owner 335
 Gibrien, Saint 124 n. 44
 Gil de Quesada, farmer 343, 356, 367, 386
 n. 48, 388 n. 61
 Gil Pérez de Motos, soldier 343, 362, 367,
 373, 375
 Gil Pérez de Soria, settler in Baena in the
 colony of Sant Pedro 346, 357, 358,
 369
 Gilles, Saint, 124 n. 43
 Gilot, nephew of Pedro de Tovarra 346,
 360, 369–370, 386 n. 48, 387 n. 54
 Giraldo de Sevilla, soldier 345
 glass 48, 408
 goats 148
 goldfinch 408
 Gomersano, infant 95
 Gomessanus, bishop of Burgos 88
 Gómez, *escudero* 282–83
 Gonçalo de Soria 316, 346, 362, 369
 Gonçalo de Sotavellanos, settler en Baena
 299, 344, 351, 364, 368, 375, 380 n. 3
 Gonçalo Roy, maestro de Uclés 381 n. 8
 Gonzalo de Berceo 15, 17, 29 n. 51, 29 n.
 55, 29 n. 60, 236, 280, 341, 350, 393,
 395, 403, 406
 Gonzalo, don, parish priest of Santo
 Domingo (Córdoba) 387 n. 57
 Gonzalo, don, sacristan of Silos 283
 Gospel 92, 201
Gospel of Nicodemus 241
 gota 243
 Gotina 18–22, 106–108, 394, 406
 Granada 9, 27 n. 23, 182, 183, 285, 321 n.
 18, 334, 337, 338, 342, 343, 344, 345,
 346, 348, 349, 354, 355, 358, 361,
 373, 374, 381 n. 8, 382 n. 17
 Gratian 123 n. 39
 Gregory I, the Great, pope 46, 49, 68, 241
 Gregory VII, pope, 83 n. 125, 88
 Gregory X, pope 286
 Gregory, bishop of Tours 46, 65, 78 n. 50,
 114, 123 n. 39, 229
 Grimaldus 3, 4–5, 25 n. 2, 27 n. 30, 32, 34,
 39–40, 42–44, 50, 52, 58–59, 65, 85,
 86, 89, 90, 131–32, 177, 183, 184,
 187, 197, 199, 203, 204, 205, 240,
 241, 243, 250, 252, 334, 392
 Guadalajara 8, 183
 Guadaldulón, river 361
 Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora de 402
 Guadix 300, 334, 337, 342, 344, 345, 346,
 347, 349, 382 n. 17
 Guibert of Nogent 187
 Guimara 390 n. 76
 Hacinas 150
 Hagar 187
 Hagarenes 181–82, 187
 Hamet el Aporchenin 326 n. 71
 hammer 172, 173, 174, 365
 Harrowing of Hell 241, 297, 298
 Hayward, Paul Antony 85
 Helen, Saint 26 n. 10
 hen 357
 Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor 83 n. 125
 heresy 259
 hermits 32, 60
 Hilarion, Saint 267 n. 28
 Hildegard of Bingen 65
 Hinojosa: see Finojosa
 Hippocrates, 152
Hispania 214, 230
 Hispanic liturgy, see Mozarabic Church 132
hispanus 267 n. 20
Historia Roderici 27 n. 18
Historia Silensis 25 n. 1, 38, 41, 55
Historia Translationis Isidori 227
 Hita 8
 Holy Saturday 303
 holy water 205, 239, 285, 393
 Honorius III, pope 323 n. 35

- Honorius, senator 33, 68, 262
 Hormaza 118
 horse 68, 127 n. 64, 148, 159, 178, 231, 233, 244, 300, 306, 339, 358; horseflesh 231, 338
 Huerta del Rey 150
 Hugh, abbot of Saint Martin 42
 Hugues de Lacerta 64
 hunchback 140, 106; see also deformities
 Hyáyel Hádet 341
 hypnoid states 153–54
 hyssop 239
 hysteria 151, 152
 Ibáñez de Segovia, Gaspar 5
 Ildephonsus, Saint, bishop of Toledo 50, 401
incastellamento 319 n. 2
 incubation 116, 209 n. 12
 Innocent III, pope 329
 Iohán Buhón, don 290–91, 324 n. 44, 346, 365, 369
 Iohán de Archos de Lebrixa 345, 364, 368, 362
 Iohán de Bannos, son Alfonso *almocadén* 362
 Iohán de Bermeo: see Iohán de La Marina
 Iohán de Caztala, farmer 341, 346, 365, 369–70, 386 n. 48
 Iohán de La Marina 285–88, 377, 379
 Iohán de los Descalços, Frey 378
 Iohán de Luçena, soldier 343, 358, 366
 Iohán de Marthos, soldier 348, 358, 371, 388 n. 63
 Iohán de Quesada, soldier 343
 Iohán de Santa Yllana (i.e., Santillana), merchant 324 n. 44, 342, 366
 Iohán de Segura, messenger 347, 352, 370
 Iohán Domínguez de Sant Martín del Pino, soldier 343, 363, 366, 374
 Iohán Fernández, prior of Silos 318
 Iohán Martínez de Orduna, Frey 304
 Iohán Martínez de San Román de la Cuba, merchant 287–88, 324 n. 44, 345, 364, 369, 388 n. 61
 Iohán Miguel, *almocadén* of Arcos 381 n. 8
 Iohán Ocoz, *comendador* of Castellán 370
 Iohán Pérez de Jaén, soldier 343, 366
 Iohán Pérez, footsoldier 342
 Iohán Sánchez, scribe 314–16, 334, 340, 342
 Iohán, don, abbot of Silos 10, 320 n. 12, 378, 379
 Iohán, drover, settler in Zambra 342, 366
 Iohán, Prince, son of Alfonso X 344
 Iohán, son of Alfonso Pérez de Lorca 344
 Iohannes Dominici 178; see also Juan Domínguez
 Iohannes of Salas de los Infantes 63, 399; see also Juan de Silos
 Iohannes, mute from birth 105, 115, 117, 215, 216
 irons 140, 173, 244, 270 n. 58, 285, 287, 289, 308, 329, 348, 351, 353, 354, 355, 363, 365, 366–71, 377, 398
 Iruela, La 103
 Ishmaelites 93, 181–82, 186–87
 Isidore, Saint, bishop of Seville 53, 227, 408
 Isole Egadi 349
 Iuan de Lorca, soldier 344
 Iuan Domínguez, captive in Ronda 286
 Iuan Pérez de Jahén, soldier 343, 366
 Iuliana, *demoniaca* 137
 Iustus, sufferer from dropsy 113–14, 143, 202
 Jacob, patriarch 16, 32, 68
 Jaén 342, 344, 361, 366, 371, 387 n. 54
 James, apostle 257, 258; see also Santiago
 Jara de Otrera 346
 Jean d'Abbeville, papal legate 261
 Jerez 344
 Jerome, Saint 160
 Jerónimos (Belém, Lisbon), monastery 180
 Jews 183
 Job 16, 232
 John Damascene, Saint 187
 John of Toledo, cardinal 270 n. 54
 John the Baptist, Saint 93
 John the Baptist, Saint 232 355, 376
 John the Evangelist, Saint 87–88
 Joseph from Kerala 157, 158
 Juan de Silos 239, 246, 255; see also Iohannes of Salas
 Juan Díaz, chancellor 273 n. 103
 Juan Domínguez 226; see also Iohannes Dominici
 Juan Pérez de Jahén, captive in Granada 293
 Juan Pérez, bishop of Calahorra 257, 272 n. 88
 Juanet, child, captive in Almería 387 n. 54
juglares 259–60
 Kruger, Steven 53
 Lacra 369
lacus 175
 Laguna de Cameros 101, 289, 397
 Lambert, Saint 267 n. 26
 lambs 210 n. 22, 348
 lamp 210 n. 22
 Larios de Burgos, soldier 287–88, 294, 306, 345, 362, 368, 387 n. 54

- Last Judgement 237
 last rites 397
 Lateran IV, Council of 221, 239, 329, 240, 303
 Laurence, Saint 69
 lay brother, cure of 63, 66, 238
 Lazare, Saint 209 n. 11
Lazarillo de Tormes 245
 Lechago 102
 leeks, miracle of the, 234, 255, 403, 406
Legenda Aurea 234
 León 227
 Leonard, Saint 180, 284, 325 n. 66
 leper 64, 69, 235, 246
 Lerma 106
 Lewis, I. M. 155
libellus 201
Libro de Alexandre 259–60
 Licianus, monk of Silos 39, 41, 258
 lions 148, 160
 liturgy 91, 95, 112, 206, 285
 Llantad(ill)a 27 n. 18
 Locovil 371
 Logroño 149
 Lorca 313, 318, 330, 345, 366, 367, 370, 387 n. 54
 Lorenzo Pérez, *almocadén* of Bejer 369
 Lorent, don, judge of Beier Castle 369
 Lorent, don, knight of Quesada 369
 Lucena 323 n. 36, 348, 370, 371
 Lucy, Saint 375
 Macrobius 53
 Mahómat Abenmencal, brother of the king of Granada 382 n. 17
 Mahómat Avdela, slave-owner 351
 Mahómat, *adalil* of Córdoba, 278, 289, 377, 389 n. 70
 Mahómat, Moorish guard 357
 Mahómat, shopkeeper 336
 Mahómat, slave-owner 292
 Málaga 304, 307, 332, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 382 n. 17
 Mamblas 150
 Mamblas, Santa María de, monastery 80 n. 77, 140
 Manuel I, king of Portugal, 180
 Manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B.15.21: 273 n. 101; London, British Library, Add. ms. 30854: 46; London, British Library, ms. add. 30850 213; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 12.688 407; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 12.688–89: 411 n. 25; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 780: 411 n. 25; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 275: 4; Madrid, RAE, ms. 5: 4, 6, 10; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 10: 77 n. 44, 403; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 13: 78 n. 50, 83 n. 134; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Aemilianensis 18 213–14; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 12-4-1. 221; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. H-18: 275; Madrid, Real Academia de la Lengua, ms. 4 221; Madrid, Real Academia de la Lengua, ms. 5: 275; Oxford, Laud. Misc. 315: 77 n. 44; Paris, Bibliothèque National, lat. 2444: 77 n. 44; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1458: 3–4; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2637: 213; Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, breviario: 390 n. 77; Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 2: 46; Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 10: 390 n. 76; Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 12: 275; Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. 12: 3, 5, 6, 9–10, 26 n. 9–10, 26 n. 15, 277, 281, 397; Silos, Archivo monástico, ms. B. IV–21: 6, 26 n. 12
 Marbella 346
 Marçales, aldea de Oter de Siellas (i.e., Selas on the Río Mesa (*España & Portugal*, J(6) 23(1), p. 26) 348
 Marchena 368, 387 n. 54
 Mari Pérez de Córdoba 359, 348, 371
 Mari Pérez,
 Maria from Castroceniza 64, 394
 María de Agosín 246, 253
 María de Castrocisneros 234
 María Fernández de Çamora, captive in Granada 343
 María la Baldera de Quesada, concubine 355
 María Martínez de Cantinana, captive in Granada 343
 María Pérez d'Estepa, captive in Granada 343
 Maria, a Basque woman 143, 200
 Marian devotion 269 n. 40
 Mariapariçio, settler in Córdoba in the colony of Santiago 304–05, 335, 346, 356, 362, 369, 382 n. 32
 Marimartín de Serón 285, 303, 305
 Marimartín de Serón, , , ,
 Marimartín de Serón 329–30, 379
 Marinids 275
 Martha, Saint 409
 Martín Bernat 408

- Martín de Cabra, farmer 326 n. 68, 347, 357, 370
 Martín de Mont Falcón, merchant 305, 349, 388 n. 62
 Martín de Xátiva 344, 367
 Martín Domingo de Archos, soldier 345
 Martín Domínguez de Aranda, settler in Seville, *almocadén* 300, 334, 335, 345, 362, 381 n. 8, 382 n. 32, 387 n. 54
 Martín Domínguez de Santa Ella, soldier 301, 343
 Martín Domínguez, *almocadén* of Écija 368
 Martín Mont Falcón, merchant 387 n. 54
 Martín Pérez de La Formosa, resident of Silos 330
 Martin, Saint, bishop of Tours 8, 43, 69, 71, 87–88, 94, 142, 155, 174, 209 n. 11, 240, 243, 351, 376; shrine of, 123 n. 36
 Martin, Saint, bishop of Tours 145, 178, 206
 Martín, abbot of Silos 190
 Martínez Carrillo, María de los Llanos 276, 334–35, 338, 389 n. 68
 Martino, maiordomo 9, 183
 Martinus, a pauper 118, 198–99, 204
 Martos, castle of Calatrava 367
 martyrs 49, 250; see also Acts of the martyrs
 Mary the Egyptian, Saint 232
 Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother of God 50, 55, 200, 296, 350, 401; see also Dominic of Silos: devotion to the Blessed Virgin
 mass 92, 261, 278; see also eucharist, Dominic of Silos: devotion to the eucharist
 Matasejún 101
 Matrera 387 n. 54, 344, 371
 Maurilius, abbot of Fécamp 42
 Mayor, M., missionary 164 n. 6
 Mazuecos 102
 meadow 202
 Medinaceli 104, 171
 Megia 266 n. 10
 Menéndez Pidal, Ramón 8, 9, 192 n. 14
 Mentía, wife of Alonso Pérez de Lorca 344
 Mercedarians 276, 349; see also Santa Olalla of Barcelona
 Messina 305, 349
 mice 116, 118
 Michael, archangel 49, 87–88, 141–46, 200, 244, 286, 288, 359, 375
 Miguel Pérez de Écija, muleteer 346, 370, 386 n. 46
 Miguel Pérez de Úbeda, merchant 345, 362, 369
 Miguel Pérez, *almocadén* of Bejer 369
 Milagros de Nuestra Señora 221, 257
 milk 48, 49
 Millana 102
 minstrels 260
 Minya (Egypt) 321 n. 17
 Miquel de Cetina, don 307–12, 335, 347, 365, 372
Miracula Gloriose Dei Genetricis et Perpetue Virginis Marie 164 n. 3
Miracula Zoyli 248
Miráculos romançados 228, 256, 401, 403; chronological order 372–79; dating 272 n. 81; direct testimony in 329–3; manuscripts, 3, 5, 264–65 n. 2; origin 258; scribal corruption 320 n. 13, 335, 374–76; use to which they were put 10, 304, 341
 Moçot, son of Algalari 352
 Mohámat, Muslim guard 354
 Mohámat, shopkeeper 336
 Momalega, *demoniaca* 27 n. 29, 94, 134, 137–38, 142, 145–47, 156, 159, 163
 Moncino 150
 Monnina from Hacinas, *demoniaca* 134, 142–43, 146, 157, 160, 200
 Montalbo 103
 Monte Falcone 305
 Monterrubio de la Sierra 11, 64, 150, 239, 242, 246
 Montes de Cervera 107
 Montes de Oca 39, 98
 Montesino 12
 Moraçala, Templar castle 370, 387 n. 54
morezno 296, 356
 Morón 368, 369, 387 n. 54
 Moses 16, 32, 67, 203, 232
 Mozarabic Church 5–6, 33, 36, 43, 49, 50, 52, 55, 64, 70, 72, 132; Mozarabic liturgy 89, 112, 205
 Muça Barrabarach 289
 Muça Barrahán 382 n. 19
 Mula 345
 mules 96, 231, 336, 339, 345, 346
 Munio Adefonsi, castellan of Mora 339
 Munio de Zamora, Master of the Order of Preachers 411 n. 8
 Munio Garcia of Yecla 64, 394
 Munio, priest 70
 Muñoz 164 n. 8
 Murcia 341
 Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Burgos 189

- Muslims 8–9, 40, 50, 60, 82 n. 117, 105, 150, 155–58, 162, 171–91, 203, 207, 228, 230–31, 233, 234, 241, 256, 261, 280–81, 282, 287, 289–96, 298–302, 304–19, 328, 331–360, 362, 363–65, 373, 376, 377, 378, 393, 398, 403; see also Hagarenes, Ishmaelites
 mute boy (*Vita Dominici Exiliensis*, III.4) 200
 Muḥammad, founder of Islam 187, 188
 Myra 88
 Navas de Tolosa, Las 230
Navigatio Brendani abbatis 46
 Nebreda, 12, 246
 Nicholas, Saint 87–88, 174, 210 n. 22, 206, 286
 Nicolás de Alcaraz, settler in Lorca 330, 344, 367, 375, 386 n. 48
 Ninove 267 n. 26
niztran 313
 Nona, Alice 154, 162
 Normandy 322 n. 32
 novena 285
 Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Cádiz) 124 n. 45
 Nunno Pérez, mayordomo of Roy Díaz, messenger of the king 348
 Nunno, abbot of San Miguel y Santa María 70
 Nunno, don, killed at Écija 331–32
 Obeyesekere, Ganath 154, 162
 Ocaña 362, 387 n. 54
 Ochoa López, judge 367
offa 108
 Ofresa of Mamblas, *demoniaca* 133, 140–42, 144, 270 n. 58
 Ogéiar, castle 347
 Oguijar del rey de Castiella, castle 369, 387 n. 54; see also Ogéiar
 oil 284
 Olías del Rey 102
 Oliverius 94, 179, 194 n. 34, 327 n. 76
 Olmillos 149
 Oña 13
 ordeals 240
 Ordonius 161
 Ordoño Ramírez, Infante 65
 Oria, anchoress of San Millán 78 n. 50, 250; see also *Vida de Santa Oria*
 Oria, anchoress of Silos 34, 64, 204–05, 239, 249, 261, 393, 395, 406
 Ortoya 149
 Osma, cathedral 254
 Osuna 301, 368, 387 n. 54
 Oter 348
 Otinar, castle 361, 369, 371, 387 n. 54
 oxen 348, 358
 Pablo, don, chaplain of Dominic's shrine 286
 pagans 186, 203, 229
 Pajares 102
 Palencia 97, 179
 Palm Sunday 95, 338
 Palmones 371
 Palomares del Campo 102
 Pamplona 12; Pamplona knives 341, 344, 348, 349
 Pancorvo 105
 papal curia 242
 paralysis 109, 111–112, 136, 139, 246, 302
 Pardos 102
 Paris 229
parrales 237
 partridge 338
 Paschasius Dumiensis 51
 Pascual de Ençiso 329, 351
 Pascual Pérez de Alcaraz, merchant 346, 354
 Pascual Pérez de Priego, captive in Granada 293, 343, 367
 Pascual, bishop of Córdoba 348
 Paternus, abbot of San Juan de la Peña 33
 Paul, Saint 71, 93
 Paul, the first hermit 232
 Pedraza 101, 321 n. 21
 Pedro Coviell de Olvés 281, 302–03, 363, 379
 Pedro de Alarcón, captive in Alicún 344, 367
 Pedro de Quesada, soldier 343
 Pedro de Santarem, sailor 342
 Pedro de Tovarra, messenger 299, 306, 346, 360, 365, 369, 387 n. 54
 Pedro Díaz, governor of Quesada, 353, 371
 Pedro Domingo de la Ronda, dweller in Écija 368
 Pedro Fernández de Toro, soldier 337, 343, 366
 Pedro Gil de Luçena, soldier 343, 351, 364, 365, 367, 374, 378
 Pedro Gonzales, *comendador* of Zambra 370
 Pedro González, Saint 29 n. 48, 165 n. 13
 Pedro Iohán, don, knight of Quesada 369
 Pedro León, prior of Silos 285
 Pedro Martínez de Badaloz, soldier 342, 366
 Pedro Martínez, *almocadén* of Córdoba 381 n. 8
 Pedro Martínez, knight of Alcaudete 369
 Pedro Peláez 82 n. 110

- Pedro Veçent, settler in Córdoba 348, 371
 Pedro, drover, settler in Zambra 342
 Pedro, son of Domingo Sancho the Navarrese, from Córdoba 308
 Pedroso 80 n. 77
 Pegalajar, castle 371
 Peidro de Aragón 243
 Peidro de Llantada 229, 241, 249; see also Petrus of Llantada
 Pelagius Parvus 235
 Pelayo, Froilaz 65
 Pelayo, captive in Granada 272 n. 81, 285, 291, 301, 342, 365
 Pelegrín de Osuna, captive in Algeciras 362
 Pellicer, José 4
 Peñalba de Castro 11, 27 n. 28, 150
 Peñalba de Duero 149, 206
 Peñalba, *demoniaca* of 137, 141, 143, 145–146, 158, 239, 244, 245
 Peñaranda de Duero 12
 Pentecost 93
 periferal cults 155
 periphrasis 262
 Pero Marín, monk and *procurador* of Silos 379–80
 Peter Corrado, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople 376
 Peter Damian 47
 Peter, apostle 71, 173, 195 n. 57, 200, 206, 323 n. 36, 409
 Peter, apostle 88, 89, 93
 Peter, archbishop of Aix-en-Provence 87–88
 Petro Pelagii 65
 Petrus Ferrandi 238
 Petrus of Llantada 8, 175–78, 184–85, 198, 207; see also Peidro de Llantada
 Philip, archbishop of Salerno 10
 Phineas 16, 232
 Picardy 322 n. 32
 pigs 34, 137, 239
 pilgrimage 302; penitential 143; pilgrims 85, 89–103, 110, 149, 234, 245–46, 255, 285, 329
 Pinilla de los Barruecos 150
 Pinillos de Esgueva 149
 Pío de Sajambre 124 n. 45
Poema de Mio Cid, . . .
 Pontoise 118
 Poonkutil House, Kerala 165 n. 9
 Portal de Jerez, El 348
 Pozuelo del Rey 102
 Prádena del Rincón 101, 321 n. 21
 Priego, castle of Calatrava 290, 366
 prisons 171, 175, 228, 241, 276, 337
 Puente de Acolea 389 n. 70
pueros 255, 267–68 n. 30, 403
 Puerto de Santa María 117, 401
 Puerto de Santo Domingo 124 n. 45
 Puig, El 321 n. 18
 Purchena 334, 345
 purgatory 241
 quail 116
 Quesada 367, 369
 Quintana del Pidío 390 n. 76
 Quintana Redonda 367
 Quintanar de la Sierra 139, 150
 Quintanilla de la Viñas 80 n. 77, 149
 Qur'an 187, 188
 rabbit 338
 Ramiro de Matrera 387 n. 54
 Ramiro III, king of León 65
 Ramiro, *almocadén* of Matrera 294, 332, 345, 362
 Ramón Dalmacio, bishop of Roda de Isábena 87–88
 rats 135, 157
razzie: see *cavalgadas*
Real de Abiüçaf 343
reconquista 50, 182, 195 n. 57, 230, 280, 281
 reform, ecclesiastical 88–89, 180, 221
 Reginald of Orléans, Blessed 269 n. 43, 401
 Remón de Mula 345, 352, 368
 Ribarredonda 86
 Richard of Saint Victor, cardinal 87–88, 171, 227
 Rillo 102
 Riofrancos 12, 106
 Rioja Alta 237
 rites of passage 155, 156
 rivers 46, 48, 49, 106, 202, 236, 324 n. 44, 361, 405
 Robert Grosseteste, bishop 270 n. 54
 Rocamadour, Notre Dame de, 3, 25 n. 4, 124 n. 44, 387 n. 54, 389 n. 71
 Roderick, king of the Visigoths 189
 Rodrigo de Baena, captive in Algeciras 343, 359, 386 n. 48
 Rodrigo de Cerrato 380, 391–400, 406
 Rodrigo de Siete Iglesias de Medina del Campo, settler in Collar 298, 344, 368, 382 n. 23
 Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, el Cid 9, 86, 150, 248
 Rodrigo Íñiguez, abbot of Silos 314
 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo 323 n. 35
 Rodrigo, child, captive in Almería 346, 369, 387 n. 54; see also Teresa, Juanet

- Roman liturgy 5–6, 89, 205, 213
 Rome 89, 107, 227
 Romero de Teruel, captive in Almería 362
 Roncesvalles 174
 Ronda 292, 300, 306, 335, 338, 342, 345, 346, 348, 378, 381 n. 8
 rope 172, 179
 Roy Díaz, messenger of the king 348
 Roy Pérez de Jaén 325–25 n. 67, 338, 345, 351, 355, 368
 Roy Sánchez, *comendador* of Alcaudete 368
 Rudericus, *princeps* 108, 206
 Rudesindus, Saint 57, 161, 270 n. 59, 208 n. 1, 208 n. 4, 315
 Rudoph of Saint-Trond 42
 Ruffinatto, Aldo 79 n. 69, 225
 Rute 334, 342, 343, 347, 357, 359, 381 n. 8, 382 n. 17
 Ruy Pérez, knight of Baeça 379
 sacred space 90
 Sahagún, monastery 11, 258
 Saint Bees (Cumbria) 322 n. 32
 Saint-Érige, chapel of 209 n. 11
 Saint-Victoire of Marseilles, monastery 120 n. 9, 121 n. 17
 Salas de los Infantes 12, 143
 Salé 334, 346
 Salerno 82 n. 117
 Salpetrière, La 151–52
 salt 257
 Salvador de Sevilla, merchant (?) 346, 370
 Salvator 116, 117, 118, 204
 San Domingo del Campo 124 n. 45
 San Domingos, church of 124 n. 45
 San Esteban de Gormaz 149, 150
 San Frutos, monastery 121 n. 17
 San Isidoro de León 25 n. 1, 55, 149
 San Juan de Hérmedes de Cerrato, monastery 121 n. 16
 San Juan de la Peña, monastery 33
 San Juan de Tabladiello, monastery 40
 San Martín de Madrid 4
 San Miguel and Santa María of Montesinos 70, 146
 San Millán de La Cogolla, monastery 33, 38, 40, 46, 50, 51, 54, 67, 69, 80 n. 77, 98, 105, 183, 199, 213, 254, 264, 380, 392, 395, 404
 San Pedro de Arlanza, monastery 40, 53–54, 80 n. 77
 San Pedro de Cardaña, monastery 80 n. 77, 86, 272 n. 88
 San Pedro, parish church of Silos 61, 257, 304, 382–83 n. 24
 San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes, monastery 121 n. 16, 148, 159
 Sancha de Cornejana 246
 Sancho de Erro, Count 174
 Sancho de Úbeda, captive in Guadix 300, 349, 353, 371
 Sancho Garçia, son of Garçi Gutiérrez de Haçeves 342, 361, 366, 377
 Sancho III, king of Pamplona 33, 57
 Sancho IV, king of Castile and León 278, 284, 343, 343, 381 n. 8
 Sancho Márquez, *alfoqueque* 348
 Sancho Pérez de Guzmán, abbot of Silos 314
 Sancho Pérez, captive in Granada 354
 Sancho Pérez, cellarer of Silos 377
 Sancho Ramírez, king of Aragón 121 n. 18
 Sancho, a cripple 246
 Sancius, *servus* of Silos 184–85
 Sandwich 322 n. 32
 Sangüesa 100
 Sanlúcar de Barrameda 124 n. 45, 346
 Santa Cruz de la Serós, nunnery, 75 n. 20
 Santa Ella, soldier 349, 371
 Santa Engracia altarpiece 407
 Santa María de Cañas, priory of San Millán, 15–18, 34–36, 40, 50, 68, 101, 233, 237, 392, 395, 401, 404–05
 Santa María de Hoyas 164 n. 8
 Santa María de Mercadillo 150
 Santa María de Nájera 74 n. 10, 76 n. 22
 Santa María de Ribaredonda 9, 12, 105
 Santa María del Campo 164 n. 8
 Santa Olalla of Barcelona 305, 349
 Santander 342
 Santiago de Compostela 87, 89, 107, 113, 121 n. 15, 200, 201, 280, 322 n. 32; cathedral 174, 380
 Santiago, chapel of (Silos) 106, 206
 Santo Domingo de Huebra 124 n. 45
 Santo Domingo de Jarama 109, 103
 Santo Domingo de la Calzada 257, 380
 Santo Domingo de las Posadas 102
 Santo Domingo de Miranda, church of 124 n. 45
 Santo Domingo de Pirón 101
 Santo Domingo de Río Pudio 103, 287, 369, 371, 387 n. 54
 Santo Domingo de Silos, monastery 101, 203, 237; altars 70, 88, 90, 145–46, 171, 173, 206, 242; advocacy 288; church and cloister 7, 26 n. 16, 35, 97, 141, 171, 174; indulgences 10, 376; monks 14, 34, 39, 40, 42, 46, 52, 53, 56, 59, 60, 64, 70, 86, 89, 144, 146, 202–03, 206, 214, 215, 234, 244, 249,

- 251–53, 255, 264, 305, 329, 398, 406;
rituals at shrine 90–97, 112, 144, 179,
281–82, 285; scriptorium 70; shrine
records 10, 12–14, 91, 105, 108, 277,
308, 329–31, 341, 354, 356, 379
- Santo Domingo el Antiguo, nunnery 103,
177, 207
- Santo Domingo PP. Paules, church of 124
n. 45
- Santo Domingo, church of (in Gaztelu) 124
n. 45; (in Pamplona) 124 n. 45
- Santo Dominguito de Val 124 n. 45
- Santos, Los 314, 317–18
- Sanz Suescan, José María 100–01
- Sargant, William 152
- Sarmiento, Fray Martín de, 6, 379
- Saturdays 290, 355
- Saturus, martyr 202
- Sebastian Saint 88
- Sebastián Pérez, captive in Granada 354
- Sebastian, Saint 50, 61, 71, 87, 242, 288
- Segovia 101
- Seljuk Turks 88
- Semeno, bishop of Burgos 56, 59
- Semeno, devotee of Dominic and horse-
owner 127 n. 64
- Semenus of Clunia 93
- sene* 165 n. 12
- Senorina, Saint 57
- sepent: see snake
- Sepúlveda 13, 142, 143, 178, 184
- Sergal 347, 382 n. 17
- Serra d'Alamos, La 124 n. 45
- Serván, 228, 240; see also: Servandus
- Servandus 104, 171–74, 180, 184, 198,
207; see also Serván
- Seville 103, 258, 292, 317, 369, 387 n. 54,
402
- shamanism 153
- sheep 32, 67, 148, 159, 232, 275, 299, 357
- Sheol 175
- Shi'ites 188
- shoelace 105
- Sicily 387 n. 54
- Sierra de Baza 381 n. 8
- Sierra de Cabrera 381 n. 8
- Sierra de Santo Domingo 103
- sign of the cross 34, 135, 393
- Sigüenza 254
- Siloe, pool of 115
- Simeno, bishop of Burgos 7, 85, 121 n. 16
- Simenus of Clunia 181, 184
- Simón de Mont Falcón of the Kingdom of
Sicily, settler in the city of Messina 349,
305, 349, 388 n. 61–62
- Simón de Segura, soldier 338, 342, 366
- Simpronianus, thief 68
- slave auctions: see *almoneda*
- snail 408–09
- snake 107–08, 118, 157, 160, 185, 204,
393–94, 401, 406
- Soissons 117
- spiritual marriage 50, 56
- Stanza di Ruggiero (Palermo) 189
- Stephanus from Peñacova, thief 127 n. 64
- Stephanus, demoniac 136
- Stephen of Muret 58
- Stephen, Saint 93–94, 132
- stoat 117, 118
- stream: see rivers
- Subiaco 164 n. 6
- Sulpicius Severus 71, 209 n. 11
- Sunday 94, 115, 142, 145, 183, 186, 188,
245, 271 n. 59, 301, 304; see also
Easter Sunday, Palm Sunday, Trinity
Sunday
- Sunnites 188
- Sunniulf 46, 69
- swollen hand 242
- Tabladiello, valley 56
- Talavera de la Reyna 103
- Tamayo Salazar, Juan 4
- Tangiers 382 n. 17
- Tarasias 82 n. 111
- Tebar, castle 387 n. 54
- Tejada 150
- Tello Téllez de Meneses, bishop of Palencia
260
- Tellus, demoniac 139
- teló* 185
- Teresa Pérez de Sevilla, captive in Granada
343
- Teresa, sister of Rodrigo de Lorca 346
- Terrazas 150
- Teruel 102
- Thebahardales, castle 367
- Theoprobis, nobleman 82 n. 110
- Thierry, Saint 112
- Thomas Aquinas, Saint 153, 165 n. 10, 292
- Thomas Becket, Saint 216 n. 5, 227
- Thomas of Celano 245
- thurable 200–01
- Tierra de Campos 161
- Tlemcen 350
- Toledo 165 n. 30, 185, 189–91, 198
- Tomás Pérez de Córdoba, merchant 345
- Tordesillas 101
- tornadizo* 293, 341
- Toro 101
- Torralba 101

- Torre de don Xemeno 371
 Torre de Guyllén Pérez 367
 Torremontalbo 101
 Torres de Alicún, castle 353, 371, 368
 Torres de Quesada 367
 Tourette's syndrome 139, 157
treguas 300
 Tres Cellulas 38, 39, 40
 Tresjuncos 103
 Tribaldos 102
 Trinitarians 276, 306
 Trinity Sunday 285
 Trinity, the 228, 259, 262
 Turibius, thief 68
uestiola 116, 204–05
 Ura, river 52
 Uranave 273 n. 103
 Urban II, pope 88
 Urraca, *demoniaca* 140
 Urraca, queen 258
 Val de Santo Domingo 102, 124 n. 45
 Valdeconejos 102
 Valdeganga de Cuenca 102
 Valencia 9, 124 n. 45, 370
 Valeránica, monastery 80 n. 77
 Valladolid 57
 Valvanera, Santa María de, monastery 80 n. 77
 Velasquita 65
 Vélez-Blanco 334, 343, 346
 vengeance miracles 12, 61, 68–70, 90, 94, 109, 112, 113, 116–117, 150–51, 204, 237, 242–43, 305
 Venus 186–87
 Vera 314, 334, 337, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 382 n. 17
 Vergara, Sebastián de, OSB 5
 Vermudo II 38, 65
 Vich, diocese 174
 Victor III, pope 47, 88; see also Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino
Vida de San Millán 221, 236
Vida de Santa Oria 221, 224, 249, 260
Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos 277, 208, 221–64, 280: manuscripts 221–24, 277, 281; importance of escape miracles, 226–31; purpose and date, 254–61; and *Vida de San Millán*, 261–64
 Villafuertes 11
 Villamayor 12
 Villaminaya 103
 Villanueva 12
 Villanueva de Horcajo 103
 Villanueva de Jarama 102, 109
 Villar del Águila 102
vinage 201
 Vincent of Zaragoza, Saint 229
 Vincent, Sabina and Christeta, martyrs of Ávila 53
 Vincentius Hispanus, canonist 270 n. 54
 vines 237
 virginity 50
 Visigothic kingdom 189
 Visigothic script 4–6, 9, 26 n. 15, 27 n. 24, 46, 120 n. 8, 213, 268 n. 35
Visio Drictelmi 77 n. 44
Visio Pauli 46, 49
Vita Dominici Exiliensis: author of, see Grimaldus; continuations to, 3, 10–14, 25 n. 3, 131, 199, 214; interpolations in, 14–24; manuscripts of, 3–7, 9–10, 13, 14, 16; similarities to French hagiographies, 25 n. 2; source of *Vida de Santo Domingo*, 225, 267–68 n. 30; source for Rodrigo de Cerrato, 398–400; structure, 31–32, 43; title of, 25 n. 1; Visigothic manuscripts of 4–6, 9, 13, 261; witnesses used in composition of, 32, 65
Vita Leonis Lucae 392
Vita prima Francisci 245
Vita Stephani Obazinensis 61
Vitas patrum Emeretensium 202
 Vivinera 124 n. 45
 Vulfran, Saint 124 n. 44
 Walter of Compiègne 187
 warfare 38, 180–83, 188, 296; see also *cavalgadas*
 water 323 n. 36, 409; see also rivers
 wax 285, 363
 weasel 116, 118
 Weber de Kurlat, Frida 25 n. 1, 261–64
 weeping 247, 313, 352
weird ideas 157–58
 Wenlock, monk of 78 n. 58, 164 n. 3
 wetnurse 83 n. 134
 Wilfred, Archbishop of Narbonne 183
 William de Somerton 81 n. 95
 William of Malmesbury 117
 William of Tyre 188
 William, bishop of Limoges 42
 wine 62, 269 n. 35, 247, 394, 409
 wolves 135, 148, 157, 160
 Wright, Roger 260, 263
 Yahien Migahelin 382 n. 19
 Yecla 150
 Yoanes Domingo de Sergal 387 n. 54
 Yoanes Domingo, *almocadén* of Baeza 326 n. 71
 Yoanes Domingo, merchant (?) 346

- Yuan Domínguez de Córdoba, soldier 343
 Yuañes de Collar 344
 Yuañes de Serón, don 330
 Yuañes Domingo de Córdoba, shepherd
 293–95, 343, 364, 367, 373, 386 n. 48,
 387 n. 55
 Yuañes Domingo, footsoldier 342
 Yuannes de Mansilla de Cinco Villas 284
 Yuannes Domingo de Baesça, *almocadén*
 347, 370
 Yuannes Domingo de Haro, castellan of
 Caztala 368
 Zafra 381 n. 8
 Zalaca 27 n. 23
 Zambra, castle of Calatrava 342, 370
 Zamora 124 n. 45, 180
 Zaorejas 102, 348
 Zaragoza 9, 179, 408
 Zosimus 78 n. 45
 Zoýl, Saint, see San Zoilo de Carrión

LUCAS, the garrulous bishop of Tuy, included the thaumaturgy of Saint Dominic of Silos as one of the glories of Spain in his mid-thirteenth-century account of the peninsula's history. This study examines the rise to prominence of one of the most important of saints' cults in Medieval Spain and its development throughout the Middle Ages. It interrogates neglected texts such as the late eleventh-century *Vita Dominici Exiliensis* and the late thirteenth-century *Miráculos romañados* (as well as artistic representations and works written outside Silos), and places the more widely known *Vida de Santo Domingo* by Gonzalo de Berceo (†c. 1260) in a new light by firmly fixing its presentation of the saint within the development of the cult. Dominic's veneration became centred upon his role in freeing captives, and a study of this phenomenon provides a focus on the frontier and its settlers through their devotion to the saint, as well as illuminating their view of their Muslim adversaries. This is not the only centre of interest in the book, and a variety of approaches are employed to draw as round a picture as possible of the functioning of this saint's cult, from analysis of the manuscript traditions of the various works discussed to a consideration of the anthropology of Silos as a pilgrimage centre. All quotations are given in both Latin or Romance with an English translation.