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"MENTE IUBILEMUS INTERIUS," UOCE PSALLAMUS EXTERIUS"**

THE MARIAN WORKS OF JUAN GIL DE ZAMORA, OFM

Submitted: Mar. 25, 2024. Reviewed: June 04, 2024. Accepted: July 22, 2024. Abstract: Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora's writings represent the most extensive surviving collection of 13th-century Latin Marian literature in Castile. Covering a broad spectrum of topics and genres, from poetic hymns and sermons to theological treatises and miracle tales, these works offer valuable insights into the Franciscan approach to promoting devotion to Mary among varied audiences. This article provides an overview of Juan Gil's Mariological contributions, emphasizing his "Office of the Virgin", commissioned by King Alfonso x. Juan Gil's writings, primarily didactic, were influenced by his teaching roles within the Franciscan Order and aimed to support preaching. His strategic use of language to inspire devotion aligns with 13th-century mendicant preaching trends. By integrating earlier theological traditions with innovative elements, Juan Gil created a distinctive body of work that served both educational and devotional functions. This article reexamines the "Office of the Virgin" not merely as a pious text but as an integral part of Alfonso x's ideological agenda. By placing the Office within the framework of the king's political theology, new perspectives emerge on its function and its connection to other royal projects. The analysis demonstrates how Juan Gil's work intertwined religious and political narratives, enhancing Alfonso x's image as a devout ruler and reinforcing the political legitimacy of the Castilian monarchy. This study underscores the dual role of Marian devotion in shaping both spiritual and political spheres in 13th-century Castile.

Keywords: Marian Devotion, Juan Gil de Zamora, Castile, Franciscan Literature, Hagiography, Office of the Virgin, Alfonso x, Political Theology.

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In recent decades, historiography, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, has emphasised the importance of studying the cult of the Virgin Mary and its transformations in order to understand multiple aspects of medieval society (Fulton, 2002; Mary..., 2007; Rubin, 2009a,b). The application of fresh approaches and methodologies, such as gender studies, social history, cultural history, and the history of emotions, has demonstrated in various instances that Mary was a vital element of medieval culture.

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One of the most evident outcomes of this scholarship is the recognition of the universality of the Virgin's cult and her ability to connect with people of any background and social status: men and women, monks and clerics, kings and nobles, bourgeoisie and common people with various occupations. Mary had something to communicate to everyone, and at the same time, the various Marian practices of devotion that arose constituted a vehicle for the expression and communication of values and ideals, contributing to the forging and consolidation of specific identities (Rubin, 2009a).

This distinctive capacity of the cult of the Virgin has prompted scholars to investigate its propagandistic utilisation in various contexts (Remensnyder, 2014; Scarborough, 2009). Consequently, the study of the promotion of the veneration of Mary extends beyond the mere observation of the extent of this devotion to encompass an examination of the motives of those promoting it.

The thirteenth century is widely regarded as the golden age of Marian devotion, building on the significant groundwork laid in previous centuries within the monastic domain, particularly in the Cistercian order. Since the eleventh century, the increasing focus on the humanity of Christ fostered the popularity of the Virgin. However, it was particularly during the thirteenth century when Marian devotion spread widely outside of monasteries, permeating the most varied environments of medieval society. Mary's *ubiquity*, as Miri Rubin describes it (Rubin, 2009b: 177, 338, etc.), was made possible to a great extent through the preaching of mendicant friars, especially the Franciscans (ibid.: 197; Medieval Franciscan Approaches..., 2018).

The corpus of works by the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora represents the largest surviving body of Latin Marian literature from the thirteenth century in Castile. It encompasses a wide range of topics and employs a variety of genres, offering valuable insights into the Franciscan's methods of propagating devotion to Mary among disparate audiences.

Juan Gil de Zamora († ca. 1306), or *Iohannes Aegidius Zamorensis* as he called himself in Latin, was a Castilian Franciscan polygraph, who was active during the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. From the little evidence that has remained of his life, we know that he held the position of *lector* of the Franciscans in his hometown of Zamora around 1278, subsequently becoming *custos* of the same city (with jurisdiction over eight convents), provincial vicar at some time around 1292 and until 1296, and finally minister of the Franciscan province of Santiago from around 1300 until his death. His works, written in Latin,

cover a wide range of subjects from history to music, including rhetoric and hagiography among others (Castro y Castro, 1955; Ferrero Hernández, 2009; 2010; Gil de Zamora, 2018; Pérez-Embid Wamba, 2002; Peralta, 2015: 6–13). His work as *lector* in Zamora proves that he passed his studies in a provincial *studium*, and afterwards in one of the *studia generalia* of the Order, probably in Paris, such as were required for this office.

Juan Gil had close ties to the court of Alfonso x and his son Sancho. He composed the Office of the Virgin for the former and two books for the latter. De Preconiis ciuitatis Numantine and De Preconiis Hispanie, which was intended as a Mirror of Princes (Hernández, 2021: 255–306; O'Callaghan, 2022). This work celebrates the history and glories of the land where the prince is to reign, praises the virtues of its great men, condemns the vices of the powerful, enumerates the duties of princes and ends with a short treatise on military art. On the basis of this work and in particular the prologue, in which Juan Gil describes himself as Sancho's "scriptor", historians assumed for a long time that the Franciscan was a sort of preceptor or secretary for the prince. However, most contemporary scholars are hesitant to speculate on whether Juan Gil served as Sancho's tutor, and unless further evidence emerges, they prefer to limit his role to the composition of this particular work (Gil de Zamora, 2014: 17; Gil de Zamora, 2018: 21–22; O'Callaghan, 2022: 129). Nevertheless, it is indisputable that Juan Gil acted as an adviser to the prince at least on one occasion, during a pledge in Zamora in 1278. Furthermore, Professor Hernández has recently convincingly argued that he kept some connection with Sancho until at least 1285 and seems to have supported him during the confrontation with his father (Hernández, 2021: 255).

Juan Gil began his output in a fashion typical of his time, by creating an extensive encyclopaedia of knowledge, from which he subsequently developed more specific treatises (Martín-Iglesias, 2015: 143; Peralta, 2015: 14). This initial compilation, of which only fragments remain, consisted of thematic entries arranged in alphabetical order and was entitled *Historia naturalis, canonica et civilis* (and also called *Archivus sive Armarium scripturarum* or *Mare Magnum*). On the basis of this vast work, Juan Gil subsequently composed more specific treatises including the *Historia naturalis*, the *Historia canonica ac civilis* (also known as *Liber illustrium personarum*), the *Legende sanctorum*, the *Liber Ihesu et Marie*, and others¹.

¹In Juan Gil's mind this obeys to an organised plan: the first encyclopaedia explores the totality of creation (angels, celestial objects, inanimate things, plants, animals, rational

As might be expected, in his production, Juan Gil dedicated significant attention to religious subjects, with a particular focus on the Virgin Mary. His Marian corpus includes a series of sermons on the Virgin², a monographic treatise on her life and miracles (the *Liber Marie*, Bohdziewicz, 2014b), an explanation of the most important Marian liturgical feasts as part of his extensive hagiographic compilation (the *Legende sanctorum*, Gil de Zamora, 2014), and, finally, a metrical office commissioned by King Alfonso x (Gil de Zamora, 2018).

As we will see, three of his Marian works—the sermons on the Virgin, the *Liber Marie* and the *Legende sanctorum*—were directed towards the lesser brothers, with the double purpose of fostering devotion and providing preaching material. Of particular interest is the fourth work, which was addressed to King Alfonso x and was undoubtedly intended for performance at court.

If we accept that the entry "Maria multiplex", the content of which has not been preserved, found in the index of the *Liber illustrium personarum* (Gil de Zamora, 2014: 103), contained information about the Virgin Mary, we can conclude that this was a topic Juan Gil wrote about since the beginning of his career³. There exists additional evidence of Juan Gil's works that focus on the Virgin, however, they have not been located or preserved. This could be the case of a *Liber miraculorum* referenced in the *Liber Marie* and identified by Fita⁴.

beings), the *Historia naturalis* deals with inanimate things, plants and animals, and finally the *Historia canonical ac civilis* focuses only on rational beings. This is explained in the beginning of the latter: "In Libro siquidem illustrium personarum, qui est Liber de Historia canonica et civili, laudet te specialiter creatura rationalis. In Libro siquidem de Historia naturali laudet te creatura vegetabilis, sensibilis et insensibilis. In libro autem, cuius titulus est: Archivus sive Armarium scripturarum, laudet te omnis creatura universalis, angelica videlicet et coelica, elementalis et vegetabilis, sensibilis et rationalis" (Hamy-Dupont, 2017: 161).

 $^2\mathrm{We}$ have notice of 16 sermons that have been edited in the unpublished doctoral thesis by A. Hamy-Dupont (ibid.).

³The preserved entry about Jesus, included in the *Liber illustrium personarum*, proceeding from Juan Gil's *Armarium*, clearly points towards this conclusion. The entry "Maria multiplex" almost certainly contained information about the Virgin and other famous Maries such as Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 61; and especially Gil de Zamora, 2014: 22–23). The *Liber Marie* addresses Her as "Maria maxima Mariarum", pointing towards the same conclusion. Liber Marie, tract. v (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 197).

⁴"Sicut patet per multa miracula, quae in libro nostro de Virgine almiflua sunt digesta, de quibus ad deuotionem uestram unum breue miraculum subscribemus" (Liber Mariae, tract. VII, cap. III). Fita, 1888: 188. Cf. Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 53–54. For the opinion that this book must instead be identified with chapter XVI of *Liber Marie*, see Gil de Zamora, 2018: 32.

When addressing the corpus of works of Juan Gil on the Virgin Mary, it is necessary to keep in mind some essential aspects of his overall output. The first one is its connection with preaching. Preaching constituted a fundamental activity for the friars, for which they required appropriate material. In numerous instances, Juan Gil insists that his writings were compiled in order to assist his Franciscan brothers, or other people (such as the bishop of León Martín Fernández or the anonymous prelate, who commissioned the *Opus sermonum copiosus*), in their task as preachers. This aim is particularly evident in the sermons, the *Liber Ihesu et Marie*, and the *Legende sanctorum*. Furthermore, this applies even to several of his non-religious works, either because they were intended for the linguistic preparation of the future preachers (*Prosodion, Dictaminis Epithalamium*⁵), or because of their moral and didactic character, as it has been shown for the *Historia naturalis*, which contains a valuable collection of moral exempla (Hamy-Dupont, 2014: 88–90; see also García, 2013; Martínez Gázquez, 1998; 2000).

The second aspect that should be taken into account concerns the working methods of the Franciscan. Juan Gil presents himself, as it is indeed the case, as a compiler that gleans information "ex dictis et scriptis orthodoxorum doctorum", organising it to make it easier for others to access that material. Nevertheless, as it has been proven in recent scholarship, Juan Gil was much more than that. For each of his works, he undertook a thorough selection of authors and passages, bringing them together to create a genuine composition that would meet a specific demand (Bohdziewicz, 2014a; Ferrero Hernández, 2019). His production reveals a solid foundation in the liberal arts and familiarity with the oeuvre of the most significant scholars of his era, which suggests a university education⁶.

One last consideration before approaching the Marian works of Juan Gil in detail. It must be noted that, in addition to his encyclopaedic and preaching interest, the Franciscan asserts a devotional purpose for many of his religious writings (Hamy-Dupont, 2017: 258; Ferrero Hernández, 2019). This is suggested by the insertion of meditations in the *Liber illustrium personarum*, as well as introducing groups or categories of sermons in his sermonary and some treatises of the *Liber Marie*. The XVIII treatise of the latter is entirely dedicated to prayers or meditations on the Virgin, with

⁵See Juan Gil's prologue to the *Dictaminis Epithalamium* (Gil de Zamora, 1978: 33–34). ⁶Nevertheless, as has already been noted, he is not included in Vázquez Janeiro's list of Franciscans who graduated in theology from the University of Paris in the thirteenth century (Hamy-Dupont, 2017: 49–50).

a total of 23 included. Furthermore, this devotional intention is directly declared in several passages of his works⁷.

The main sources of all Juan Gil's Marian compositions are three Cistercian authors of the twelfth century: Bernard of Clairvaux, Nicholas of Clairvaux and Adam of Perseigne; and the *Legenda Aurea*. To a lesser extent he turns to the Marian works of Anselm of Canterbury, Paschasius Radbertus, Petrus Damianus, Autpert Ambrose, Hugh of Saint Victor, Vincent of Beauvais, Helinand of Froidmont, Bonaventure, Alcuin, to the *Glossa ordinaria* and to the Latin Fathers of the Church: especially Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose⁸.

The dating of Juan Gil's works is difficult to settle with precision, since some of them still lack a critical edition. Many times it is only possible to achieve an internal chronology of his output, based on references of his writings. According to the chronology of the whole Egidian production

7"Hoc igitur amore et horum amore atractus et illectus, Ihesu scilicet et Marie, duos cogitaui libros in eorum titulum compilare in confutatione errantium, ad confirmationem credencium, ad illuminationem et inflamatione proficiencium et ad contemplationem et degustationem seu dulcedinem perfectionem" (Meditatio prohemialis in librum de Ihesu et Maria. Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 162).

"Ipsa uero preconia cedunt in Virginis commendationem, in legentium contemplationem, in predicatorum informationem et in audientium deuotionem" (Liber Marie. Tract. VI, meditatio prohemialis. ibid.: 206).

"Sicut patet per multa miracula, quae in libro nostro de Virgine almiflua sunt digesta, de quibus ad devotionem vestram unum breve miraculum subscribemus" (Liber Marie. Tract. VII, cap. III. ibid.: 267).

"Incipit prologus in librum Ihesu Nazareni filii summi regis primogeniti et heredis quem edidit frater Iohannes Egidii de ordine fratrum Minorum in titulum et preconium eorum et contemplacionem cordium deuotorum" (Liber Ihesu. Incipit. Gil de Zamora, 2014: 26)

"Explicit liber almiflui Dei filii Ihesu Christi, cuius incarnatione excitamur ad deuotionem, cuius natiuitate allicimur ad dilectionem, cuius circuncisione monemur ad subiectionem, cuius apparitione manu ducimur ad ipsius inquisitionem, cuius passione inducimur ad conpassionem, cuius resurrectione obligamur ad gratiarum actionem, cuius ascensionem subleuamur ad contemplationem, cuius missione spiritus sancti introducimur ad annum iubilei, ubi est omnimoda quies corporis et anime cum Ihesu Nazareno, Ihesu, inquam, meo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen" (Historia canonical ac ciuilis. ibid.: 23)

"De hoc igitur Ihesu meo tam dulci, tam suaui, tam potentifico, sapientifico et salubri libellum in contemplationem et consolationem religiosorum pauperum Christum Ihesum pauperem sequentium et Franciscum eius signiferum compingentes, primo tractabimus..." (Historia canonica ac ciuilis. Litera I. "Ihesu". ibid.: 27)

"Incipit meditatio afectum anime alliciens et mouens ad deuotionem et contemplationem sollemnitatis omnium sanctorum. Quam meditationem ordinauit frater Juannes Egidii doctor fratruum Minorum..." (Historia canonica ac ciuilis. Litera O. "Omnes sancti". ibid.: 104).

⁸Cfr. The Critical edition of each of the works cited above.

provided by Estrella Pérez (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 25-28), his Marian works would have appeared in the following order:

- (1) The sermones virginales, as part of his books of sermons. We know that the Liber sermonus copiosum should have been completed before the composition of the Liber illustrium personarum in which it is mentioned, i. e. before 1282/88. We know nothing about the chronology of any previous book of sermons⁹.
- (2) The hypothetic entry "Maria" in the *Liber illustrium personarum* (between 1279 and 1282/88¹⁰).
- (3) The Officium almiftue Virginis (finished before the death of Alfonso X, to whom it is dedicated, 4.04.1284): since we know it was written in Zamora, as Juan Gil reveals in the prologue, the composition of the office can be situated after Juan Gil's return to Spain, somewhere around 1278¹¹.
- (4) The second part of the *Liber Ihesu et Marie*, i. e. the *Liber Marie* (after 1268¹² and before the conclusion of the *Legende sanctorum*, i. e. before 1289).
- (5) The entries that correspond to the 4 Marian feasts in the *Legende* sanctorum (between 1279 and 1289).

This approximate time frame places Juan Gil's Marian production, as well as the rest of his works, in the decades of the 1270s and especially 1280s. During this period, Gil served as a lector of the Franciscan *studium* of Zamora, a role that may have prompted his desire to systematically compile the knowledge of his era to enhance accessibility for his pupils. His wisdom must have been appreciated in the Order, since he was asked to write several books aimed at helping his brothers in their predication, and even General Ministers asked him to compile specialized treatises¹³. This last fact, together with his use of the Latin language and the dispersion of the manuscripts that contain his works all around Europe, is proof of the

⁹On these different books of sermons, see what is explained below.

¹⁰For the last date, see Gil de Zamora, 2014: 32-33.

¹¹See Gil de Zamora, 2018: 85.

¹²For the identification of this *terminus post quem*: Gil de Zamora, 2014: 33–34. If we assume that it was based on the *Liber illustrium personarum*, we should place its composition after the conclusion of that work, i. e. after 1279.

¹³It is the case of his *Ars Musica*, composed on Johannes de Mirovalle's request, who ruled the Order from 1296 to 1304. His *Contra Venena* is also dedicated to a general minister, Raymond Geoffroy, although we do not know if it was commissioned by him or was Juan Gil's initiative (Ferrero Hernández, 2009: 19).

international vocation of his output (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 28): something most probably related to the years of formation he spent in Paris.

It is reasonable to assume that this recognition extended to his Marian writings. Otherwise, is it feasible that someone with the preoccupation for knowledge of the King Alfonso X, who certainly had a team of experts working in the creation of the colossal project of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, as well as cultivated clerics at his service¹⁴, may have commissioned him an *Officium* of the Virgin for its use at the court?

A CORPUS OF WORKS FOR THE USE OF THE FRIARS

1. THE BOOKS OF SERMONS

It is probable that at least some of the sermons were composed quite soon by the Franciscan. According to Peralta (Peralta, 2021), Juan Gil followed in his sermonaries the same strategy as in the rest of his production: he initially compiled an extensive sermonary, for all the different situations that a preacher could face (*Opus sermonum magnum*), from which he later made a smaller version (*Opus sermonum parvum*, called also *Liber sermonus copiosum*)¹⁵, as well as a collection of sermons on virtues and vices (*Breviloquium sermonum virtutum et vitiorum*) for the bishop of León, Martín Fernández (Peralta, 2015). This last collection is the only one that can be given an approximate dating based on the years that Martín Fernández carried out his ministry in León (1254–1289).

Leaving aside the *Breviloquium*, both the big collection and the smaller one are divided into 12 categories: sermons for all the Sundays of the Liturgical year, including the feasts of Christ (*sermones temporales*); for the feasts of the Virgin (*sermones virginales*), the angels, the Holy Cross, the different categories of saints—apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors...—(*sermones sancturales*) and for a wide range of different pastoral situations (see categories 6–12).

- (1) Sermones temporales
- (2) Sermones uirginales
- (3) Sermones angelorum

¹⁴On Alfonso x's scriptorium see especially, Fernández Fernández, 2020.

¹⁵Proof for the distinctions of these two sermonaries provided by Peralta is the text copied by Francisco Méndez in 1777 from the explicit of the Liber Ihesu: "Prefatas vero materias a Nativitate Christi usque ad Sancti Spiritus missionem, si quis plenius habere voluerit requirat in opere magno Sermonum nostrorum. In parvo enim opere sucinte traduntur, comunes Sermones, et generales, licet eumdem habeat Prologum utrumque opus". Peralta, 2021: 321.

- (4) Sermones de cruce
- (5) Sermones sancturales
- (6) Sermones curiales
- (7) Sermones conuentuales
- (8) Sermones synodales
- (9) Sermones pro dedicationibus templorum
- (10) Sermones pro consecrationibus monialium
- (11) Sermones in processionibus et clamationibus populorum
- (12) Sermones pro exequiis mortuorum

As we can appreciate, these two collections included sermons on the main Marian feasts, although only those in the two manuscripts containing the smaller compilation were preserved. Nevertheless, Hamy-Dupont has demonstrated that at least 10 sermons of the Virgin were intercalated in the *Liber Marie* (Hamy-Dupont, 2017), 8 of which are not found in the *Opus sermonum parvum*. It can be assumed that these proceeded from the major collection, which thus contained at least 16 sermons on the Virgin: 4 for each of the 4 big Marian feasts (the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption).

These texts follow the structure of university sermons. The exposition is based on a thema, a quotation from the Holy Scripture. After a brief introduction to the subject (introductio thematis), and a reference to a current issue that requires correction (divisio), the different parts of the sermon are announced (declaratio partium). These are then explained in order, following the method of dilatatio, which may include recourse to authority (biblical, Church Fathers or other ecclesiastical writers and philosophers), explanation of the Scripture, prefiguration, the use of examples (exempla) and comparisons. The sermon usually ends with a doxology in praise of God (Gil de Zamora, 2011: 55–62).

2. THE HAGIOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

The Legende sanctorum is a big hagiographic compilation, structured, like an encyclopaedia, in alphabetical order. Its main sources are Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea and Jean of Mailly's Abvreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum (Gil de Zamora, 2014: 19). Juan Gil explains that it is an abbreviation of the lives of the saints featured in one of his major works,

the *Historia illustrium personarum*. It is designed as a more portable and accessible volume for preaching purposes¹⁶.

The aim of the entries concerned with the feasts dedicated to Mary is to describe the events honoured on each occasion: the Nativity of Mary, the Annunciation (including the Visitation), the Purification, and the Assumption into Heaven. The narration of these events is a vivid story presented to the imagination, full of dialogues and details, that relies heavily on the *Legenda Aurea*. However, and this differentiates these entrances from other lives of saints in the book, the narration is constantly interrupted by pious considerations and prayers in first person, mainly from saint Bernard, with whom the reader (or the hypothetical audience of the sermon) is invited to join the scene and somehow interact with the Virgin. Thus, Juan Gil is providing his brethren with material that fits perfectly with the preaching method of the Franciscans, leading to what has been called *affective meditation*.

Finally, the explanations of the feasts of the Annunciation and the Assumption are completed by several miracle tales that Juan Gil presents as proofs of the dogma.

THE LIBER MARIE

The same equilibrium between explaining the doctrine and providing material for contemplation can be established for the *Liber Marie*, although the latter was conceived as a summa of Mariology that covers everything related to this cult in an orderly manner.

The opening meditation (meditatio prohemialis), which combines several passages from Adame of Perseigne, sets the reader in a contemplative mood, which is characteristic of the author and constitutes one of the keys to understanding his entire oeuvre. It is a highly mystical prayer, from which I present several lines that effectively convey the author's desired tone¹⁷:

¹⁶Legendas eorum, iuxta uotum et desiderium plurimorum, in libris nostris de Ystoria canonica et ciuilis prolixe tradidi, eo quod eisdem utilius esse credidi. Nunc autem, quia fratres nostri patris sancti Francisci emuli, tenues paupertate, gaudent breuitate, maxime quia, cum ad predicandum exeant, tantum honus librorum secum defferre non possunt, idcirco ipsis instantibus et supplicantibus, ex multis pauca excerpsi, que in hoc libro breui calamo et atramento fluido exaraui, pauperum crucifixi respiciens necessitatem pocius quam utilitatem" (Gil de Zamora, 2014: 132).

¹⁷Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 162. The translation is mine.

Ihesus enim et Maria religiose anime sunt melodie musicorum, decores colorum, respirationes odorum, dulcores saporum, honesti amplexus spiritualium brachiorum etiam solutionum omnium questionum. Ihesus et Maria religiose anime sunt scola uirtutum, angelorum scala, hominum erudicio salutans, piscina misericordie et pietatis, regula euangelice ueritatis, statera iustictie ac equitatis. Ihesus et Maria sunt fontes dulcedinum, sponsores amorum, affectiones castorum osculorum, confabulationes animorum, consolationes et recreationes tubulorum¹⁸. Ihesus et Maria sunt uere amanti sole lucidiores, luna pulcriores, niue candidiores, antiquo ebore rubicundiores et quolibet odorabili fragantiores. Per Ihesum et Maria mundi luctus depellitur, planctus penalis absoluitur, tristicia criminis aboletur, celestis letitia restauratur. Ihesus et Maria sunt refectio repatriantium, amantium se dulcor unicus et ad se peruenientium, leticia proficientium, peruenientium plenitudo. Ihesu et Marie caritate nichil felicius, cui tantum est in uicia odium, in homines amor, in angelos transitus, desiderium in eternis. Ihesu et Marie amor dissidentia unit, disiuncta compaginat, peruersa corrigit, bona dirigit et obtima queque custodit. Amor Ihesu et Marie in sapiencia proficit et ad splendorem prouehit sempiternum.

For pious souls, Jesus and Mary are the melody of musicians, the beauty of the colours, the breath of fragrance, the sweetness of taste, the honest embraces of spiritual arms, and the solution to all needs. For pious souls, Jesus and Mary are a school of virtues, the ladder of angels, bringers of enlightenment to humanity, a pool of mercy and piety, rule of evangelical truth, balance of justice and equity. Jesus and Mary are a sweet source, the love of spouses, the affection of a chaste kiss, harmony between souls, comfort and enjoyment of the afflicted (?). For their authentic lovers Jesus and Mary are brighter than the sun, more beautiful than the moon, whiter than the snow, ruddier than rubies, and more fragrant than any perfume. Through Jesus and Mary, the world is freed from mourning, the penitent weeping is absolved, the sadness of crime is abolished, and heavenly joy is restored. Jesus and Mary are rest for those returning home, unique sweetness for those who love them and come to them, happiness for those parting, and fullness for those arriving. There is nothing more joyful than Jesus and Mary's love, which is the same as hatred of vice, love for others, ascension to the angels and desire for the eternal. The love of Jesus and Mary unites the separated, reconciles the disunited, corrects the perverse, directs the good and safeguards the best. The love of Jesus and Mary benefits wisdom and leads to eternal glory.

The fact that the *Liber Marie* is conceived as the second part of a *Liber Ihesu et Marie* inserts the whole Mariology of the Franciscan in a solid

 $^{18}\mathrm{The}$ term "tubulus" does not seem to make any sense here. If we instead read it as "tribulorum" it can be easily understood. I do not have access to the manuscript, so I cannot say if this is a mistake made by the editor.

Christology¹⁹. The first three chapters of the work deal with the prefiguration of Mary in the Old Testament, a relevant element in the whole Marian production of the Franciscan (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 37). Chapters IV to XV detail the earthly life of the Virgin from her conception to her Assumption. These are followed by a collection of miracles (chapter XVI), an exhortation to virgins and widows (chapter XVII) and a collection of 23 prayers in alphabetical order (chapter XVIII).

Juan Gil anticipates the major aspects of his vision of the Virgin in the *prohemium*, where he explains the title of his book, in which he asserts to have consciously mentioned both the virginity and the maternity of Mary, emphasizing his desire to honour both the Son and the Mother.

Post primum librum editum in titulum et preconium Ihesu Nazareni, Filio summi Regis primogeniti et heredis, sequitur secundus liber editus in preconium et in titulum almiflue Matris eius. Marie, Matris alme Regis Ihesu altissimi, libellum in nostre mentis compaginibus preconcepimus sigillare tamdem et ad hedificationem legentium exterius annotare in titulum tante Virginis et in titulum tante Matris, in titulum seu preconium tanti Filii tante Matris (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 165).

Our initial reaction to this text is that all those elements that Juan Gil claims to cover in the title were nevertheless not included, at least explicitly, since the title reads simply "Liber Marie". Where, then, are the references to the "Mother" and the "Virgin"? Where is the mention of her Son? The answer is hidden in the deciphering of the name of Mary, provided by Juan Gil: Maria corresponds to "Matris alme Regis Ihesu altissimi" (Holy Mother of the Highest King Jesus). The name is to be interpreted as an acronym, in which each letter corresponds to a word, in a fashion very extended during the Middle Ages²⁰, although we have been unable to find this precise usage in any other author. Thus, Juan Gil truly offers a very condensed summary of his work in its title. All the mentioned elements are here, if we assume

19"Hoc igitur amore et horum amore atractus et illectus, Ihesu scilicet et Marie, duos cogitaui libros in eorum titulum compilare in confutatione errantium, ad confirmationem credencium, ad illuminationem et inflamatione proficiencium et ad contemplationem et degustationem seu dulcedinem perfectionem. Primus autem liber erit de Ihesu Nazareno, Filio summi Regis, primogeniti et heredis. Secundus intitulabitur liber Virginis Marie, almiflue Matris eius. Titulus ergo libri talis est: liber Ihesu et Marie" (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 164). About the Liber Ihesu see Martín-Iglesias & Pérez Gordillo, 2021.

 $^{20}{\rm Alfonso}$ x's Cantiga 70 dwells as well upon the name of Mary, giving however multiple interpretations to each of the letters CSM. 70.

that an allusion to the virginity of Mary is present in the adjective "alma" (here used as "holy", or "pure"²¹).

Another central aspect of Juan Gil's Mariology that can be apprehended from the structure of the *Liber Marie*, is its concern about Scripture. As we said, the first three chapters deal with the prefiguration of the Virgin in the Old Testament (some of the discussed fragments are: Gen 3:15, Ex 17:6, Ct 3:6, 4:7, 6:9, Is 7:14). The typological interpretation of the Old Testament is also strongly present in the sermons of the Virgin—almost all parting from a quotation (thema) of the Old Testament—and in the use of multiple metaphors of Mary throughout the Franciscan's production: burning bush, Aaron's rod, ark of the Covenant, stem of Jesse, fleece of Gideon... The following eleven chapters of the *Liber* have to do with the life of the Virgin and follow the Gospels, adding significant evidence from the Apocrypha, which nevertheless is granted less authority, as Juan Gil clarifies in the prologue²². This has led some scholars to consider the book an early example of the genre of Mary's lives (Arronis Llopis & Baños Vallejo, 2014: 72–73).

It is in this narrative and scriptural framework that Juan Gil discusses such theological topics as the assumption (Chapter XIV) or the conception and sanctification of Mary (Chapters IV-V). About the Assumption in body and soul he states, that although it is not testified by Scriptures, it is nevertheless credible, since there is no notice of her tomb or place of burial, something believers would have certainly kept memory of and transmitted if existed²³. The chapter devoted to this topic starts with a meditation and

²¹Regarding the use of this word by Juan Gil, E. Pérez notices that, apart from its classical sense as "nutritious", "nourishing" or "revitalizing", during the Middle Ages it was used to refer to God and the saints with the meaning of "divine, venerable, sublime, holy" (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 121). The more precise meaning as "pure" in this context is suggested by another passage from one of the meditations of the *Liber*: "Maria, mater alma et fecunda uirgo, mater et incorrupta..." (ibid.: 202), in which "mater alma" and "fecunda uirgo" are used as a pair of oxymorons to express the mystery of Mary's simultaneous virginity and maternity.

²²"Si qua in hoc libello propter deuotionem legentium scribuntur appocripha, ut appocripha esse uolo, sicut uerba Iacobi, filii Alphei et euangelium Nichodemi et quedam alia, que ad deuotione tantummodo conscribuntur. Quecumque uero hic et alibi a me scripta sunt, accipiatur absque preiudicio sentencie melioris" (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 164).

²³"Ipsa enim surrexisse in corpore et in anima, licet autentica nulla Scriptura testetur, ex eo tamen credibile est quia nulla ubique terrarum de presencia eius opinio habeatur. Plurimorum corpora martirum diuinitus reuelari noscuntur. Quomodo ergo Matris corpus sine honore in terris sineret occultari qui legem scripsit de parentibus honorandis?" (ibid.: 170). See also Tractatus XIV "De almiflue Virginis dormitione et ipius in celum assumptione et annorum uite sue conputatione quartus decimus tractatus" (ibid.: 337–370).

follows with the narration of the events according to tradition, including reflections on the number of years Mary lived on earth.

Regarding the more controversial issue of the conception, Juan Gil gives notice of being aware of the different opinions regarding the matter²⁴. He explains that he believes Mary was conceived in sin (conceptam esse credimus in peccato) but was nonetheless sanctified in her mother's womb prior to birth (in another place, he states that Mary was "in utroque super angelos exaltata"). In his view, is this sanctification rather than the conception itself (conceptionem seminum / conceptionem naturarum) that is liturgically celebrated in the feast of the Conception of the Virgin²⁵. In addition, he states that after sanctification the Virgin was preserved of all sins²⁶. This position, known as the "sanctificatio in utero", was previously prominently defended by Bonaventure (who developed the doctrine of Bernard of Clairvaux), whose works are extensively cited in the *Liber*. From him Juan Gil also drew the teaching of the "double sanctification" of Mary: first in the womb and second after Her birth²⁷. It is also noteworthy the omission of the feast of the Conception of Mary in the Legende sanctorum, which must be understood as a consequence of the opinion expressed in the Liber Marie: those celebrating the feast should not be reprehended, but neither should they be praised²⁸.

²⁴"De sanctificatione eius a diuersis doctoribus uarie decertatur. Quidam enim dicere uoluerunt in anima gloriose Virginis graciam preuenisse maculam originalis peccati. [...] Aliorum uero positio est quod sanctificatio Virginis subsequta est originalis peccati et contractionem" (Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 197).

²⁵"Et ideo non est concepcio habendo respectum ad conceptionem seminum ab Ecclesia celebranda, sed per respectum ad sanctificatione, que facta est post conceptionem naturarum, id est unionem anime ad corpus, que naturarum conceptio nuncupatur" (ibid.: 192). On this topic: Marchand & Baldwin, 1987, Hamy-Dupont, 2017: 217–226. More generally on the discussion in medieval Hispanic literature see Twomey, 2008.

²⁶"Et ita fuit inmunis secundum Augustinum in libro de Natura et Gracia et secundum Bernardum Ad Lugdunenses ab omni culpa tam ueniali quam mortali per sanctificationis graciam copiosam" (Liber Marie, tract. v. Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 201).

²⁷"Propter quod notandum est quod iuxta uerbum propheticum decet domum Dei sanctitudo et spiritualem domum decet sanctitudo. Cum igitur almiflua Mater Christi dupliciter fuerit domus Dei, scilicet quod ad inhabitationem spiritualem in mente et quo ad inhabitationem corporalem in carne. Iuxta hoc duplicem sanctificationem meruit obtinere. Prima fuit sanctificatio mentis, secunda uero ipsius carnis, quia uero maior fuit effectus secunde sanctificationis eciam usque ad carnem oportuit quod maior esset copia gracie sanctificationis" (Liber Marie, tract. v. ibid.: 200; Bonauentura, 1887: 77).

²⁸"Sunt tamen aliqui qui ex spirituali deuotione celebrant conceptionem beate Virginis, quos nec omnino laudare nec simpliciter audeo reprehendere" (Liber Marie, tract. IV. Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 194). The overall image of Mary in this work is that of the Mother of God, chosen from eternity for this mission and filled with privileges from the moment of her conception. Mary is presented as the holiest and most perfect of creatures, united in a unique and special way to her Son and therefore also possessing an incomparable power, greater than that of all the saints. Mary is finally the Merciful Mother of mankind, with whom she exercises solicitous and constant care. All this is conveyed through a rich variety of images and arguments from the tradition of the Church, which are seldom innovative. Nevertheless, there can be found several examples for which we do not know precedents. This is the case of the already mentioned way of addressing Mary, very often used by Juan Gil, as "Mater alma Regis Ihesu altissimi". Another example, although only used once in the book, is the original naming of the Virgin as "our abbess" alongside the more conventional "Queen" in the context of the Assumption²⁹.

To summarize, the *Liber Marie* presents an exhaustive exposition about the figure of Mary, that is far from being a conventional theological treatise. It combines exegetical reflections with extensive narrative sections and a constant contemplative and laudatory interest, expressed in meditations, prayers and hymns. All these elements make it difficult to categorize the *Liber Marie* simply as a theological, hagiographical, or devotional work, and point rather towards a sort of Marian encyclopaedia, something in perfect accordance with the spirit of its author. It seems reasonable to suppose that the *Liber Marie* resulted from the reorganisation of all the Marian writing of Juan Gil, including the sermons, the *Liber Illustrium personarum* and maybe the Office. Thus, the aim of this work would be, in my view, related to the formation of the friars (spiritual as well as intellectual) and the preparation of preaching (Castro y Castro, 1955; CVIII).

AN OFFICE FOR THE ROYAL COURT

As Cándida Ferrero has observed, Juan Gil's production adhered to a pedagogical plan aimed at reaching society through the formation of the

²⁹The significance of these two expressions is similar, alluding to the exaltation of Mary in Heaven and the power conferred on Her over humanity. "Plane supra omne genus humanum ascendit usque ad angelos, sed ipsos eciam superat et trascendit et celestem omnem supergreditur creaturam. Et ideo sicut ad primatem est recursus de omne grauamine, ita quoque ad Virginem gloriosam, quam Deus in celis nobis constituit abbatissam. [...] Ascendens igitur in altum Virgo beata dabat omnibus ipsa dona. Nec mirum quia nec facultas sibi deerit nec uoluntas. Regina celorum est et misericors et Mater omnipotentissimi Ihesu Christi" (Liber Marie, tract. XIV. Bohdziewicz, 2014b: 337).

friars and the kings (Ferrero Hernández, 2019). The majority of his religious writings were directed towards the former, while his *De preconiis Hispanie* and the *Officium* were aimed at the latter. If the initial text is correctly identified as a *Speculum principum* for King Alfonso x's son Sancho, the Virgin's office is yet to be recognised as a pedagogical and political text and has been treated solely as devotional, despite Pérez-Embid's warning, that "this work is of great importance in the process of the formation of the monarch's Marian ideology" (Pérez-Embid Wamba, 2002: 305).

The Office has been preserved in a single copy, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, which could have been made for Juan Gil himself, as the editor suggests (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 179). The manuscript, although not luxurious, was carefully written and revised by two professional scribes, probably from Juan Gil's convent (ibid.). Before the Office, it includes the *Liber Marie*. This fact leads the editor to make another suggestion: the volume would have been made for the devotion of the friars of the convent of Zamora or, less likely, someone else external to it, such as the king or a nobleman (ibid.: 171–172).

Regardless of the owner of the book, in the letter that precedes the Office, Juan Gil clearly addresses King Alfonso x as the commissioner of the text (ibid.: 214):

Incipit OFFICIVM ALMIFIVE VIRGINIS, quod composuit frater Io(annes) Egidii apud Zamoram ad preces et insta<n>ciam illustrissimi Aldefonsi, regis Legionis et Castelle. [...] Officium almiflue matris alme regis Ihesu altissimi, pro cuius ordinatione deuote uestra serenitas michi scripsit, uestre mitto magnificencie per presencium portitorem

Here begins the Office of the Blessed Virgin, composed by Brother Iohannes Egidius in Zamora, at the request and requirement of the noble Alfonso, King of León and Castile. [...] Herewith I send to Your Majesty the Office of the Holy Mother of the Most High King Jesus, for which composition Your Serenity devotedly wrote to me.

It is therefore a king's personal request; we may assume for his devotion and that of his court. It is then a text written with this special commission in mind: an office to serve the spiritual needs of the royal court.

Juan Gil's office is versified and follows the Roman cursus (cathedral use). While the oldest surviving Marian offices date back to the eleventh century, it was not until the thirteenth century that they gained popularity (Fulton, 2017: 17–18). The versified office was a genre widely cultivated by the Franciscan friars.

Only two of the eight canonical hours have come down to us in Juan Gil's office: the first: the *matutinum* and the *laudes*. Although this type of office was intended to be sung, we lack any preserved indication of the melody with which it was to be performed. The core of each hour consisted of several psalms. These were accompanied by antiphons, responsories and readings. According to the author of the latest critical edition of this work, the metrical offices are peculiar in that they constitute "a closed and perfect whole in itself, a story" (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 77).

It is not clear whether the office of Juan Gil was intended for daily recitation (the so-called *officium parvum*) or for some special liturgical occasion. The editor favours the latter, proposing that it could be an office for the feast of the Annunciation, based on the importance of this topic in the office and the length of the readings, which she considers too extensive for everyday use (ibid.: 105).

On the example of the *libellus precum* written for Otto III (983–1002), Sarah Hamilton has illustrated how books created by the clergy for the devotion of monarchs could serve as instruments for influencing and shaping the piety of the king: "libelli precum offered concrete guidance to rulers in how to pray, and through the texts of their prayers sought to guide their thoughts" (Hamilton, 2001: 260). In this respect, it is interesting to note that sometimes such prayer books also contained a mirror of princes (Boynton, 2008: 267).

The same can apply to liturgical offices, composed frequently on special requests. In particular, it was not uncommon during that period for such offices to be arranged explicitly for nobles or kings. The existent freedom for selecting antiphons, hymns, and office readings, made it possible to modulate the psalms to be read in a certain way, as Professor Rachel Fulton Brown has masterfully explained in her book on the Hours of the Virgin (Fulton, 2017). Thus, the selection of these texts, that crafted a specific narrative, was often made with the needs of the readers they were addressing in mind.

The psalms for matins and lauds were always the same, so we cannot look here for traces of a special "personalisation" of the office by Juan Gil. On the other hand, the antiphons, responsories and readings that accompanied them varied, framing them, and suggesting a specific interpretation. The hymn and antiphons for Matins narrate the life of the Virgin Mary, whereas the readings delve into its theological significance and address Her as intercessor.

The opening of the office is an example of Juan Gil's proposal for a particular interpretation of the psalms. Matins always begins with an incitement to praise God through Psalm 94: "Venite, exultemus Domino". Juan Gil

precedes this psalm with an invitatory, inspired by that of the office of St. Clare, which serves as a devotional frame for the whole text. The exhortation here is to praise Jesus incarnated in the Virgin's womb inwardly and outwardly: with mind and voice in unison (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 215):

Ihesu, qui carnem induit uirginei pudoris, in cuius carne ferbuit stupendi uis amoris mens iubilet interius uox concinat exterius in organis sonoris.

This invitation is developed in a striking way in the hymn, which begins the narration of the Virgin's life that will be followed by the antiphons. Here we are told of the time that, according to tradition—taken from the apocryphal Gospels, following the *Legenda aurea*—Mary spent in the temple of Jerusalem during her childhood. The author takes advantage of this scene to describe the Virgin devoutly praying the psalms of David at the customary hours, i. e. doing *exactly the same* as the reader of the office at that moment (ibid.: 217):

A mane usque terciam laudibus insistebat; post hec totam industriam ad opus conuertebat. ad cantica Dauitica post rediens ut siciens tempus sic expendebat.

The aim is to offer the Virgin to the reader's imagination as an example of devotion, using existing traditions to underline the similarity between Mary's prayer and that of the reciter of the office: Mary prays with the psalms in the morning ("from dawn to the third hour") and after daily work. The hymn provides further details about Mary's way of praying. On the one hand, she encourages her companions to join in her praises (ad laudes preclarissimas ipsas [virgines] exhortabatur). On the other hand, hers is a contemplative and peaceful prayer that makes use of hymns and music³⁰. The similarity of this image of Mary with that of Alfonso as the new David can hardly be considered a coincidence, especially if we bear in mind that

 $^{^{30}}$ Deifica, pacifica, // hymnidica, melodica // Deum contemplabatur" (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 216).

Juan Gil himself, in his biography of the Wise King, wished to highlight precisely this facet of his³¹.

As we can see, from the very first stanzas of the Office, Juan Gil offers a whole guide on how to read it: imagining and imitating the Virgin. A guide that is presented to us again, in a clearer and more developed way in the first lesson of the first nocturne: "The magnificent and astounding mysteries of the venerable and exalted mother of Jesus, Most High King, accepting them with catholic devotion and veneration, let us celebrate inwardly in our spirit, let us sing outwardly with our voice, let us clap very loudly with our hands as the most sonorous instruments"³². And later (referring to the birth of Mary) he makes clear the role that the imagination must play in this prayer: "It is good that we are here, better that we tarry, optimal that we remain to contemplate in wonder (ut contemplemus stupentes)".

As can be seen, the main purpose of the office is to incite devotion, which inseparably unites Jesus Christ with Mary by virtue of the Incarnation, praising Him through Her. Indeed, the invitatory's exhortation to praise Jesus Christ is answered by all that follows, which is praise of Mary. The same can be said of the invitations to praise God in the rest of the psalms: the praises of Mary are the expression of the desire that "the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart may be acceptable in your sight, O Lord" (Ps. 18, first nocturnal). This is explained by the fact that Mary is, as the first lesson also asserts with words of Adam of Perseigne, "the honour and glory of the Creator"33.

The liturgical office constitutes a prayer to God and His Mother, that is made one's own by recitation. This is the reason why this is the most contemplative and emotional of Juan Gil's works. Within the context of prayer it is particularly appropriate to address the Virgin directly, using emotive language. It is precisely through the performance of this prayer that the king and his companions are shaped by the author's teachings (Fulton, 2006; McNamer, 2010; Rubin, 2009a: 93–94; Fulton, 2017: 32).

³¹"More quoque Davitico etiam, [ad] preconium Virginis gloriose multas et perpulchras composuit cantinelas, sonis convenientibus et proportionibus musicis modulatas" (Fita, 1884: 321). About Alfonso as a new David in the Cantigas, see Snow, 1999.

³²"Almiflue matris alme regis Ihesu altissimi magnifica et mirifica sacramenta deuotione ac ueneratione catholica prosequentes, mente iubilemus interius, uoce psallamus exterius, manibus plaudamus uberius in organis personoris" (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 219). The translation is mine.

³³"Lauda Virginem uoce et uide ne uita uoci aliquatenus obloquatur. Cum sit tota laudabilis, nichil in te cesset a laudibus quia nichil ese arbitror laudabilius quam se laudibus eius totum inpendere, que Conditoris est honor et gloria, laus et leticia ciuium supernorum" (ibid.: 221).

The different rhetorical means used by Juan Gil, himself being well acquainted with rhetoric³⁴, are directed at the consecution of this didactic goal. Notably, the text contains a high concentration of action verbs directed at the readers, such as: "let us contemplate", "let us sing", "let us honour", "let us confess", "turn to look at Her, embrace Her, praise and love Her" [...] Although it is true that we find them primarily in the readings that were taken from the Cistercians authors mentioned above, it is also clear that Juan Gil deliberately selected texts that were rich in such language and used it as well—although in a softer way—in the texts he directly composed³⁵. The usage of action verbs, especially in the imperative form, was a distinctive element of the emerging contemplative literature that disseminated across Europe since the end of the eleventh century and especially since the thirteenth, particularly through the efforts of the mendicants (Fulton, 2002; Montefusco, 2020).

All that has been said about the Office acquires special importance in connection to its political implications. We should remember that the very fact that this prayer was commissioned by King Alfonso X indicates something more than personal devotion. This was a prayer intended for recitation in the king's court and therefore constituted a ritual of political character for the king's inner circle (Carrasco Manchado, 2006: 534–536; Nieto Soria, 2003: esp. 273; Laliena Corbera, 2000: 470–471).

The various implications of Marian piety in the court of the Wise King have already been studied, especially through more than 400 songs compiled under Alfonso's supervision, known as the *Cantigas de Santa María* (among others: Fernández Fernández, 2008; Le Goff, 1990; Presilla, 1987; Scarborough, 2009; Snow, 2013; 2016-2017). The recitation of the Office was another element of a particular political theology consciously conducted by the King since the beginning of his reign (Remensnyder, 2014: 45–57). The collective prayer to Mary in a courtly space was intended to reinforce the presence of this key element of Alfonso's political ideology.

It is difficult to settle with any precision where, how and by whom this office was said. But if we assume that it was for the prayer of the king and

³⁴Juan Gil authored an Ars dictaminis: the Dictaminis Epithalamium (Gil de Zamora, 1978). On the rhetorical work of Juan Gil see especially Zamora, Kirsch, 2009; McNabb, 2003; 2004.

³⁵He prefers the usage of the second person of plural or the passive voice. See for example the Hymn of Laudes: "Ob hoc Pater exaltetur, // ob hoc Filius laudetur, // ob hoc Pneuma inuocetur, // <ob hoc Virgo imploretur> // a nobis fideliter // atque unanimiter" (Gil de Zamora, 2018: 264).

his nobles, it can be considered as a means of creating—together with the *Cantigas*—an emotional community around the Virgin and Alfonso X as a devout king (Rubin, 2009a: 60; Scarborough, 2009: 34).

Praying the Hours was apparently a common practice in the royal court. Among the duties of the royal chaplain, as evidenced by the *Partidas* (2, 9, 3), was primarily to minister the hours to the king and his entourage and to explain them. It seems likely, especially given King Alfonso X's personal devotion to the Virgin Mary, that in addition to the usual canonical hours, the Hours of the Virgin were recited at his court, at least on Saturdays. Besides, while the *Partidas* do not explicitly mention the Hours of the Virgin Mary, the *Cantigas* frequently do so. Moreover, they make it clear

that this practice is beneficial not only for clerics but also for the laity, as it is very pleasing to Mary and disposes Her to intervene mercifully in difficult situations³⁶.

Cantiga 170 offers us an image of the King knelt with his courtiers in a church before an image of Mary with the Child. The decoration of the altar cloths with the symbols of Castile and Leon indicates a courtly space. The king is holding a piece of paper in his hand, which can be interpreted as a cantiga, but also as the text of the Office. The poem's text does not help us much in this case.



Alfonso X with his courtiers. CSM 170. Escorial, Ms. T-I-1. Fol. 228v. © Patrimonio Nacional.

However, apart from the use of Juan Gil's Office for services at court (mainly in the chapels of the Seville *alcázar*, where Alfonso resided for most of his reign), there was another space in which it was probably performed and for which—as I shall try to prove further—it may have been originally commissioned.

³⁶CSM. 98 tells the story of a woman who could not enter the Church to hear the Hours of the Virgin until confessing. In CSM. 144 a good man in Plasencia who was devoted to the Virgin and always attended her hours was miraculously defended from a fierce bull. In CSM. 152 a sinful knight never prayed the hours but used to say the *Ave Maria*. See as well, CSM. 208, 351.

I am referring to the monumental funerary chapel built by Alfonso x for his parents, Ferdinand III and Beatrice of Swabia, in the cathedral of Seville. The so-called Royal Chapel (*Capilla Real*) was erected sometime between 1261 and 1279. It was designed by King Alfonso x as a representation of the power of the monarchy in its sacred dimension. Consequently, all elements were meticulously crafted, from the artistic programme to the services to be held there for his father's soul (Laguna Paúl, 2012; 2013).

Although the chapel was demolished together with the old cathedral in the fifteenth century, some descriptions have survived which allow us to reconstruct its original appearance (Ortiz de Zúñiga, 1795: 143–145). The Royal Chapel, which occupied a large area in the eastern part of the former mosque, was raised 2–3 metres above the floor of the cathedral and was accessed by stairs. It had two hierarchical levels. On the first level were the tombs of Ferdinand and his wife Beatrice, and a seated life-size statue of Ferdinand III. On the second level, there was a sculpture of the Virgin Mary in a silver tabernacle studded with precious stones (the so-called "Our Lady of the Kings"). The realistic effigy of King Ferdinand depicted him sitting on a silver throne. He wore royal vestments and a crown, and held a sword in his right hand.

The connection between the monarchs and Mary here became visible, demonstrative. The chapel was like a stage, raised above the floor of the cathedral and illuminated with lamps. It is notable that Saturday services, traditionally dedicated to the Virgin Mary, were held in this chapel. This can be linked to the bull of Pope Innocent IV (1254), which granted indulgences to those who prayed for Ferdinand's soul in Seville Cathedral on that day (Laguna Paúl, 2013: 144; Sánchez Herrero & Álvarez Márquez, 1989: 147–148). Moreover, in Alfonso x's eyes, the Royal Chapel had a special sacredness, for in it Mary performed a miracle, which he recounts in one of his cantigas (CSM. 292).

The demonstrative character of the royal burials specially came to the fore on the two feasts established by Alfonso x on the anniversaries of the capture of Seville (November 23, St Clement's Day and Alfonso x's birthday) and the death of Ferdinand III (29 May). Every year on these days people from different parts of the kingdom and foreigners arrived and a solemn procession was organised in the cathedral (Pérez Monzón, 2007: 384).

Given the significance of this chapel in Alfonso X's political propaganda and the meticulous attention he paid to the various elements of the representation of power within it, it seems reasonable to suggest that Alfonso X may have commissioned the Office of the Virgin Mary to be performed in the Royal Chapel³⁷. After all, we know that the king specified that the cantigas composed under his direction were to be sung at the place of his burial on the feast days of the Virgin Mary (Fernández Fernández, 2008: 79). The fact that Juan Gil's office follows the cathedral use points towards the same conclusion.

A historiographical finding published two years ago indirectly supports this hypothesis. It was revealed that a manuscript created for Alfonso X probably in Seville in the last decade of the king's life, which contains a biography and office of St Elizabeth of Hungary, a relative of Queen Violante, has a direct connection with Juan Gil de Zamora (López-Monís, 2022). The author of the discovery puts forward the hypothesis that the creation of the manuscript relates to the transfer of the remains of Beatriz of Swabia (whose baptismal name was Elizabeth) from Burgos to the Royal Chapel of Seville in 1279. It is possible that Alfonso X may have requested two texts from Juan Gil at the same time: one about Elizabeth of Hungary and the other with the office of the Virgin Mary. This dating is consistent with our current understanding of the creation timeline of Juan Gil's Office of the Virgin: we know that it was written after the Franciscans returned to Zamora in 1278 and before King Alfonso X died in 1284. It seems probable that the commission of both works formed part of a wider programme to honour the parents through their divine patrons.

Furthermore, it can be postulated that manuscript NAL 868, which contains the text of the *vita* and *officium* of St Elizabeth, may give an idea of what the book with the Virgin's office created for King Alfonso x was like (assuming that its realisation did indeed take place). NAL 868 includes rubrics in Castilian, miniature illustrations, and musical notation.

This hypothesis allows us to view the text of Juan Gil's office in a new light, no longer as a mere pious text, but as part of a meticulously crafted ideological programme of a king with imperial ambitions. A programme in which devotion to the Virgin Mary seems to have played a central role.

Further exploration of this hypothesis may help clarify the relationship between Juan Gil and King Alfonso X, which has been the subject of much speculation. In my opinion, instead of being considered a collaborator in the composition of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, Juan Gil should be seen primarily as a scholar who received specific requests from the King to create Latin works for use at court.

³⁷I develop this hypothesis in another article, currently in progress.

CONCLUSIONS

Juan Gil considered Marian devotion a privileged vehicle for the transmission of doctrine, both to his brethren friars, who should strive to meditate on the Mother of God, and to the rest of the faithful, whom their preaching should reach. For Juan Gil, the Virgin is truly a universal model for all Christians, and Her devotion is a sure way of reaching Christ.

With his liturgical office composed on Alfonso x's request, the Franciscan provided the King with a suitable instrument not only for prayer and meditation but also for reinforcing his political theology.

ABBREVIATIONS

CSM Mettmann, W., ed. 1986/1989. Alfonso X el Sabio. Cantigas de Santa María [in Spanish]. 3 vols. Madrid: Castalia.

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«Mente Iubilemus interius, uoce psallamus exterius» труды францисканца Хуана Хиля де Самора о Деве Марии

Получено: 25.03.2024. Рецензировано: 04.06.2024. Принято: 22.07.2024. Аннотация: Сочинения францисканца Хуана Хиля де Самора представляют собой самый большой сохранившийся корпус латинской марианской литературы XIII века в Kaстилии. Его труды, посвященные Богородице, охватывают большой спектр тем и жанров — от поэтических гимнов до проповедей, богословских трактатов или рассказов о чудесах. Такое многообразие дает ценное представление о методах францисканца по распространению почитания Девы Марии среди разных аудиторий. В этой статье представлен обзор мариологических трудов Хуана Хиля, уделяя особое внимание его «Оффицию Девы Марии», написанному по заказу короля Альфонсо х. Большинство трудов Хуана Хиля отличаются энциклопедизмом и имели явную дидактическую роль, что связано, по всей видимости, с одной стороны, с его преподавательской деятельностью внутри ордена, и с тем, что многие из трудов были призваны стать вспомогательным средством для проповеди, с другой. Использование им риторических приемов для стимулирования благочестия соответствует тенденциям проповедничества мендикантов XIII века. Объединив более ранние богословские традиции с новаторскими элементами, Хуан Хиль создал корпус работ, которые служили одновременно образовательным и благочестивым целям. Хотя мы знаем, что «Оффиций» Хуана Хиля был написан по заказу короля Альфонсо х, уделявшего почитанию Богоматери ключевую роль в своей политике, этот текст до сих пор, на удивление, не удостоился достаточного внимания со стороны историков. В статье представлен новый подход к этому произведению, рассматривающий его не просто как благочестивый текст, но как неотъемлемую часть идеологической программы Альфонсо х. Включение «Оффиция» в контекст политической теологии короля открывает новые перспективы его функций и связи с другими королевскими проектами. Наш анализ демонстрирует, как в текстах Хуана Хиля переплетаются религиозные и политические нарративы, укрепляя образ Альфонсо х как благочестивого правителя и усиливая политическую легитимность кастильской монархии. Исследование подчеркивает двойственную роль культа Девы Марии в формировании как духовной, так и политической сфер в Кастилии хііі века.

Ключевые слова: Культ Девы Марии, Хуан Хиль де Самора, Кастилия, францисканская литература, агиография, оффиций Девы Марии, Альфонсо х, политическая теология.

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