Digital Edition of the *Luzero de la vida christiana* by el ilustrísimo maestro Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo

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Degree

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Dedication

Dedicated to my grandfather,

Clarence George Stuckwisch,

the first scholar and academic in my family.

Dedicada a mi abuelo,

Antonio «Tony» Leyba,

el último hispanófono de mi familia.

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Abstract

An investigation into the *Luzero de la vida christiana* by Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo that explores optimal transcription and digital editing workflows. Additionally, it includes a critical bibliography of the author and a close first read of the initial text.

Abstracto

Uma investigación sobre el *Luzero de la vida christiana* de Pedro Ximénez de Préxoma que explora las mejores formas de transcripción y edición digital. Además, provee una primera lectura del libro.

Abstrautu

Una investigación sobro'l *Luzero de la vida christiana* de Pedro Ximénez de Préxoma qu'esplora los meyores xeitos de trescrición ya igüe dixital. Amás, proveye una bibliografía crítica del autor ya una cercana primer lleutura del testu.

Abstracto

Uma investigação sobre o *Luzero de la vida christiana* de Pedro Ximénez de Préxoma que explora as melhores formas de trascripção e edição digital. Aliás, provê yna bibliografia crítica do autor e uma primera leitura do livro.

Preface

I have striven in this dissertation to be as accurate as possible to my source documents in order to aid the future researcher. Therefore, whenever possible, I cite the original language text and include in the Works Cited a modern critical edition of the text. For classical texts, I do not include pagination information, but rather note the section to facilitate users of other editions.

In some cases I have needed to use older copies that may be heavily abbreviated or use punctuation different to today's. I have striven to represent the texts as diplomatically as possible, including maintaining the difference between, e.g., ꝺ and *d*, even if both are not used in a given document. In some cases, however, that is not optimal. Abbreviations, when it is necessary for their full meaning to be expressed, are shown with the expansion in lower half brackets, such that *e.g.* would appear as *e⌊xempli⌋ g⌊ratia⌋*. If text is illegible but can be reasonably determined from other editions of the work, it will appear with ⌈upper half brackets⌉.

For the reader who is inexperienced in reading scribal abbreviations, I have included a brief table of symbols that appear in the quotations in this dissertation. The list is not exhaustive and those readers may wish to refer to a more comprehensive text when consulting source texts.

While the Hellenic script can today be readily set in an Italic style like the Latin, the same cannot be said for the Hebrew or Arabic scripts. Traditionally in Arabic script, emphasis is given to text through a variety of different techniques, including emboldening, enlarging, using a different script style, using a different color, overlining, underlining, or even elongating using kashida. In Hebrew script, emphasis was made by using over and underdots, increasing letterspace, using a different script style, and using different sizes. Many of these have parallels in the history of

Latin typography which used letterspacing variations in blackletter, different colors (especially red) in manuscripts, different sizes, and underlining. Modern Latin prefers alternating between the Italic and Roman/Antiqua styles. Thus, I will employ a parallel strategy in light of the document being Latin-dominant as using other strategies such as underlines or changing text sizes would be visually distracting.

In the case of Arabic, Nadine Chahine says, "Nasta'liq to Naskh is similar in structure to the relation of Italic to Roman in the Latin typographic spectrum" (35). For this reason, I render the distinction by using the flat Naskh for running text, as is most common in modern Arabic texts, and a Al-Andalus or Magrebi style for emphasis and titles. While the more calligraphic Nastaʿlīq may be seen as more obvious choice, it is not common in the areas where *aljamiado* writing was used. The distinction can be seen in the following example:

تمت ترجمة كتاب الحيوان من اليونانية إلى العربية ومن ثم إلى اللاتينية.

A similar approach is used for the Hebrew script. The block Meruba style is used for running text, and the semi-cursive Rashi style, traditionally used for Rabbinical commentary, is used for emphasis and titles.

מֹשֶׁה בֶּן־מַיְמוֹן במקור כתב מוֹשֶׁה בֶּן־מַיְמוֹן בערבית, אבל זה תורגם מאוחר יותר לעברית ולטינית.

While these are not necessarily the most common form of representing emphasis in their respective scripts, they are grounded in authentic typographic traditions. The choices were made to best balance a respect for their manuscript and printing traditions with the desire to to have a cohesive form of emphasis across all scripts in a document that is Latin-dominant.

Finally, for computer code, rather than utilize italics or quotation marks, I follow the

general industry practice of instead using a `fixed-width font`. This practices originates from the ubiquitous use of fixed-width typefaces in code editors, but has overtime developed into its own variant for running text not unlike italics or bold. Thus, when discussing the XML format, I will refer to the `<root>` element.

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Nomenclature and Symbols

The incunabula and post-incunabula were filled with abbreviated text. I include here a list of all abbreviations used in cited text. For further information, resources like Adriano Capelli's *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane* provide more extensive and complete information.

Symbol	Use	Ex.	Ex⌊ample⌋
ꝺ	*d* with stroke reads *de*		
g̊	*g* with *o* above reads *ergo*	g̊	⌊ergo⌋
ꝓ	*p* with curled tail reads *pro*	ꝓmisión	⌊pro⌋misión
p̍	reversed comma over *p* reads *pri*	p̍mero	⌊pri⌋mero
p̃	*p* with tilde reads *pre*		
ꝑ	*p* with cross bar reads *per* or *par*		
q̃	*q* with tilde reads *que*		
q́	*q* with reversed comma reads *qui*	q́nto	⌊qui⌋nto
q̆	*q* with flattened open *a* reads *qua*		
ꝗ	*q* with diagonal stroke reads *quod*		
q̃ꝗ	*q* with diagonal stroke and tilde reads *quam*	tanq̃ꝗ	tan⌊quam⌋
ɔ	reads *con* or *cum*	ɔſecutũ	⌊con⌋ſecut⌊um⌋
t̕	*t* with mark generally reads *ter*, *tir*, or *tur*		
ꝰ	reads *us*		
ꝛ̸	ꝛ (*r*) with stroke reads *rum*	iudeoꝛ̸	iudeo⌊rum⌋
ſ̃	ſ (*s*) with loop reads *ser*	miſ̃icoꝛdias	mi⌊ſer⌋icoꝛdias
ⱴ	*v* with diagonal stroke reads *vir*		

Additionally, I employ a variety of abbreviations for classical works, generally in parenthetical citations. They are listed here with their common English translations.

Author	Abbreviation	Original Title	English Title
Augustine	Cons. Ev.	De Consensu Evangeliorum	On the Harmony of the Gospels
Aquinas	Sup. Sent.	Scriptum Super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi	Commentaries on the Master Peter Lombard's *Sentences*
	Sum. Theo.	Summa Theologica	Sum of Theology
Bonaventura	Com. Sent.	Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi	Commentary in Four Books on the Master Peter Lombard's *Sentences*
John of Demascus	Ορθ. Πί.	Έκδοσις ακριβής της Ορθοδόξου Πίστεως	An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith
Josephus	Ἰου. Ἀρχ.	Φλάβιος Ἰώσηπος	Jewish Antiquities
Petrus Comestor	Hist. Schola.	Historia Scholastica	Scholastic History
Psuedo-Chrysostomus	Op. Imp.	Opus Imperfectum in Mattaeum	Incomplete Commentary on Matthew
Ximénez	Flor. Mat.	Floretum Sancti Mathei	Flower garden of Saint Matthew
Aristotle	Ζῴων Γε.	Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως	On the Genesis of Animals
	Ζῷα Ἱστ.	Τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν	History of Animals
	Ἠθ. Νικ.	Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια	Ethics

Finally, particularly in the technical section, there are a number of acronyms that are rarely, if ever, used in an unabbreviated form in common parlance. While I generally introduce these with their full names on the first reference, I leave here a list of them that may be more easily referenced during reading.

Acronym	Meaning
CORDE	Corpus Diacrónico del Español
DLOST	Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts
GIGO	Garbage In, Garbage Out
HSMS	Hispanic Seminary for Medieval Studies
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
IME	Input Method (Editor)
MUFI	Medieval Unicode Font Initiative
NLP	Natural Language Processing
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
TEI	Text Encoding Initiative
XML	Extensible Markup Language
WYSIWYG	What You See Is What You Get (output visualized while editing)
YAFIYGI	You Asked For It, You Got It (output generated after editing)

A veces, na memoria, grábense situaciones
dibuxaes con distintes sensaciones. Dende
pallabres, silencios, música, perfumes...
hasta'l tactu d'unes manes que te caricien
con tenrura; un abruzu, un besu o una
llárima qu'emborrona les pallabres y los
besos.

María Esther García López

Chapter 1

Introduction

I have always been fascinated by looking at older documents. For scholars who regularly work with manuscripts, incunabula, letters, or other texts from years past, there is something tangibly special about them that rarely can be fully captured by the transcriptions that are most commonly used for their study. There is a connection to be felt when holding something that used to belong to member of the royal family, a cardinal, or some important scholar.

But another aspect is the way those documents were written and printed. Between calligraphy in manuscripts and the vast imagery used in all written works, something is lost along the way. Furthermore, before the era of the mass produced texts and digital reproduction, those who read, used, or studied them left their marks, opening up our eyes to their insights, values,

and thought. The difference between a freshly printed edition of a book and one that has been used by a prominent scholar during their decades of research would suffice to demonstrate what could be gleened; a book of the hours used over centuries could only provide that much more.

For incunables in particular, though they were printed, the various print shops that opened up around Europe generally sought to mimic the experience then-current readers had of manuscripts. Such can be seen in the similar layouts, including spaces for later insertion of xylographs or even hand-painted designs; the typefaces which mimicked handwriting more closely, and the abbreviations, which saved paper. Just like manuscripts, readers of the incunables would add in their own commentary, correct mistakes, and draw attention to specific sections. Much or all of this is lost in modern editions. There is no reason, of course, to discount the value of modern editions: having quotation marks and paragraph breaks alone can be extremely valuable for the detailed study of works with back and forth dialogue that otherwise makes it difficult to follow which character is talking to which other one. Modern spelling keeps the works accessible to a modern readership who might struggle with older spellings. As well, there are special features, like critical apparatuses, that can be added in for deeper study.

The changes that one person wants might not be the same that someone else wants. For printed texts, those editorial decisions to orient an edition for a given audience must unfortunately be done in advance and are fixed in time. No such restriction exists, however, in the digital realm. It should be possible to easily provide more options for more readers with specific needs or desires. Many digital editions, for instance, feature integrated glossaries or concordances that just a few decades ago were a prohibitively expensive and provided only for the most important

works.[1]

What should the standard be in digital editions today? How can the diverse interests be balanced into a single body of scholarship and edition? Despite the ease of opining on the questions, it is more useful to answer them in a concrete project, wherefore in the present work I will develop the foundations to a digital edition of a medieval work while addressing the theoretical implications and practical considerations of its creation. For this project, I will use the *Luzero de la vida christiana*, an early Castilian-language theological treatise by Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo that has as yet received little attention.

1.1. Biography of the Author and his Works

Currently there exists no comperehensive biography of Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo. He was bishop of Badajoz and later Coria, friend to Isabel of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon, and student of El Tostado. Different sources include different —and sometimes conflicting— pieces of information about him. In Chapter 2, I first compile what is to date the most complete biography of Ximénez and supplement it with relevant historical details. While there certainly exist more documents with potential for more information about the bishop in archives, the documents found thus far paint a sufficient enough picture of the author for the study of his works.

To conclude Chapter 2, I discuss the texts written by Ximénez. I focus in particular on the *Luzero de la vida christiana* which is text that will be studied in the rest of the present work.

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1. I am reminded here of the works of Enrique Ruiz-Fornells, who published concordance editions of works such as Alonso Fernández Avellaneda's *Quijote* or the poetry of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer and Leopoldo Panero. Working on a UNIVAC 1107, this was quite an accomplishment: the *Quijote* had around 140,000 words. The storage size of the UNIVAC 1107 was barely sufficient to store the entire text on drum, let alone in memory. In the 1960s and 1970s when it was made, such a feat was impressive due to extremely resource-efficient code needed.

While he wrote several other texts, primarily in Latin, the *Luzero*, a work commissioned by Isabel of Castille, is his most important text in Castilian and is the first comprehensive theological text written in Spanish. It ultimately generated a multitude of editions in Castilian, one in Catalonian, and one in Dutch; all were printed between 1493 and 1555. Though it was later placed on the list of banned books —likely for the inclusion of translated biblical verses and extrabiblical accounts (Library "Luzero")— it was a popular and indubitably influential text.

Later versions of the book are published with a note stating that they were corrected and amended. What corrections were made and what was added? With more than a dozen editions, most of which were posthumous, what changed? It is these questions that led to the present work, as despite their simplicity, their pursuit is not simple.

1.2. Editing the *Luzero*

Determining what has changed between several editions of the *Luzero* on the surface was to be a straight-forward process: transcribe the text and apply an alignment process to it. Each of the two seemingly simple steps are far more complex when dealing with older texts. Without an accurate automated method such as OCR, transcriptions must be done manually, yet there are different standards in which transcriptions are done. Secondly, proper alignment requires determining differences between texts, and detecting significant differences is not as straightforward for older texts as it is for newer texts with more standard orthography.

Both steps could be ignored by attempting to find differences the traditional way, which was and still is often used for critical editions today: reading two or three texts word by word, and noting the presence or absence of a word from one edition to the next. The painstakingly slow

process involved with critical editions meant that they are traditionally limited to being based off of at most two or three editions. Modern computing technology allows for alignment to be done nearly instantaneously with the aide of computers which allows for an almost limitless number of editions to be the basis of such work.

It only seems proper that, if all the editions of a text are transcribed in full and are aligned to find differences that an edition is created that allows researchers access to the data accumulated from the transcription and alignment. Traditionally, the editor holds great power in the creation of such editions. Yet in modern digital editions, the role of the editor is often diminished if not removed entirely in favor of an automated algorithm. In Chapter 3, I discuss the creation of an edition that attempts to integrate the best qualities of both traditional paper-based and modern digital editions.

In the first section of the chapter, I discuss what an ideal presentation of an edition of the *Luzero* would look like. Because current technology has allowed digital editions to be readily made by scholars and non-scholars alike, there are now a great number and diversity of digital editions. Some are little more than OCR scans of books. Others organize the texts into different documents based on logical section breaks such as chapters. Still others provide side-by-side translations, include images, or provide critical apparatuses. Some editions maintain the original page layout while others eschew it to better flow on computer screens or mobile devices.

Despite all the important work that has been done, there are two aspects rarely discussed in the creation of digital editions. The first is accessibility: how users with disabilities can access the texts. Many libraries have begun to scan rare and unique texts to allow users to access works

without the need to travel and without risk of damaging the originals. While immensely useful for seeing scholars, blind scholars gain no benefit. A digital edition that also indicates paratextual information would enable them to be just as productive, but must also be adaptable to be useful. For paleographic study, merely providing an adequate text-to-speech reading for orthographic variants is unsatisfactory as each variant would be pronounced identically. Spelling all words out letter by letter (reading *sõ* as *ese o con virgulilla*) or identifying contrasts with modern readings (*xpo* as *cristo abreviado sin tilde*) results in noisy readings that obscure the overall sense of the text.

Furthermore, common interactions with the text include typing or clicking and dragging with a mouse. Some users, however, rely upon different input methods such as voice or breath controls that may make it difficult or impossible to work with common digital texts. How might a user using a speech-to-text IME search for a word with an abbreviation like *n̄r̄o̅* or spelling like *ſembꝛar*? Special interfaces must be created to permit voice entry of such text.

In many cases, a minimal set of features benefiting disabled users may be included such as descriptions of images or the ability to resize text, but those rarely seem to be included with a focus on disabled users. One reason for which they may be ignored could be that many editions are now browser-based, and most browsers include some accessibility features. The needs for diplomatic transcriptions or parallel texts surpass what any browser currently offers, and demand a fully thought out accessibility design or, ultimately, a non–browser-based solution.

In the next section of Chapter 3, I will describe the process of transcribing the text of the *Luzero*. Any other work depends on the computer being able to read a text printed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, in other words, having access to the text itself.[2] The adage of GIGO

2. Despite advancements in OCR, the reading of incunabula in Spanish is still not as accu-

is applicable when processing text, so before considering processing, transcription methodology must be contemplated. Therefore, I evaluate the differences of several methods including the current standard, TEI. I also describe the development of my own transcription format to be more readable but still preserve the maximum amount of textual and paratextual information that could be used either by future researchers or for the creation of an edition of the text. It allows for paleographically-correct renderings of words, visual and spacial descriptions, and semenatic encoding. Besides being designed to be readable even in the absence of other processing programs, my format also carries a speed advantage. Transcribing texts using it takes less than a quarter of the time to produce a transcription in the standard TEI format by offloading some of the more tedious tasks such as the expansion of abbreviations required by other formats to computer algorithms.

In order to go from the transcribed text to a usable edition, the text must be processed in various ways to, for instance, equate orthographic variants of words, align several different texts to encounter differences between them, or determine the pronunciation or meaning of words. In the third section of Chapter 3, I evaluate different methods of processing text and describe the methods for doing so with the goal of producing a critical edition of the *Luzero*.

However, those tools are not generally designed to work well with older, sometimes erratic orthography as they assume a normalized orthography. Some algorithms allow for small amounts of difference. In Spanish, a small orthographic difference may either be fully benign (*febrero* → *hebrero*) or represent a substantive semantic difference (*anda* → *andan*). In some cases even,

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rate as it is for modern texts. Hand entry is still currently preferred, but with a sufficient amount of base truth documents, OCR will eventually become the tool of choice for initial transcription.

what appears to be a significant difference may not because of large orthographic changes (*ovo* → *hubo*).

One common approach of normalizing the text is used so often that it is the norm rather than the exception as it is used to some extent for the creation of virtually all traditional print editions. Generally, an edition will state in its introduction which changes have been made in normalizing. For instance, a common change in Spanish is to replace all ocurrences of the letter ç with z or c. Normalization is oftentimes, unfortunately, an irreversible process done during transcription and can obscure linguistic developments. If the editor decides every *della* needs to be a *de ella*, the reader cannot know which ones were originally written with a space. A modern edition of the *Quijote*, elegantly typeset though it may be, does not permit the study of the phonetic evolution in Spanish.

For performing deeper analyses, scholars turn to diplomatic editions. A common modern reader, unfamiliar with the multitude of abbreviations and unaccostumbed to the older spelling is not comfortable reading a diplomatic edition: for example, *hubo* written as *ouo* may not even register to them as being related, or *se* written as *ſe* may be incorrectly understood as *fe*.

A traditional approach for determining equivalent words is to create a table establishing equivalencies. The tables are generally created by hand, and as a result, for instance, the small number of differences between British English and American English present little problem for processing. But for older Spanish, a similar list would be unmanageably long as most words have numerous potential variations based on orthography, letter forms, and abbreviations (such numbers scale exponentially).

Instead, as I demonstrate, a computer can be trained to identify words in much the same way that scholars are trained. Older letter forms can be easily equated (such that ꝛ is read as *r*, and ſ or ſ as *s*) in a way that allows processing under older or modern standards. Abbreviations, omnipresent in medieval documents, follow consistent rules that can be applied to most words. While each word may have multiple abbreviations possible and in regular use, the expansion is typically unambiguous. Future enhancements may be capable of determining nonce abbreviations by, after aligning multiple editions of a text, finding single word differences where one addition has an opaque abbreviation and another has an expanded (or expandable) word in order to automatically add them as a pair to a database for parsing of other texts, although in the present work such problematic words are maintained in a traditional database for processing.

In the next section, I will discuss the creation of a digital edition based on the work from the previous sections. It serves as an example of how to create an edition in a way that is easily replicable and modifiable for future works or demands. I will discuss some technical details in the section itself, however, the bulk of the work for the creation can be found in the attachments to the present work, which contain the transcription, markup, and code for edition. Instead, I aim to primarily discuss the creation from a higher-level view that will be applicable to other work in other languages or software environments.

In the final section of Chapter 3, I also discuss some of the benefits of the large amount of data that the *Luzero* transcription will produce. For linguists, there are benefits to having vast quantities of aligned text that do not rely upon simple normalization. By using editions with different publication cities or dates, they can determine with greater precision when, or to what

extent, certain changes occurred. In the 1493 edition of the *Luzero*, for instance, the words *facer*, *fierro*, and *feriδo* appear. By the 1555 edition, they were consistently written as *hacer*, *hierro*, and *heriδo*. Whereas traditional studies have required painstaking analysis sampling a few pages and counting by hand the number of words with an etymological F but now spelled with aspiration, a more detailed (and more quickly tallied) count can be done.

Additionally, variant forms could also be added to historical dictionaries. For instance, words such as *corre*, *corrí*, or *corrimos* can currently be readily identified as forms of the verb *correr*, but if the Leonese-influence form *cuerre* were found, the entry for the verb *correr* could be updated to note that it can present the common *o* → *ue* vowel change.

Another benefit of the aligned text is the potential to automatically generate critical apparatuses for reading a single edition by using editorially-defined criteria. While the criteria would be traditionally defined by an editor, there would be no reason to prevent a reader from defining their own based on their personal interests in the text. The apparatus could signal orthographic variants, text deletion or addition, or highlight tense changes, all on the whim of the reader and calculated on demand.

Furthermore, it would be possible, based on the information in the alignment table and the general process for finding abbreviations, to generate a modern spelling edition. While incunables did not use accents the way that they are in modern Spanish, it would be a rare case where dictionary lookups or simple (con)textual analyses could not reliably determine where an accent needs to fall. Medieval punctuation varied a lot, but for the most part represented a lesser or greater degree of pausing. To generate modern punctuation, a comparison could be made

between the editions: if four editions of a work use a comma, one uses a solidus, and two use nothing, it is likely that the modern one would dictate a comma. If six lack it but one has it, it is best for the modern one to not use it.

While I have not yet fully implemented this in my project, by combining it with my transcriptions which also capture layout and imagery, it would be fairly easy to allow modern readers who are not fans of the older spellings to read virtual facsimile copies of the text, but with modernized spelling and punctuation, preserving the layout, imagery, even typeface of the original — to the point of allowing them to choose which of the older features they want to enjoy and which ones they would preferred modernized; in effect, allowing them to be as close to the original as they want, but no closer. With proper licensing, it would also be possible to overlay the modern edition onto an actual facsimile of the original, allowing readers to, for instance, hover over a word that they cannot figure out and see a modern rendition of the word, with any number of other possibilities such as links to a dictionary definition, all done with minimal work from the editor.

Obtaining licenses for facsimile editions and aligning text visually to it can serve for more than just permitting novel reader-text interfaces. It also can be used to establish what is called a ground truth in machine learning, which could lead to automated transcription of incunables. A paleographically correct transcription would then serve for more than just having aesthetically pleasing letters. Currently, OCR works fairly well for documents written in modern Spanish, but the older a document is, the harder it gets to process correctly — for instance, mistaking an ſ for an *f*. Oftentimes, the difference between a $\tilde{q}$, $\dot{q}$, and $\breve{q}$ is minimal and flicks of dust caught

in a scan might prevent proper recognition, but combined with the mass amount of data from several transcription projects, cases that confound normal OCR systems but would be instantly recognizable to a human transcriber could also be determined with equal accuracy by a computer. Once properly trained, such a system would enable the scanning, processing, and indexing of texts from countless editions and make them available for use by scholars.

1.3. Textual Analysis of the *Luzero*

Thus far I have only discussed the technical aspects for the preparation of editions. One key characteristic of modern editions is not something that they tend to have, but that they lack: annotations that go beyond a simple critical apparatus. While I discuss in Chapter 3 how it is possible to create editions without having deep knowledge of older Spanish or even the literature of the time, their utility is limited for readers who also lack that knowledge.

In Chapter 4, I begin a close reading of the *Luzero*. Analyses of Ximénez's work are very limited, and most citations limit themselves to content found in the first few pages. Perhaps his most popular sentence has more to do with the struggle to write in the "defective" Castilian language instead of the "most perfect" Latin language. There are some exceptions, such as Jessica A. Boon's article, "Violence and the 'virtual Jew' in Castilian Passion narratives, 1490s–1510s," in which she highlights, among other things, the roles of women and Jews in the first part of the *Luzero*, which she further determines is a generally pro-converso text. Otherwise, scholarship is effectively non-existent, which is surprising given Ximénez's status and the contemporaneous popularity of his work.

My goal in analyzing the *Luzero* is to provide support for future researchers but also for

more casual readers so that they can better understand Ximénez's own approach. It is rare, for instance, that Ximénez provides explicit citations when he quotes other authors. When he quotes Aquinas, it is fairly self-evident for scholars of Christian theology, but for historians, such a reference may be more obscure. Even when he does provide citations, they are incomplete or misleading for several potential reasons. In quoting the Bible, he provides his own translations, and only quotes the chapter as verse divisions were not even proposed until well after his death.[3] At one point, he quotes a book of Aristotle that few modern readers might track down by name, as the Spanish he gives was his own translation of the Latin translation of an Arabic compilation of the original Greek work (see page 151). Occasionally, he outright makes mistakes by, for example, citing one scholar when he means another. These can confound readers wishing to do further study if not noted by an editor.

As well, Ximénez writes with intention. In the first part, he selects only particular events from Jesus' life to narrate, rather than including all of them. While almost verbatim including parts of Aquinas' work, he chooses it judiciously. I illustrate the goals and approaches in his text in light of his intended audience. All of the analysis in Chapter 4 can then be fed back into the edition as described and created in Chapter 3 as annotations to the primary text.

1.4. Conclusion

In the final chapter, I will provide some avenues for research and recommendations for future researchers wishing to work with Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo, the *Luzero*, or to transcribe and edit primary texts. In the first part, I will tailor my recommendations for the technological

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3. Xanthus Pagninus's *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio* was the first to propose a system of versification, though it was not adopted. It was published in 1527.

side: how does one define technical requirements? how should other projects be approached? where should the digital edition of the *Luzero* go in the future? In the second part, I will approach the recommendations from the point of view of a scholar: how might research in the *Luzero* be fruitful for other fields? what else can be studied of Ximénez's work? how does Ximénez and his work fit into the wider field of medieval literature?

L'aire que pudo ḷḷevanos
morréu afogáu,
cúmplese entós el nuesu destín:
eiquí volvemos a la tierra
por mandatu d'aquel home
qu'enantias foi'l nuesu cuerpu.

Elías Veiga

Chapter 2

The Life and Work of Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo

While many particular and important details of Ximénez's life are known, many specific details have been lost to history. Furthermore, no single biographer of Ximénez includes all the details about him that have been recorded. In this chapter, I shall compile the most comprehensive biography possible on Ximénez, which includes several new primary sources not previous published. Additionally, given the closeness of Ximénez to many well-known and well-documented figures in fifteenth-century Spain, it should be possible to glean additional information about him by consulting documents written by or about others. To this end, I shall also include in the biography details about his associates and the places in which they spent time in order to develop the most complete picture possible of Ximénez. Knowing his associates —many of whom had similar

training or worked closely with him— should allow for a better, if imperfect, understanding of his thoughts.

2.1. Birth and Birthplace

The exact date of Ximénez's birth is unknown. It is not mentioned in documents that I was able to locate, and it is unlikely that any such document exists today. The *libros de parroquia*[α] in which baptismal records would normally be found were not standard until the mid-sixteenth century following the Council of Trent. If any such record existed, it has been certainly lost.

Less doubt exists about the city in which he was born. As indicated by his name, Ximénez is from the village of Préxamo — today named Préjano — in the region of Calahorra. In the fifteenth century, Préxamo would have been an active center of commerce and agriculture, strategically situated between Aragon and Navarre, and possessed "muchas fuentes y veneros de aguas,que ſe derriban de ſus aſperezas a los llanos,abũda de differẽcias de frutas,oliuares y viñas,gozãdo de vna perpetua tẽplança en medio deſtas dos ſierras" (22)[β]. Its total population, according to Gonçales, was around two hundred, with a hundred houses for noblemen. The Castillo de Préjano[γ], originally constructed before the fourtheenth century, was expanded in the fifteenth century and changed hands several times ("Arquitectura defensiva" "Préjano"), so it would have likely been well-known in aristocratic circles. During Ximénez's life, the primary church was that of St. George, built sometime during the fifteenth century, and is likely where he was baptized.[4]

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4. The church is now known as the Iglesia Parroquial de San Esteban.

α. parish registers β. many sources and springs of water which spill out across the plains, with an abundance of different fruits, olive groves and vineyards, enjoying a perpetual mildness in between these two lands γ. Castle of Préjano



Figure 1: Panoramic interior of the Iglesia Parroquial de San Esteban as seen today. Formerly de San Jorge, in Ximénez's childhood, it was smaller: he himself provided the funds to have it expanded from one to two naves.

Despite the majority of the population being of noble birth, it appears that Ximénez may not have been born into the noble class. The Colegio de San Bartolomé in which he would later study was attended by non-nobles wishing to increase their social status. According to Ana María Carabias Torres, the preparation there "confería la calidad de élite casi homologable a la nobleza" (20)[δ]. And perhaps reflecting meager origins, Ximénez writes the following about the Holy Family:

joſeph ꝛ nr̃a ſeñoꝛa en tanto que eſtuuieron en egipto: ſe mantenian ꝛ biuian ɔel

δ. conferred an elite status almost equivalent to that of the nobility

> trabajo ꝺe ſus manos ꝛ eſto meſmo haʒian quanꝺo eſtauan en juꝺea: poꝛque era pobꝛes: ꝛ no tenian otra coſa ꝺe que ſe mantener, ꝺe que hauemos toꝺos ꝺe tomar enxemplo ꝺe biuiꝛ ꝺl trabajo ꝺ nueſtras manos: ꝛ no ꝺefamar la pobꝛeʒa. (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{r})[ε]

Such an emphatic statement would likely not be made if he were of noble or wealthy background. As such, it does not seem that Ximénez's family was particularly wealthy. But being in such an environment, well known to the Spanish noble society, certainly enabled him to gain notoriety for his academic skills.

2.2. Salamanca

There appears to be some disagreement as to when Pedro de Ximénez went to study for the priesthood. Josef Rezabal y Ugarte states that Ximénez de Préxamo "fue admitido en primero de Marzo de 1447" (284)[ς]. Gil Gonçalez de Ávila gives a similar date, but for a different event: "tomò ſu habito en 10. de Março del año 1447" (456)[ζ]. The slight discrepancy in the day of the month could be a misreading of the number *10.*, which in Gonçalez de Ávila's style of writing Arabic numerals included a period afterwards, as *1.º*, and as such more faith should be placed in Gonçalez de Ávila's date since Rezabal y Ugarte specifically cite Gonçalez de Ávila's *Teatro eclesiástico*. Whether that date represents the beginning of his studies or his final ordination, we cannot know for sure as we do not know when Ximénez was born.

ε. while in Egypt Joseph and Our Lady lived by the work of their hands and they did the same thing when they were in Judea because they were poor and had no other job to live off of, and we must all take example of living from our hands and not defame poverty ς. was admitted on the first of March of 1447 ζ. he was ordained on 10 March 1447

For his studies he attended, as was common in his time, the University of Salamanca, specifically the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé. It seems that, rather than actively seek out that particular university, he may have been one of several chosen to study at Salamanca. Gil Gonçalez de Ávila writes that his future professor, el Tostado

> dixo al Rey : *Señor* (nombrando vn numero dellos) *eſtos ſerã grãdes letrados, embielos vueſtra Alteza a eſtudiar*. Aſſi lo mandò y [...] fueron muchos dellos excelentes y ſabios hombres. Tuuo [el Tostado] muchos diſcipulos. Sixto Senenſe [*recte* IV[5]] ſe acordò de vno , que fue don Pedro Ximenez de Prexamo. (21)[η]

The general lack of paragraph division obscures some of the meaning of Gonçalez's text. He appears to indicate that Ximénez was one of the ones sent to study, though it may be instead relating how Alfonso de Madrigal came to study.[6] Regardless, it is likely that in some manner Ximénez was recommended for study and perhaps even received assistance for it: San Bartolomé was a school made with the express purpose of educating students from humble backgrounds

Thus it is known that at some point between growing up in Préxamo and arriving to study in Salamanca, Ximénez would have expressed interest in study and demonstrated potential, but likely spent sufficient enough time in or around Burgos to attract the attention of its bishop if

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5. Sixtus of Siena was not born until 1520, well after Ximénez's death. Pope Sixtus IV, on the other hand, reigned during most of Ximénez's life and mentions Ximénez specifically in his Bull initiating the Council of Alcalá.

6. A close inspection of the actual marginalia would be necessary to determine this clearly. Given that John II ruled from 1406–1454, during which time both the Tostado and Ximénez would have begun their studies, dates alone are not sufficient to clarify.

η. being this Doctor before King John and his pages serving him, said to the King : *Sir* (naming a number of them) *these will be great men of letters, send them, your highness, to study*. Thus he ordered it and [...] many of them became excellent and wise men. He [the Tostado] had many disciples. Sixto Senense recalled one of them who was Mr. Pedro Ximenez de Prexamo.

we are to interpret Gonçalez de Ávila's text as referring to Ximénez being sent to study. When Ximénez was in Salamanca, the university was in the process of an important transition. As Cirilo Flórez Miguel observes, "en el siglo XV se pasa, en efecto, de la universidad medieval a la universidad moderna" (9).[θ] While there, Ximénez would have met and come to know a number of important figures in Spanish history. Alfonso de Madrigal taught him, and he studied alongside Pedro de Osma (who would later be Antonio de Nebrija's professor) as well as his future bishop Juan Arias Dávila y González.

In addition to his later roles teaching at the university, also served as the canónigo de víspera[ι]. One well known student of his, who played a pivotal role in obtaining access to Isabel for Christopher Columbus, is Fray Diego de Deza. José Perales y Martínez links him to Ximénez in his biography of Deza: "Siguió en la Universidad los cursos de Vísperas y de Prima de Teología, con los célebres maestros Pedro Ximénez Préxamo y Pedro de Osma, teniendo por condiscípulos á dos de los hombres más sabios y famosos de España: Antonio de Nebrija y Alfonso de Madrigal, el Tostado" (62).[ια] While it is not possible that Deza studied alongisde both Nebrija and Madrigal, it is more likely that Perales y Martínez meant to say that the five of them were at the university simultaneously.

θ. in the 15th century, it transitioned, in effect, from a medieval university to a modern university ι. vespers canon ια. He took courses on vespers and basic theology with the celebrated teachers Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo and Pedro de Osma, having as a fellow student two of the wisest and most famous of Spain: Antonio de Nebrija y Alfonso de Madrigal

2.3. Multiple Positions in Segovia

Following his time in school, he went to Segovia where he worked several different positions under the bishop: "Ab Scholæ muneribus Ioannis Ariæ Davila Segovienſis Epifcopi vicarius generalis [...] fuit" (338)[ιβ] Juan Arias Dávila y González would have been rather young when Ximénez was in Salamanca —Arias Dávila was only eleven years old when Ximénez began in Salamanca—, but he eventually became one of the youngest bishops of Spain. Juan's father, Diego, converted from Judaism to Christianity as a child, and served under John II of Castille and Leon who had sent Ximénez to study at the request of the Bishop of Burgos. There is little doubt that Ximénez and Juan knew each other, as even if for some reason their paths did not cross in San Bartolomé, Ximénez held multiple ecclesiastical positions in Segovia, including *provisor* and *vicario*, in Segovia when Juan was bishop there. Juan Arias Dávila and Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo had a number of common interests, including the reformation of the clergy —especially with respect to education—, the printing press, and music. It is likely that Ximénez's proclivity for publishing is due in no small part to Arias Dávila who is singularly responsible for the arrival of the printing press to Spain.

2.4. Relations with the Royalty

Ximénez met the Spanish monarchs at several key points in his life. For example, the Siege of Málaga brought many of those most influential to Spanish society to Málaga. It had, according to F. Guillen Robles, "las apariencias de una verdadera cruzada: cuanto habia en España de poderoso é influyente contribuyó á ella; la nobleza, el clero, los concejos reunieron sus fuerzas

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ιβ. following his studies, he was vicar general under Ioannis Ariæ Davila, bishop of Segovia

á las mesnadas reales" (394).[ιγ] Ximénez was one of them, and was one of those who celebrated mass over the old mosque.

Bartolomé José Gallardo observes that, while his theological works made him well-known to scholars of his time and to Isabel and Ferdinand, he was more appreciated by the king and queen "por haberles facilitado el importante Alcázar de Segovia (que era entónces el decisivo para poseer esta Corona) en los últimos tiempos del infeliz su hermano D. Enrique IV" (1271).[ιδ] He does not specify how, precisely, Ximénez aided them, as the *converso* Andrés de Cabrera is generally credited as having played a pivotal role in supporting them.[7] Whatever the manner was, Ximénez must have been absolutely essential for them to have considered his help in Segovia of more weight than his other work for them.

Ximénez crossed paths with the monarchs again at the taking of Granada on 25 November 1491 where he figures in the *Capitulaciones* as bishop of Coria alongside his former classmate and bishop, Juan Arias Dávila y González, bishop of Segovia. There is no doubt that much of the success that Ximénez had was due to him being at the right place at the right time —particularly the Alcázar. Being in the right place, though, was not enough, and his intellect and vision were what ultimately brought him to the attention of the Spanish royalty.

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7. Cabrera was active in the Granada War, and was at Malaga, Baza, and Granada. His name would figure with Ximénez's on the *Capitulaciones* as the Marquis of Moya and vassal to the king and queen.

ιγ. the appearances of a veritable crusade: any who was powerful or influential in Spain contributed to it; the nobility, the clergy, the councils gathered their forces with the royal forces

ιδ. for having provided helped them with the important Alcázar de Segovia (which he was decisive then for the Crown to possess)

2.5. Dean of Toledo

In 1474 he arrived in Toledo. Some sources list him as having been a canon (*canónigo*), and others list him as a dean or provost (*deán*), at the cathedral in Toledo. On a printed copy of Ximénez's *Confutatorium*, there are two or three sets of handwriting on a preliminary page with an extensive description of the work and of Ximénez. One of the hands states, "fue deán"[ιε] But in a different ink, presumably added much later, the text "no lo fue"[ις] appears.

However, an investigation of the *Libro de sucesión de Prebendas*[ιζ] of the cathedral in Toledo should lay to rest any doubts about Ximénez's positions in Toledo.

In the records for *canongía 20.ª*, that is, the *magistral de púlpito*, appear the following entries:

> Pedro fernándeȝ de Toledo, Año 1466.
>
> Maeſtro pedro ximeneȝ de prexamo por opposiçion detheologo. 10. Julho, 1476.
>
> Liçençiado D. Joan de la cayda Quintanapalla, bisitada general, A.no de cuellar, 1490 ("Libro de sucesiones de prebendas" 51v).[ιη]

Pedro Fernández de Toledo is the first person identified in the records as holding the position. As such, we know that while Ximénez was not the first *magistral de púlpito* in Toledo, he was the the first one to obtain his position by way of a theological exam. While the dates may indicate that he held the position until 1490, the latter date only indicates when Joan de la Caýda Quintanapalla came into his position and it is likely that Ximénez did not fulfill the duties in the

---

ιε. he was dean ις. he was not ιζ. *Book of Prebend Succession* ιη. Pedro Fernández de Toledo, Year 1466. / Maestro Pedro Ximenez de Prexamo by theologian exam. 10 July 1476. / Licenciate Don Joan de la Cayda Quintanapalla, Year of Cuellar, 1490

final years, or potentially that the records were incomplete.[8]

As already mention, Ximénez is also credited for being *deán* of the cathedral in Toledo, however, the record actually reflects the following:

> Don Diego Machuca
>
> Don pedro obispo de Taragona en .13. diçiembre 1475.
>
> Don pedro diaz dela Coſtana liçençiado visitador general. y fue el primer
>
> Inquisidor que vbo en toledo. ~~y Canonigo~~ año de 1480 fallesçio a ~~25~~ ~~22~~ Sabado 22
>
> del meſ de diçiembre, de 1487, y eſta sepultado dentro dela capilla st eugenio.
>
> Don francisco sanchez dela fuente, él segundo inquisidor que vbo en
>
> Toledo fue Dean de toledo, año de 1488.[28 de mayo] y deſpues de granada y alfin
>
> obispo de Avila deſpues de Cordoba ~~e Inquisidor general~~
>
> Doctor çamoro y fue obispo de Avila.
>
> Don Joan de leon protonotorio. 6. Jullio, 1493. [Murió Abad de S. Ysidro de Leon, y era Leonés] (51ᵛ)ıθ

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8. The handwriting and ink suggest that all records from Fernández de Toledo up to Doctor D. Alonso de Mendoza, from 1603, were written at the same time, after which each entry appears in different handwriting and ink.

ıθ. Don Diego Machuca / Don Pedro Bishop of Tarragona on 13 December 1475 / Don Pedro Díaz de la Costana, inspector general and was the first / Inquisitor in Toledo ~~and Canon~~ year of 1480 died on ~~25~~ ~~22~~ Saturday 22 / in the month of December, of 1487, and is entombed within the chapel of St. Eugene. / Don Francisco Sanchez de la Fuente, the second inquisitor that was in / Toledo, was dean of Toledo, year of 1488.[May 28] and afterwards of Granada and lastly / Bishop of Avila after Cordoba ~~and Inquisitor General~~ / Doctor Çamoro and was bishop of Avila / Don Joan de Leon rotonotary 6 July 1493 [Died Abbey of St. Isidoro from Leon, and was Leonese]

As Ximénez's name does not figure in the list, it is doubtful that he was *deán.* As opposed to the list of *magisteres de púlpito*, the record of *deanes* is much more detailed, and, if there were a possibility of an omission in the *magister de púlpito*, it is much less likely that a similar omission would appear here.

However, in the *arcediano* section of Felipe A. Fernández Vallejo's extensive investigation on the history of the church in Toledo, there is a most curious piece of information, or rather, a lack thereof:

> 1468. D. Zello de Buendia. Fue Obp̄o de Cordova
>
> 14 D. Pedro Ximénez de Prexamo. Fué Obp̄o de Coria
>
> 1511. D. Juan Perez Cabrera, y Bovadilla (384)[κ]

While Fernández Vallejo includes Ximénez as an *arcediano*, he declines to place a date. He cites Francisco Ruiz de Vergara's *Historia del colegio viejo de S. Bartholomé*,[κα] specifically on page 102. However, it is likely that Fernández Vallejo mistakenly wrote that page number there, because it accurately sources the previously marked footnote (which in turn appears to be unrelated entirely).

Ruiz de Vergara's work *does*, however, appear to be Fernández Vallejo's source. About Ximénez he says "Fue el primer Canónigo Magiſtral de Toledo, y Preſidente del Conſejo del Arzobipo, y Dean de aquella Igleſia, *en que ſuccedió a Don Tello de Buen-Dia*, nueſtro Colegial" (140,

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κ. 1468. Mr. Zello de Buendia. Was Bp. of Cordova / 14 Mr. Pedro Ximénez de Prexamo. Was Bp. de Coria / 1511. Mr. Juan Perez Cabrera, y Bovadilla κα. *History of the old college of S. Bartholomew*

emphasis mine)[κβ]

As the *Libro de sucesiones* evidences, Tello de Buendía was not a *deán*, but rather an *arcediano*. Therefore, if Ximénez was his successor, he necessarily was an *arcediano* and not a *deán*. Giving further credence to this is the large gap in years between the beginning of Tello de Buendía's time as *arcediano* and the start of of Juan Pérez Cabrera y Bovadilla's tenure. Tello de Buendía would have left his position as *arcediano* in 1483 when he became bishop of Cordoba. The exact date of this is unknown, but Manuel Nieto Cumplido finds that his tenure began sometime between 30 April and 18 July (300), and so depending on the delay for naming a new *arcediano*, Ximénez would have began the position in either 1483 or 1484. The initial source of confusion was likely the letter that Isabel and Ferdinand sent requesting Ximénez as bishop of Badajoz (reproduced in full on page 29), as they also refer to him as a *deán*. The letter also gives the wrong surname for Ximénez, so it is not unbelievable that other mistakes could be in the letter such as the exact position he held.

The archbishop in Toledo at the time, Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, was very influential in Spanish politics, and with Ximénez's position in Toledo, the two would have worked very closely together. He came to trust and value Ximénez enough that when a church council was formed to look into the writings of Ximénez's former classmate, Pedro Martínez de Osma, he was named the head of the council.

Martínez, born in either 1427 or 1430 (Reinhardt 163), and generally referred to simply as

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κβ. He was the first Master Canon of Toledo, and President of the Archibishop's Counsil, and Dean of that Church, *in which he succeeded Don Tello de Buen-Dia*, our collegiate

Pedro de Osma, is a Spanish theologean and scholar who attended school at the Colegio de San Bartolomé along with Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo. Both of them had been students of el Tostado. Pedro de Osma's theological career is succinctly summarized by Klaus Reinhardt:

> Pedro de Osma bekämpfte leidenschaftlich die «*verbositas*» der Nominalisten und setzte sich ein für eine Erneuerung der Theologie durch Rückkehr zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin und zu den Quellen der Offenbarung. In diesem Zusammenhang steht auch sein Versuch, als Racionero der Kathedrale von Salamanca aufgrund der dort aufbewahrten Bibelcodices eine Korrektur des Vulgatatextes zu unternehmen. Dieser Versuch stiess bei Antonio de Nebrija auf heftige Kritik. Nebrija warf ihm vor, dass er trotz seiner glänzenden scholastischen Bildung, die ihn zum bedeutendsten Salmantiner Theologen nach Alfonso de Madrigal mache, nichts von Textkritik verstehe und so mit seiner Korrektur in Wirklichkeit den alten Bibelcodex der Kathedrale von Salamanca nur verdorben habe. (163).[κγ]

Nonetheless, the focus on his theological works obscures many others of his works which

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κγ. Pedro de Osma passionately fought the Nominists's "*verbositas*" and supported the renewal of theology by returning to Thomas Aquinas's doctrine and the sources of revelation. In this context, as Racionero of the Cathedral of Salamanca where the Biblical codices were kept, he attempted to correct the Vulgate text. This attempt met with strong criticism from Antonio de Nebrija. Nebrija accused him of the fact that despite his splendid scholastic education, which made him the most important Salamancan theologian after Alfonso de Madrigal, he understood nothing of text criticism, and thus, in fact, had only spoiled the old Bible codex of the Cathedral of Salamanca

are about topics other than just theology, something José Labajos Alonso laments in his article on Pedro de Osma: "[l]as pocas referencias que de él se han transmitido a lo largo de estos siglos siempre le relacionaban con las doctrinas teológicas concretas de la *Confesión* y las *Indulgencias*. Tal desconociemiento se ha extendido tanto a su relevante personalidad como a su producción científica." (143–144)[κδ] The diversity of his writings are evidenced by the titles alone: *In libros Ethicorum*, *Compendio sobre los seis libros de la Metaphysica*, *Tractatus sive libellus quidam in quo demostratur musicam ecclesiasticam non omnino coartari sub documentis a Boecio*. The latter is an important treatise on music thought lost until only recently (Galán Gómez 118).

Nonetheless, it was his *Tractatus de confessione* that resulted in him being processed by the Inquisition,[9] which resulted in the aforemention council in Alcalá. He was tried *in absentia* and forced to recant publicly. Undoubtedly in no small part because of how well regarded he was as a theologian apart from a small number of ideas, he was only sentenced to year in exile, but because of his declining health, he was unable to return to Salamanca. He ultimately died in 1480 in Alba de Tormes.

Following the trial, Ximénez was assigned by Carrillo to write a book —which was dedicated to Carrillo himself— refuting the beliefs of Pedro de Osma. The resulting *Confutatorium errorum*

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9. According to Santiago Galán Gómez, while the work is frequently referred to in the literature as a published text, "[n]o hay certeza de que el polémico libro de Pedro de Osma fuese efectivamente impreso" (116).[κε]

κδ. the few references to him that have been relayed across these centuries always related him with the specific theological doctrines of the *Confession* and the *Indulgences*. Such lack of knowledge extends as much as to his relevant personality as to his cientific production κε. there is no certainty that Pedro de Osma's controversial book was effectively printed

contra claues eccleſie was longer than the *Luzero* would eventually be and was not published until 1486 — more than five years after the person whose beliefs it was written against died. This work has not been the subject of study as far as I have been able to determine, and is only noted in passing in critical literature. It is nonetheless worthy of note because it was the first incunable published in Toledo (Mendez 307).

2.6. Bishop in Badajoz and Coria

Besides the dedication of the *Lucero* to Isabel and Ferdinand and his brief noted encounters with the royal family in Málaga, Baza, Segovia and Córdoba, the most direct evidence we have connecting Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo to the king and queen is a letter that they wrote requesting his instatement as Bishop of Badajoz, which I present in its entirety:

> POR el Rey é la Reyna : A los Venerabres Dean é Cabildo de la Eglesia de Badajoz. Nos haviemos sabido el fallecimiento de D. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa , Obispo que fue desa Eglesia ; y porque Nos enviamos á suplicar á nuestro muy Santo Padre proveyese desa Eglesia á D. Pedro Martinez de Prexamo, Maestro en santa Theologia, Dean de Toledo , del nuestro Consejo , que es persona de mucha ciencia é conciencia , é acepto é fiable á Nos , é tal que con él será la dicha Eglesia bien regida é administrada : é como quiera que bien creemos que su Santidad fará la dicha provision como se lo enviamos á suplicar ; (1) pero porque mas ayude para se facer sin contradicion alguna , vos rogamos é encargamos , que haviendo respeto, quanto esto cumple al bien de esta Eglesia é á nuestro servicio, vosotros en vuestro Cabildo eligais al dicho Maestro de Prexamo por Prelado de esa Eglesia , segun que en tal



Figure 2: A bust of Ximénez
Found to the left of the *capilla mayor* in the Coria Cathedral (Filpo Cabana). Photograph retouched by me to isolate the bust.

caso se suele facer : lo qual vos agradeceremos , é ternemos en mucho servicio. De Alcalá de Henares á 23 de Noviembre de 1485 años. (325)[κς]

Despite the name *Martinez* being used, as noted by Josef Rezabal y Ugarte (285), based on the positions held, it is clear that the person referred to is Pedro *Ximénez* de Prexamo. The error was more likely introduced by the person who wrote the letter —Fernando Juárez— perhaps by confusion with Pedro Martínez de Osma, against whom Ximénez had written his first book.

The Catholic Monarchs' request was granted, and by 1487, he was installed as the Bishop of Badajoz. The exact date at which he was installed is not entirely clear. Josef Rezabal y Ugarte quotes Hernando del Pulgar saying that he was ordained in that year (285), but I have not been able to access Pulgar's manuscript to verify it. Gil González de Ávila merely states that in 1487, he was bishop (456). Given that the letter from Isabel and Ferdinand was written towards the end

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κς. BY the King and Queen: To the venerable Dean and Chapter of the Church of Badajoz. We have heard of the passing of Mr. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa , Bishop who was from that Church ; and so we request that our Holy Father provide this church Mr. Pedro Martinez de Prexamo, Profesor of holy Theology, Dean of Toledo , on our advice, for he is a person of great science and conscience, and aceptable and loyal to Us, and as such with him said Church will be well run and administered: and however much as we believe that your Holiness will make said provision as we have requested ; but for whatever help it may be to do it without contradiction, we implore and encharge you, that having respect inasmuch as this fulfills the good of this Church and our service, you all in your Chapter choose said teacher of Prexamo as Prelate of that Church , according to what is normally done : for which we will thank you and we will have in great service. In Alcalá de Henares on 23 November 1485 years

of the year, it is unlikely that Pedro Ximénez became bishop in 1485 and thus we can say that Ximénez assumed the title of bishop at some point in 1486 or 1487.

The motivations for Ximénez's being named bishop go beyond merely being a good theologian or a well-respected defender of the faith. Bartolomé José Gallardo observes that, while his theological works made him well-known to scholars of his time and to Isabel and Ferdinand, as previously mentioned, he was more appreciated by the king and queen "por haberles facilitado el importante Alcázar de Segovia (que era entónces el decisivo para poseer esta Corona) en los últimos tiempos del infeliz su hermano D. Enrique IV" (1271).[κζ] But also, Isabel had aimed to reform the clergy by installing people by virtue of education rather than ties to aristocratic familes. The *Concordia castellano-aragonesa* of 1475 stipulated that virtually all higher church offices were to be filled by *letrados*, meaning that "ya no simplemente hijos de familias nobles, que ocupaban los puestos de poder y en general de alta remuneración, sino hombres de cultura, sobre todo salidos de las clases medias o del pueblo" (182).[κη] The advantage of such a policy would be that many of those in higher church offices would be loyal not to their families but to Isabel herself. Being a graduate of the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé and not from an aristocratic family were then, in large part, the reasons for which in their previous letter supporting his installment as bishop, Isabel and Fernidand stated that Ximénez "es persona de mucha ciencia é conciencia , é acepto

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κζ. for having provided helped them with the important Alcázar de Segovia (which was then decisive for the Crown to possess) κη. no longer only sons of noble families, who occupied positions of power and generally of high compensation, rather men of culture, particularly those coming from the middle class or the village

é *fiable á Nos*"[κθ] (emphasis mine).

According to María del Pilar Barrios Manzano, Ximénez was involved in the formation of the musical theorist Domingo Marcos Durán and, while not much is known about Durán, given his hometown of Garrovillas[10], it is commonly thought that the two met while Ximénez was bishop of Coria, although it is also possible that they first met when Ximénez was a professor of theology in Salamanca (92). As Ximénez was one of the first authors of his time and genre to write extensively in Castilian, the three works of Durán similarly and respectively represent "el primer tratado de música impreso en castellano [...] el tratado más completo de canto gregoriano de la época [... y] el primer tratado de polifonía en castellano y el primero de su género que se hace en imprentas españolas." (94-95)[λ]

In each, Durán tried to distill the knowledge for practical use, which is not very different than the aims of Ximénez with the *Luzero*. While it would be much to hypothesize any particular influence upon Durán by Ximénez, it is clear how both fit into a culture of writing books designed both for a more popular consumption and with a pedagogical aim. Durán ultimately dedicated the work to Ximénez: "Ars cantus plani composta brevissimo compendio Lux Bella nuncupata per Baccalarium Dominicum Duranium: et clarissimo Domino Petro Ximenio Cauriensi Episcopo Reverendissimo atque sacratissime theologie peritissimo dedicata feliciter inciptur ad laudem

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10. Today *Garrovillas de Alconétar*, just across from the Tagus River from Coria

κθ. is a person of great science and conscience, and acceptable and *loyal to us* λ. the first treatise of music printed in Castilian, the most complete treatise on Gregorian chant of the era [... and] the first treatise on polyphony in Castilian and the first of its genre made by Spanish printers

Dei" (94-95).[λα]

Unfortunately, despite Barrios Manzano and her colleague Francisco José Rodilla León's efforts cataloguing all the music of the Cathedral of Saint Mary of the Assumption in Coria, no remnants of Ximénez's music are yet known according to their Catálogo de Música de la Catedral de Coria. I am not aware of a similar project having been yet done for the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist of Badajoz. While it remains possible for future investigators to find an example of a musical composition by Ximénez, it appears likely that whatever music he may have written is either unattributed or lost to history.

2.7. Works and editions

Ximénez was not, relative to his mentor, a prolific author. Today we have four works by him: (1) the *Floretum Sancti Mathei* (1491), a reduction of the Tostado's commentaries on said Gospel; (2) the *Cofutatorium errorum contra claues ecclesie* (1486), a refutation of the ideas of fellow Colegio de San Bartolomé alumnus Pedro de Osma, particularly on the subject of confession; (3) the *Lucero de la vida cristiana* (1492), a narration of Christ's life with copious theological notes, and (4) the "Resurrección de Nuestro Salvador Jesucristo..."(1495), a poem published in an edition of *Coplas de vita Christi*. In addition to these, we can be assured that he wrote other smaller works such as poetry or music that we do not have evidence of in modern times.

The *Floretum Sancti Mathei* was a compendium and summarization of El Tostado's longer commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew. Published in 1491 by the German printers Paulum de Colonia and Johannem de Nurenberga, it was, despite being a summarization, still well over five

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λα. Art of Plain Chanting in a very short compendium named Lux Bella by the Dominican Bachelor Duranium

hundred folios across its two tomes. The original, an immense seven volume analysis, aimed to read the book applying the four biblical hermeneutics (literal, moral, allegorial, and anagogical) with minute detail.

The *Confutatorium errorum contra claues ecclesie*, mentioned previous in Section 2.5, was the first published book in Seville and is the work by him that is most often cited. Fr. Juan de Mariana called it a "a" (gigantic book)[λβ] d said that although "su estilo es grosero conforme al tiempo; el ingenio [es] agudo y escolástico" (204–205).[λγ]

The *Confutatorium* was the result of the Council in Alcalá convened to discuss the *De confessione* written by Pedro de Osma. As previously noted, Pedro de Osma was a classmate of Ximénez's at San Bartomolé; for Osma, who was hugely influential in the Humanist transformation at the University of Salamanca, "[c]on la condena, su nombre quedó proscrito, sus escritos quemados unos y abandonados otros, y su pensamiento ignorado" (144).[λδ]

According to Carlos Carrete Parrondo, "ante tan lamentable estado de catequesis por parte de los neófitos, los reyes encargaron a Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo que escribiera el *Lucero de la vida cristiana* para adoctrinar a los conversos del judaísmo" (1662).[λε] The first comprehensive and widely distributed treatise on Christian theology in Castilian, as opposed to the expected Latin, it was immensely popular. Even so, the state of language politics was such at the that the

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λβ. n λγ. his style is crude as expected for its time, the ingenuity is sharp and scholastic λδ. with the sentence, his name was proscribed, some of his writings burned and others abandoned, and his thought ignored λε. faced with such a lamentable state of catechism of the neophytes, the monarchs commissioned Pedro Ximénez de Prexámo to write the *Light of Christian Life* to instruct the converts from Judaism

work was placed under royal protection (Amador de los Rios 216), in order to protect it from detractors. Nicolás Popielovo gives the likely reason for the Catholic Monarchs to place such an emphasis on educating the *conversos*: "[o]bservé que tiene más confianza en los judíos bautizados que en los cristianos" (qtd. in Carrete Parrondo 1662).[λς] In the midst of the Inquisition, older Christians jealous of the favored position that Jews might have sought redress in the Church, accusing them of crypto-Judaism. A properly educated *converso* population would be partially shielded from such an offense. In the final section of this chapter, I describe the numerous editions of the *Luzero* in detail.

The last published work that we today have from Ximénez is a poem entitled "Resurección de Nuestro Señor Jesuristo," included in one edition of the *Vita Cristi* from 1495. Consisting of 110 *coplas reales*, or stanzas of two *quintillas* with an *abaab-cdccd* rhyme scheme, it recounts the story of Jesus' resurrection from his death on the cross to his ascension, accompanied by numerous illustrations. At the end, he includes several *quistiones* which respond to theological concerns. For instance, one questions, "si conuenia / que fueſſe al tercero ɔia / mas que antes ni ɔeſpues" (lxx^{r}).[λζ] In effect, it mirrors the style of the *Luzero* through its mixing of narration of biblical events with references to theologians, replete with responses to doubts and questions the reader may have. While other parts of the collection —particularly the titular "Vita christi" by Fray Ýñigo de Mendoça— have been extensively studied, the "Resurección" has passed by with little critical attention.

λς. I observed that she has more trust in the baptized Jews than in the Christians λζ. if it was fitting / that it were on the third day / more than before or after



Figure 3: Iglesia Parroquial Católica del Salvador.
Ximénez was in Santa Cruz (de Paniagua) when he died.

2.8. Death and Legacy

Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo died in the village of Santa Cruz, today Santa Cruz de Paniagua, in 1495 and is entombed in the Cathedral in Coria. His works continued to be published for several more decades. Unfortunately for his legacy, his *Luzero* was placed on the Inquisitions list of banned books,[11] an irony, given his own role against Pedro de Osma. Nonetheless, the respect for Ximénez was so great that his name was not initially included as author of the work so as to not tarnish his name. It is my hope that today his work receive the attention that it deserves, and place his name among the more recognizable faces of those who he knew and worked with throughout his career.

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11. I have not personally seen an explicit reason for it. The Bridgewell Library's entry on the book, speculates that it was "because it embroidered Christ's life with non-Biblical episodes" (Prejano. "Luzero". Salamanca, 1499), which is likely given the tenor of the sixteenth-century Inquisition.

2.9. Description of the *Luzero*

The *Luzero* was printed many times which was a testament to its popularity. The number of times that it was printed, however, remains imprecisely defined. Different indexes have compiled different editions, and all indexes contain works that at least one others does not.

There are fourteen Castilian-language editions which can be attested on paper today. While one of them is only known by a photograph of a page, it is sufficient enough that we can consider it a true edition. There are sixteen editions that have been recorded in some capacity by index compilers. The two editions which can not be attested by physical copies today are the 1495 Salamanca edition and the 1498 Zaragoza edition. The 1495 Salamanca edition is most recently referenced by Konrad Haebler, but he gives caution in the entry: "Las pocas palabras con que menciona Hain dicho libro, que él mismo no ha visto, no me parecen bastante fundamento para no poder suponer que es equivocación de la edición del mismo año que en Hain no se encuentra. — cfr. Hain no. 16245" (348)[λη]

It is less possible to declare that the 1498 Zaragoza edition, published by Pablo Hurus, is a mistake. Both the 1494 and 1498 Zaragoza editions are listed in Díaz Díaz and in Gonzalo Díaz y María Dolores Abad (GDDA) — the latter of which, while in theory based on Díaz Díaz, contains distinct information for other editions. Neither Konrad nor Abad have either edition, but Abad limited his collection to those works published after 1500. Wilkinson includes only the first 1494

λη. The few words with which Hain mentions said book, which he himself has not seen, do not seem to me a sufficient basis upon which one could not suppose that it is a mistake for the edition of the same year that is not found in Hain — cfr. Hain no. 16245.

edition and presumably had a reason to discount the existance of the edition, but he is subject to error as his entry for the Dutch edition erroneously states that no known copies exist. In cross-referencing with printer indexes for Pablo Hurus, I was unable to find corraborating evidence of a 1498 edition. Furthermore, Díaz Díaz states that the 1498 edition comprises 158 sheets, which appears to match the number in the 1494 edition (the final page in the Huesca copy is 156^{v}, but it is clear that there must be one or two more folios as the table of contents ends about fifty entries too early). Therefore, I am inclined to agree with Wilkinson's non-inclusion, and surmise that the 1498 edition referenced by Díaz Díaz and GDDA is actually a mistaken reference for 1494, perhaps the result of a combining two separate indexes in which one accidentally had 1498.

Of the known editions, I have not been able to determine the provenance of each one. Determining which editions were based on which other ones will require a detailed study of the differences which, while the impetus for the present study, will not completable until I have accessed copies of all the editions. Once that is done, however, I hope to be able to map out the relationships between each.

To conclude the present chapter, I will provide a detailed description of each edition to the extent that I am able. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to consult all of the works personally, and some are based entirely on descriptions made by libraries or catalogues. The descriptions here are not spurrious: in deciding how to transcribe and edit the editions which I describe in detail in Chapter 3, it is important to understand the intricacies that each edition may present. It is hoped that the descriptions will be of benefit to researchers who desire more information than a catalogue or index entry typically contains.

2.9.1. The translations

One of the primary characteristics of the *Luzero* is that it was a text written originally in Castilian. In its time, it must have also been considered an important text for its content as well, as it was translated into both Catalonian and Dutch. In several compilations of books published by Ximénez, the Dutch translation is listed as having no known copies. Nonetheless, a copy does exist in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.[12] It was published under the title *Dat licht der kersten*$^{\lambda\theta}$, although there is some variation found. The book itself on the title page uses *kerſtẽ*, but in the translator's note uses *kerſtenen*. The Koninklijke Bibliotheek records it as *kerstene*, and in Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby's index of early Dutch books, it is listed as *kersten*.

Some references give two separate publishers —Thomas van der Noot as well as Doen Pieters(zoon)— and two separate publication locations —Amsterdam and Brussels— which may give the impression of there being two separate printings. Renaud Adam clarifies the relationship:

> Le typographe bruxellois [van der Noot] a également imprimé deux ouvrages pour le compte d'autres libraires : sa propre traduction du *Lucero de la vida christiana* de Pedro Ximenez de Prexano pour Doen Pieterszoon d'Amsterdam, parue le 20 novembre 1518 sous le titre de *Licht der kerstene*, ainsi que le *Joyeux reveil de le election imperialle* de Prinche Charles de Nicaise Ladam pour Antoine Membru de Va-

12. Perhaps Peeters-Fontainas' source used the Spanish title and it was thus assumed to have been printed in Spanish. Presumably the libraries of the Netherlands would have been checked, but if searching for the Spanish title, no results would have been found. As well, the book may have previously been listed under the translator's name, further preventing localization.

λθ. *The Light of Christians*

lenciennes vers 1519. (41)[μ]

The edition itself does not name Doen Pieterszoon and only mentions van der Noot as the translator and typesetter: "Enꝺe met grooten arbeyꝺe. bi Thomas vander noot ghetrãnſlateert eñ ouergheſet wi ꝺet ſpaenſsche tale in onſe ghemeene neꝺerlãtſche" (iv[v])[μα] Similarly, only Brussels is mentioned in the imprimit: "Ghepꝛint in ꝺe pꝛincelijke ſtaꝺt vã bꝛueſel:inꝺen ȝeeriꝺꝺe Int iaer ons heeren uyf hondert ende achthyene: den iwintichſten dach nouembꝛis" (???[?])[μβ] If little attention has been paid to the *Luzero* in Spanish, even less attention, it appears, has been given its Dutch translation. In critical literature, it is only mentioned as an example of books brought from Spain to the Netherlands, or as an example of works published or sold by van der Noot or Pietersz.

The *Luzero* was translated to Catalonian shortly after its publication in Castilian, and pub-

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μ. The Brussels typographer [van der Noot] also printed two works for other bookshops: his own translation of *Lucero de la vida christiana* by Pedro Ximenez de Prexano for Doen Pieterszoon of Amsterdam, published on 20 November 1518 under the title of *Licht der kerstene*, as well as *Joyeux reveil de le election imperialle* by Princhе Charles by Nicaise Ladam for Antoine Membru from Valenciennes around 1519 μα. After great work, Thomas van der Noot translated and typset from the Spanish language into our common Netherlandish. μβ. Printed in the princely city of Brussels in the year of our Lord fifteen hundred and eighteen the twentieth day of November

lished in 1496 in Barcelona as the *Llum de la vida christiana*.[13] While there are no known copies today, according to Konard Haebler, its last known location was the Biblioteca Belén de Barcelona:

> El único ejemplar citado de este libro es el que en la Bibl. de Belen de Barcelona había visto Villanueva. Literamente lo apunta Méndez con referencia al P. Caresmar, pero sin indicar más particularidades. No me consta si todavía existe allá. Ni Méndez ni Villanueva dicen quien lo tradujo al catalán (Alarcón i Compdepadrós 40)![μγ]

Aguiló y Fustér makes no mention of the location in his *Catálogo de obras en lengua catalana impresas desde 1474 hasta 1860*, although that cannot be taken as evidence of its (non-)existence in the mid-19th century as he did not indicate the location of any text in his catalogue.

The Biblioteca Pública Episcopal del Seminario de Barcelona is the current custodian of the books that were at the Biblioteca Belén, but the *Llum* is not in their collection of incunables. During Spain's civil war in the early 20th century, the library and its collection were at risk. Nonetheless, "La Biblioteca fou salvada, segons s'explica, llançant-la des de les finestres en uns grans contenidors que després serien dipositats a la Biblioteca de Catalunya. Òbviament es varen

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13. The spelling of the Catalonian title is not fully agreed upon. Teodoro Fernández Sánchez uses *Lumi de la vida chrestiana* (Fernández Sánchez 91[?]), and González Díaz Díaz uses *Llum de la vida chrestiana* (Díaz Díaz 387). While *Lumi* is almost certainly a mistake, both *christiana* and *chrestiana* are attested in Catalonian. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know which is the correct form.

μγ. The only cited copy of this book is the one in the Bethlehem Library of Barcelona which Villanueva had seen. Méndez notes it literally with reference to Fr. Caresmar, but without indicating other particulars. It is not clear to me if it still exists there. Neither Méndez nor Villanueva say who translated it to Catalonian.

perdre volums, així com sèries de manuscrits de molt de valor." (40)[μδ] When the collection was restored after the war in 1940, the tome was not present when catalogued by Jaume Barrera i Escudero in the same year. According to Imma Guzmán Fernández, had the book arrived to the Biblioteca de Catalunya, it would have been included in the Catàleg Col·lectiu d'Universitats de Catalunya, but it is not. In a personal correspondence with her, she further speculated that it is possible that the book was sufficiently incomplete that its cataloguing was impossible. In addition to her speculation, it is, of course, also possible that during its transport the book was stolen or lost in transport. Given that Alarcón i Compdepadrós records the books as having been literally thrown out the windows, it is more than possible that an incunable could have been so severely damaged that it was considered a loss.

The above speculations, of course, presuppose that the *Llum* was in the collection immediately prior to the start of the civil war. The last person that the various catalogues seem to indicate had actually seen a copy of the *Llum* in person is a "Rmo. Caresmar" who is most certainly Jaume Caresmar i Alemany, a Premonstratensian priest who worked as an archivist —in particular for works from Catalonia— who died in 1791. That year, then, is the absolute latest in which anyone has definitively seen the book in person, and nearly a century and a half prior to the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. It is also possible that in the intervening years the book was lost, stolen, or severely damaged which would also account for its absence in Barrera i Escudero's catalogue. While it would be exciting to find that the book had been stolen a century ago and

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μδ. The library was saved, it is explained, throwing its collection from the windows into large containers that would later be deposited in the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

was found in a private, previously uncatalogued library, it is more likely that the that Caresmar i Alemany's description of the work is the most that will ever be known of it.

2.9.2. 1528 edition

I have not yet been able to consult the 1493 edition in person, nor acquire digital scans of it to provide a full description.

2.9.3. Paulo Horus's 1494 Edition

The 1494 edition, published in Zaragoza, has only one extant copy which is currently located at the Archivo Capitular de Huesca (INC.2). The edition itself consists of 157 folios, but unfortunately the copy in Huesca lacks thirteen folios (1–2, 7–8, 15, 22, 37, 41–42, 57, 60, 64 and 157. In May 2018 the Diocese of Huesca decided to begin restoration of its copy of the *Luzero*, although a timeline for its completion has not yet been established. Columns are comprised of forty-two lines, but because the first line of new chapter headers is printed larger, addition space is added to maintain vertical alignment which reduces the total line count for columns that include new chapter headers. The text exclusively employs the ꝺ letterform, alternates between *s* and *ſ*, and *r* and *ꝛ* as is typical, though with very occasionally mistakes. Each chapter begins with a four-line-tall xylographic drop cap, and each of the three parts begins with a larger drop cap that is nine lines tall. There is a single larger xylograph at the conclusion of the text on (cxlvii^{v})hich is triptych in nature. The middle pane shows a cross whose bottom point connects with upward-pointing triangles that flank as if to create the idea of the cross coming out of a valley between two mountains. Encircling the cross and triangles are the words *In omnibus operibus: Memorare noviſſima tua*[με] from Sirach 7:40. Beneath the circle are two lions, tails between their legs. In the

με. In everything you do, remember your end

left pane is St. James with a staff, open book, and scallop shell in his hat. In the right is St. Sebastian, stripped, bound to a tree, and pierced by multiple arrows. It is likely that at least one of other xylopgrah would have been present in the edition either at the beginning or the end of the text, as all other editions have, but they have been lost and presently I know of no description of them.

2.9.4. Paulo Horus's 1495 Edition

Published in Burgos, the 1495 edition comprises 158 folios and is unsuprisingly very similar to the 1494 edition, given that it was made by the same printer. The copy I consulted, IN 2083 at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, lacks the first folio, and the final folio is unnumbered. The prologue (ii^{r}–iii^{v}) is printed single column, while the rest of the work is printed double column. Each column has forty-three lines, except for columns with chapter headers. The first line of any new chapter is printed in larger type, and an additional vertical space is employed to maintain alignment. Like the 1494 edition, it uses the forms ꝺ, *g*, *ȝ* exclusively for *d*, *g*, and *z* and generally, but not strictly, distinguishes *s* and *r* from *ſ* and *ɾ*. Additionally, the first letter of the content of each chapter is printed as a square xylographic drop cap four lines tall. The prologue and chapters 1 and 125 (mislabeled as 25), which respectively begin the first and third parts, use xylographic drop caps that are nine lines tall. As all the larger drop caps are the letter *S*, chapter 88, which begins the second part, may have used a smaller one because the print shop lacked a larger wood block for the letter *P*. There are two other xylographic prints in the incunable. At the conclusion of the third part, the first is composed of one large image of a lion holding a gallardete and supporting itself on a shield with the letters *f* and *b* on either side of a two-barred cross whose

bottom and bottom-left points are connected via a diagonal bar. The letters are the publisher (Fadrique Alemán de Basilea)'s initials, so the symbols are likely associated with his family. The line is flanked on each side by three images: on the left of Jesus being taken down from the cross, St. John the Baptist (?) in the river with Mary behind him, and a female saint (?) reading a book and holding a sceptor; and on the right, Jesus on the cross, St. Sebastian being shot by arrows, and the Apostle Paul (?) preaching the resurrection with a resurrected Jesus in the air. The final xylograph fills the recto of folio 158, showing Jesus sitting on a rainbow, with Heaven under his feet. He is flanked by two angels trumpting banderoles, one says *venite ȝ —ed·judie.*[14] and the other has a word beginning with *mort* on one side and some unintellible text on the front. Under the rainbow sit Mary and Joseph, praying to Jesus. On the ground there are two skulls and a bone representing death, and there are six people rising from their grave.

2.9.5. 1499 Salamanca Edition

The edition printed in 1499 is, according to Haeblar, an exact copy of the 1497 edition, which as I have established, likely does not exist and Haeblar confused and conflated the two editions. The only known copy of the 1499 edition is housed at the Bridgewell Library at Southern Methodist University (06721). The first folios consist of large xylographs on either side. The first is the title page. The title is written on a scroll that is held by two angels. On the sun centered above, the child Jesus holds an orb and a cross. The second features the crucifixion. Mary and Joseph mourn, while two angels collect the blood from Jesus' wrists in chalices. In the background is a landscape with a large castle or palace prominently visible in the distance. The entire

14. The text is partially obscured by the banderole's loop

contents of the text are printed in two columns with forty-eight lines per column. Each chapter begins with larger text and a small drop capital, although some chapters were left with only the space (for instance, Chapter 90 on folio cxix^{v}). There is no consistency in the spacing before and after the chapter headers: sometimes there is no space at all, and other times it may be as many as a full line and a half. Occasionally, divisions within the text are demarcated not only by a *calderón* but also by long space. Folio iv^{v} shows this well. In lieu of commas, it prefers the solidus (/). It always employs the letter form ꝺ, and distinguishes *r* and *ꝛ* in the normal manner. It employs the triple distinction for *s*, with *ſ* used as default and *s* being preferred as the terminal form; it only very rarely uses *ʃ*. To abbreviate *qui*, it employs a barred *q* (*q̍*) instead of *q́*. At least once, the *ȝ* is used within a word as a substitute for *e* as in *hȝrmoſura* (xcv^{r}). It —rarely— contains a unique ligature for *rr* (*ﬞ*), which appears as two vertical bars with a single bar crossing the top. It is distinct from the *ff* ligature, as there is additional space between the vertical bars, and tapering is only visible on the bottom left and top right. One example of it is in the word *ceﬞaꝺo* (vii^{r}). After the text, it includes an index of chapters followed by a print registry. The final folio consists of a large xylopgraph which shows St. Sebastian underneath a large cross. St. Sebastian is stripped and bound to a tree while two archers flank him and shoot him with arrows. His name is presented in Latin (*Sancte ſebaſtiæ*) in large letters above the archers. The cross contains and is surrounded by a many symbols of the passion: a large crown of thorns at the intersection of the beans, the titulus crucis, three dice above the right (viewer's left) arm of the cross, twenty-one coins slightly overlapping one another laid out in two vertical columns with eleven to the right (viewer's left) and ten to the left of the cross's horizontal beam, and a cloth pendant showing the

holy wounds of Jesus dripping blood that hung to the cross on the nails in the cross beam with a cord whose terminals are, on the right (viewer's left) a birch rod and on the left a scourge. Under the right (viewer's left) arm of the cross, the following Latin verses are presented:

Crux pellit õne crimen

fugiunt crucem tenebꝛe

tali ꝺicata ſigno

mens fluctuare neſcit.

O crux aue ſpes unica

hoc paſſionis tempoꝛe

Auge pijs iuſticiaȝ

Reiſꝯ[15]ꝺona veniaȝ.[μς]

The first four verses come from the Prudentius's *Cultor Dei* and the second from the *Vexilla regis*. Under the left (viewer's right) arm of the cross, there is an additional prayer in Spanish that appears to be unique to the language:

la ſancta uera crus

Vencio ꝛ ſiempꝛe uen

cera · el ſenoꝛ que en

ella paꝺeſcio libꝛe eſta

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15. The ꝯ ligature is erroneous and should read *ꝓ*, thus *Reiſ⟦que⟧*.

μς. The cross drives out all guilt / darkness runs away from the cross. / hallowed by such a sign / the mind knows not how to waver. / O cross, hail, only hope / in this time of suffering. / increase righteousness for the pious / and give pardon to those who are guilty.

caſa e c̄paña ꝺe toꝺo

peligꝛo e mal Amen[μζ]

It is perhaps noteworthy, given Ximénez's views on Latin and Spanish, that the Latin text is under the right arm of the cross, which would be the more favorable position, and the Spanish text under the left. However, he was not the author of the xylograph and the edition was prepared several years after his death and thus would have had no input on it, so it may represent the views of the artist or the publisher.

2.9.6. 1501 Salamanca Edition

The 1501 edition, published in Salamanca, has only one extant copy which is currently located at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (42.S.7). The edition itself consists of 122 folios (the final four are not enumerated), but unfortunately the copy Vienna lacks the initial eight folios. Columns are comprised of forty-eight lines. For new chapters, generally a full line of space is used on both sides of the chapter header. This results in a slight misalignment of lines between the two columsn on a given page because the first line of each chapter head is one-and-a-half lines tall. The text exclusively employs the ꝺ letterform, and follows the normal distinction between *r* and ꝛ, and *s* and *ſ*, but also occasionally substitutes ʃ for *s*. Similarly to the 1499 edition, to abbreviate *qui*, it employs a barred *q* (*q̷*) instead of *q́*. At the end of the table of contents, it also contains a register (cxxi[v]). The final page folio contains a xylograph of St. Sebastian that was taken from the 1499 edition. The engraver's work is a near-perfect copy that added no additional flourishes: even the number and layering of smaller textured elements are the same.

μζ. The holy cross was victorious and will ever be victorious. the lord that on it suffered freely this burden and fate of all danger and evil Amen

2.9.7. Juan Varela's 1515 Edition

The 1515 edition, published in Sevilla by Juan Varela, has several copies still in existance. The copy that I consulted is held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (RES.842). The edition consists of 127 folios. The entirety of the edition is typset in two columns of fifty lines with the exception of the inprint at the end of the main text which is centered on the page in a single column in a reverse pyramid flow. For new chapters, the first line of the header is set in a two-line large face. The text of each chapter begins with a metal type drop cap in an insular face that is two lines tall. The text distinguishes *d* from ꝺ with the former being used generally and the latter in word-initial contexts. It also follows the normal distinction between *r* and ꝛ, and *s* and *ſ*, with occasional mistakes. Instead of the comma, the 1515 edition employs a thin slash, particularly evident in sentences with lists: "E auida licẽcia ꝺe pilato ꝑa quitar el cuerpo de Jeſu ꝺela cruz ⁄ ꝛ ſepultarlo ⁄ llamo a nicodemos ⁄ que aſſi miſmo era ꝺiſcipulo oculto de Jeſu ꝛ cõpꝛo paño ꝺe lienço muy blanco ⁄ limpio ⁄ nueuo ꝛ bueno" (*Luzero 1515* xlix^{v})[μη] The edition contains 28 xylographs, most of which are purely pictoral representations of the chapter in which they are found. All but one of the xylographs in chapters are found in the first part, with higher concentration in the chapters dealing with the resurrection. Two of the chapter's xylographs include letters and start the first and third parts, respectively, and replace the drop caps used elsewhere. The first folio has a large xylopgrah featuring the title of the work on a banner held by an angel. In the scene behind the angel, King Ferdinand is shown to the left with Ximénez, identified by the upside-

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μη. And having Pilate's permission to take down the body of Jesus from the cross ⁄ and bury it ⁄ he called Nicodemus, who was also a hidden disciple of Jesus and bought very white ⁄ clean ⁄ new and good linen cloth.

down parole that he carries reading *obꝑo·de coria*. Above both is a large sun figure inside of which is the child Jesus holding a globe in his left hand with a mountain upon which a single tree resides is in the background.

2.9.8. 1516 Unknown Edition

This 1516 edition is listed in several resources as having no known copies, and I have been unable to locate such an edition either. I believe that its inclusion is likely a mistake, and actually refers to the 1515 edition.

2.9.9. Jacobo Cromburger's 1524 edition

The edition printed in Seville has a single known copy which is located in the Houghton Library at Harvard University (Typ. 560.23.466). It is printed entirely in two columns with fifty lines of text per column. It employs the same distinction between *d* from ꝺ as the 1515 edition, with the former being used generally and the latter in word-initial contexts. As well, it maintains the normal distinction between *r* and *ꝛ*, and *s* and *ſ*, and liberally substitutes *ſ* for *s*. To mark divisions or pauses within a sentence, the colon is almost exclusively used, and only occasionally is the solidus employed; the comma is never used. Similar to the 1515 edition, the first folio has a large xylograph that depicts the title of the work on a banner held by an angel. Behind the angel, King Ferdinand is seated on the throne to the left with Ximénez, identified by the parole that flows above his head reading *Obiſpo de Coꝛia*, handing Ferdinand a copy of the *Luzero*. Above both is a large sun figure inside of which is the child Jesus holding a globe in his left hand with a mountain upon which two trees grow in the background. The xylograph may have been traced from the 1515 edition as the figure outlines are virtually identical, but the 1543 edition has much

more detail, particularly evident in the embroidering on clothes and the inset of the sun. As well, the scroll naming Ximénez has been moved above him and the letters naming him *Obispo de Coria*[μθ] are no longer reversed. In his right hand he presents a copy of the *Luzero*. Many chapters also begin with xylographs that are approximately half a column wide. Those that do not begin with simple outlined drop capitals.

2.9.10. 1528 edition

I have not yet been able to consult the 1524 edition in person, nor acquire digital scans of it to provide a full description.

2.9.11. Juan Cromberger's 1543 Edition

The 1543 edition, published in Sevilla by Juan Cromberger, has a single known copy that is located at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (RES.939a). It consists of 117 folios, all of which are composed of two columns with 50 lines of text each. Its formatting is the most complex (or chaotic) of all the editions. Some chapters begin with a xylographic drop cap that is four lines tall, others begin with a metal type drop cap that is two lines tall. There are some pictorial xylographs that, when they begin chapters, exclusively use the metal type drop caps. Exclusive of the drop caps, there are 26 xylopgraphs. Two of the drop caps — that begin the first and second sections — are much larger and feature artwork that represents, respectively, a cleric and the nativity. The 1543 edition is the first to use *y* to represent the coordinator instead of *e* when not using the Tironian abbreviation *⁊*. Like the 1515 edition, it has a great predilection for using the solidus (*/*) instead of the comma. The first folio contains a large xylograph which is a exact copy of the one found in the 1524 edition. Given that both were printed by Jacobo Cromberger, this may in fact

μθ. Bishop of Coria

be the same plate.[16]

2.9.12. Juan Ferer's 1555 Edition

The 1955 edition, published in Toledo, comprises 117 folios. It is printed double column in its entirety with fifty lines per column. Chapter headers are printed in larger type an occupy the space of two lines. Each chapter also begins with a xylograph. Although most are merely a stylized drop cap, some are images related to the topic of the chapter, illustrating biblical events or characters. When a xylograph that is not a drop cap is used, a metal type drop cap two lines large is used. The metal drop cap alternates between an antiqua and an insular face, but avoids the gothic face used throughout the rest of the edition. It employs ꝺ in word initial contexts and to *d* elsewhere, but uses the insular form exclusively for the abbreviation ꝺ regardless of position. It has a three way variation between *ſ*, *s*, and *ſ*; the latter two at the ends of words at any point in the line. The distribution of *r* and *ꝛ* is as expected. It prefers *y* for the coordinator in Spanish and *ȝ* in Latin, although it does rarely use *ȝ* in Spanish. For punctuation, in addition to the colon and period, it uses a reverse solidus ⧹ to divide text and the *punctus interrogativus* ⸮ in lieu of the question mark.

16. I unfortunately acquire sufficiently high enough quality versions of both to determine if this is the case. If not, it is a remarkable copy.

Y la lluz, sobre too la lluz,
abierta y arramada sobre mi:
inmersa yo nel sol de la mañana
florecida y feliz
como si yo yá no fuera yo
como si fuera otra siendo yo
como si fuera nueva al fin
como si fuera nueva

Marta Mori d'Arriba

Chapter 3

Towards an edition of the *Luzero*

Creating an edition is much more than merely transcribing the text and producing it in printed form. Long before transcription begins, plans must be made for how they will be used because they will inform the ways that a transcription should be done. Even beyond the transcription, foreknowledge of certain aspects of an edition will necessarily affect how an editor proceeds in the editorial process. For instance, if an editor wishes to include a concordance display, but only makes the decision after having carefully interwoven additional text such as parenthetical notes, footnotes, or other similar editorial text, they will need to first remove all of the text in order to produce a clean run of text that only comes from the work studied.

In this chapter I will describe the process of creating an edition suitable for the *Luzero*.

I will do this by first reviewing examples of projects for both how they present the works to determine what an ideal edition of the *Luzero* would look like. Having done so, I will describe the transcription format and how it was derived, in particular why the standard TEI format was rejected for the project. Lastly, I will describe the actual creation of the edition with a description of future work to be done.

3.1. Presenting an edition

Once the texts from the editions of the *Luzero* have been fully processed, it is necessary that they be presented in a manner that is useful to researchers and readers alike. While it is possible for some to take the transcriptions or the processed data and create their own presentations to highlight one aspect or another of the documents, most scholars interested in the *Luzero* will just want an edition that meets the general needs for critical study.

3.1.1. Survey of Editions and their Presentations

To determine what that presentation ought to be, a survey of current projects is advisable. In this section I will examine several projects on the basis of how they present the texts to the reader and how the reader is able to interact with them. I pay particular attention to details which may be most relevant in the creation of an edition of the *Luzero*.

3.1.1.1. Estoria de Espanna Digital

The interface for viewing the transcriptions in *Estoria de Espanna Digital*, seen in Figure 4 gives the reader more freedom than most for viewing transcriptions and facsimiles side by side for study or comparison. The initial interface is minimalistic, and only presents several drop menus, one for each transcribed witness, with the associated sections contained within. By selecting any

one of them, a viewer appears with the transcribed section formatted to appear roughly like in the original manuscript. An unlimited number of viewers can be used, and they can be arranged which allows for variety of different types of comparisons.

As mentioned, text is styled primarily to match the layout as seen in the original manuscript. This includes features such as drop caps, and red-colored rubrics. Blue section numbers are also shown in the transcription, although these are not part of the original manuscripts. The decision to change the standard appearance of abbreviation expansion is a welcome one. Traditionally, expansions are shown in italics, such that the word *aunq̃* was rendered in most print editions as "aun*que*". Instead, for the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* expansions are shown with a dark grey which distracts less while still presenting the same information. Text that was scribally modified

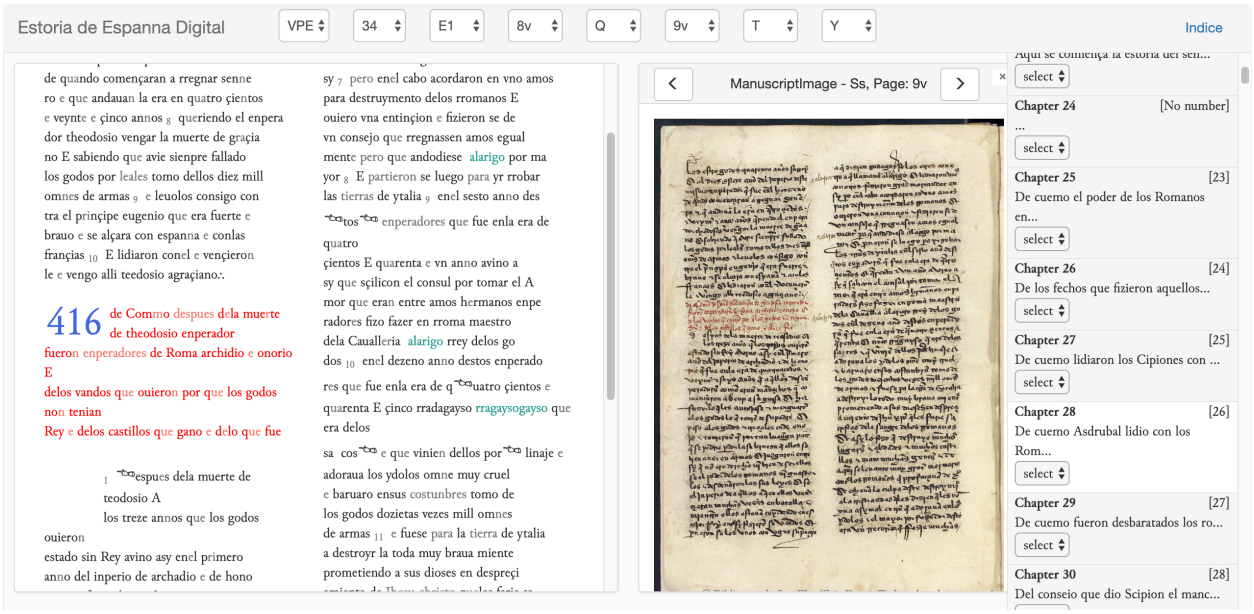


Figure 4: Interface for viewing different versions of *Estoria de Espanna*
The top navigation opens specific folios, while the side navigation opens specific sections. The viewers are rearrangeable. (*Estoria de Espanna Digital*)

is highlighted in a teal color; hovertext describes the modification and its new value. Any other annotations about the transcription are done by including a manicule (☜) which, when hovered over, displays transcription information, for example, whether it was difficult to discern a letter, or if two transcriptions disagreed.

An entirely different style of presenting is used for viewing a primitive text edition that attempts to construct a single base text and can be seen in Figure 5. The project's stated goal with this mode was to "reduce as much as possible the clutter on the page, so we have not used insertion marks beyond the traditional footnote number" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital* "Methodology"). Rather than display by folios, it displays by a chapter-based system that was developed during the transcription process. The footnotes numbers, as can be seen in Figure 4 are only at the bottom of the page and display appropriate and compact information: just a witness number and a different reading, without line breaks. In the text, the only indication of a variant reading are small substitution marks (ר ו ד), which accomplishes their goal of remaining in the background to let the text. When hovering over either the footnote text, or a part of the text with variants, both sets of text are shaded blue to emphasize the connection. Because most chapters with their footnotes can fit entirely in a single viewer, it is an intuitive and appreciated method, although for those that require scrolling, the link between the two is quickly lost.

3.1.1.2. Faust

Faust, a theatrical piece written in two parts by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, is one of the most important works of German literature. Split into two parts, *Faust* underwent several revisions over Goethe's lifetime. The majority of the work consists of poetry, but there are also

several prosaic scenes. In addition to the printed versions, a copy of the original manuscript for the first part was found in 1886, and numerous manuscripts and drafts exist for the second part. As a result, there is rich possibility for study of the work from its genesis to the final version.

The presentation of *Faust. Historisch-kritische Edition* emphasises the iterative nature of the base text. In addition to the work itself, an interactive chronological chart that shows when certain portions of the text were added to the work and at what time is presented. For the main text, there are a multitude of different ways to view the work. Readers can view the original manuscript, or view it alongside a transcription. The transcription can also be viewed *on top of* the manuscript image which is particularly useful for documents written in *Kurrentschrift* which is difficult for most modern readers. There are two separate transcription options. One is to view

455 ᵀ De como ‘Theodisclo` ‘uencio a los franceses en batalla. e mato muchos dellos.`

1 Pves que ‘el Rey` ‘Amalarigo` fue muerto; ‘¶ La reyna Amalassuent` su madre quando se uio sola e sin esfuerço de otro omne ninguno. por que uio que los godos non la preciauan nada nin la temien; enuio por ‘un` ᵀ cormano que auie nombre Theudio ‘a tierra` ‘de Toscana o el uiuie. e este Theudio fuera ayo de su fijo Amalarigo.` 2 ¶ E desi por el parentesco que con ell auie; alçol por rey con otorgamiento de los altos omnes de los godos. e regno ‘dizesiete` annos e cinquo meses en las Espannas. 3 ¶ e los tres destos ‘dizesiete` annos regnaron ᵀ e la reyna Amalassuent amos a dos. 4 ‘¶ e` el primero anno ‘del` su regnado ‘fue. ¶` En la era de quinientos ‘e sesaenta e nueue. ¶` Quando andaua el anno de la encarnacion ᵀ en quinientos e ‘treynta ¶` E el dell Jmperio de Justino en ‘quatorze. ¶` E el del papa ‘feliz` en ‘seys. ¶` E el de Lothario rey de francia ‘dizeocho. ¶` E el de los reys arrianos ‘de los` Sueuos en ‘setaenta. ¶` E el de Hylderigo Rey de los ‘Vuandalos` en ‘nueue.` ‘¶ e el de` Athalarigo rey de los ‘ostrogodos` ‘en cinquo.` 5 ¶ Este rey theudio pero que era herege; dexo los xpristiano ueuir en paz. 6 E mando a los Obispos xpristianos que se ayuntassen todos en uno en la ‘mayor e meior` cibdad ‘que en el Regno ouiesse. e tod aquello` que ellos pusiessen e ordenassen ᵀ pora pro e ‘a` onrra de sancta Eglesia; que ge lo farie el muy bien guardar. 7 ‘¶ En aquel` primero anno del regnado deste Theudio. ayuntaron se los reys de los franceses e entraron en Espanna ‘con` muy grand hueste sin guisa. 8 ¶ e ellos destruyendo la cibdad de Tarragona. ‘llegaron se los godos otrossi` con un cabdiello que auie nombre Theudisclo. e ‘fueron le` tomar el puerto poro passaran ‘a` espanna. 9 Desi fueron a ellos e lidiaron. ‘e uencieron los godos a los franceses` e mataron muchos dellos. 10 ¶ E los que ende escaparon enuiaron muy grand auer ‘a Theudisclo.` e rogaron le ‘que les` diesse un ‘poco de` espacio non mas de quanto ‘durasse` un dia e una noche ᵀ a quantos pudiessen passar los puertos. e ell otorgo ge lo. 11 ¶ Mas la otra mesquina companna que non pudo passar en aquel dia. e en aquella noche; toda fue metida a espada. 12 ¶ E daquell dia ᵀ a delante folgo Espanna de la premia que los franceses le dauan. 13 ‘¶ Del` secundo anno del regnado del rey theudio; non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria ᵀ pertenesca. si non tanto que murio ᵀ el papa ‘feliz.` 14 ‘¶ E pusieron` en su logar a Bonifaz el secundo ‘que fue el` ‘cinquaenta e iioj.` ‘apostoligo.` 15 ‘¶ Esse` anno otrossi murio ell emperador Justino. ¶ e regno empos ell su sobrino Justiniano fiio de su hermana. ‘ochaenta e ocho annos.` 16 ¶ Otrossi ‘esse anno` fue fecho el secundo concilio en Toledo. e fueron en ell ocho. obispos. E era Arçobispo a essa sazon ‘don Montano.` 17 ¶ Mas agora ‘dexamos` aqui de fablar de los godos. e ‘diremos` de los ‘Vuandalos.`

Footnotes:

R. T: Capitulo | T: theudisclo | Ss: *om* | Ss: despues dela muerte de amalarico la rreyna mala suente fiso rrey ateudio e delo que fue **1.** Ss: *om* | Ss: amalarico | Ss: amalasuent La reyna | T: *om* | Ss T: su | Ss: *om* | Ss: que fue ayo de su fijo amalarico a tierra de toscana donde el viuie **2.** T: diez. siete | Ss: diez. e siete **3.** T: .xvii. | Ss T: entrel **4.** T: ¶ | Ss: *om* | Ss: de | Ss: que fue | Ss: e sesaenta e nueue. annos | T: e Lxix. ¶ | T: del sennor | Ss: treynta e vno | T: xxxi. ¶ | T: .xiiii. ¶ | Ss: felix | T: feliç | T: .vi. ¶ | Ss: en diez e ocho | T: en .xviij. ¶ | Ss: e delos | T: *om* | T: lxx. ¶ | T: uandalos | T: .ix. | Ss: E el del rrey | Ss: estrogodos | T: en .v. **6.** T: meior. e mayor | Ss: *om* | Ss: e | Ss T: *om* **7.** Ss: e enste | Ss: *om* **8.** Ss: allegaronse otrosy los godos | T: fueron les | T: e **9.** Ss: con ellos e vençieron los **10.** Ss: atheodisclo | Ss: quele | Ss: pequenno | T: durosse | T T-mod: e **12.** Ss: en **13.** T: ¶ De | Ss: enel | Ss: de espanna | Ss: enel | Ss: felix **14.** Ss: e fue puesto | Ss: e fueron conel | Ss: cinquaenta e tres | T: I iii. | Ss: apostoligos **15.** Ss: en este | Ss: ochaenta annos eneste anno | T: .Lxxx. e viij. **16.** Ss: *om* | T: don montanno. | Ss: vn don Montano. **17.** Ss: vos dexaremos | Ss: dezir vos hemos | T: uandalos.

Figure 5: View of the primitive text edition of *Estoria de Espanna*
The blue text reinforces the connection between the footnote and the main body. Other indicators in the main body text are almost imperceptible by design. (*Estoria de Espanna Digital* VPE 455)

the transcription of a particular edition on its own. The other is to view a collated version of the section in which each verse is highlighted differently according to the number of variances that exist between the different editions, as well as the number of exemplars for that line. This fairly simple technique helps readers understand to how belabored a particular section was in Goethe's writing. To the side, indications similar to a traditional footnote are included specifying the letters or words that differ, but clicking on the verse expands the verse to show all of the versions included side by side. Such a secondary indication is helpful to readers who may have visual difficulties and not be able to see the slight color differences.

The edition has an advanced search engine that allows searching by exact word or lexeme with results sorted by location or relevance. The project also produced a printed edition of the text that uses as its base a critical edition that was produced and also displayed alongside the other editions and transcriptions. There are additional components to the edition which are planned to be included in the online edition including multispectral photographs of manuscripts and prints, which will be welcome for certain types of research.

3.1.1.3. La dama boba

In 1613 Spain's most prolific playwrite, Lope Félix de Vega y Carpio, completed his manuscript of *La dama boba* which could to be one of the more well known and received of his several hundred plays. Three significant copies of the work are known — the original manuscript, an authorized print edition, and another manuscript that "posiblemente derive de un proceso de memorización de la pieza durante las representaciones" (de Vega y Carpio "Proyecto").[v] The par-

v. possibly derives from a process of memorization of the piece during its performances

ticular configuration of editions is ripe for study into the development of the work, as theater in particular is subject to revisions as it is being performed.

La dama boba: edición crítica y archivo digital unites the three editions with transcriptions and a critical edition based on the three versions. When viewing the digital text, the reader can view up to three versions of the work on screen simultaneously. The options include scans or transcriptions of the three base witnesses, as well as the critical edition. Variants, signaled by a different text color, are only displayed in the critical edition — when visualizing transcriptions of the single editions no indication is given of their variance. This was probably done to better display intra-text variation where the author scratched out or rewrote parts without confusion. The self-corrections or other scribal editions can be toggled. When enabled, text that was deleted or scratched out is displayed in one color and struck out, with the corrected or modified version in a different color. When disabled, only the latter is shown and without special indication.

The search function has a few interesting features that are particularly welcome given the genre of the *La dama boba*. Searches can be limited to a specific character's dialog although it is not possible to search the dialogue of more than one character at a time. Searches can be further limited to a particular edition of the text, but likewise only to a single one and not to two or three of the four editions. Regrettably, all searches look for literal tokens, so researchers trying to find examples of a particular word will need to search all variations of it.

The project also created an edition as a PDF that readers could download and print. Unfortunately while great care and attention was placed into the electronic edition, the print edition is not as usable for study. The play is presented as plain text with no special formatting. All of the

notes regarding variances and commentary are placed as heavily abbreviated endnotes. Because there are no in-text indications, readers of the play cannot know when they should refer to the endnotes for additional information.

3.1.1.4. Codex Sinaiticus

The *Codex Sinaiticus* is one of the earliest known manuscripts of the Bible. Its peculiar history and acquisition means that it is not held entirely by any one archive. Instead, portions of it are found at the British Library, the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig,[να] the دير سانت كاترين,[νβ] and the Российская национальная библиотека.[νγ] Collectively, they began a digitization, transcription, and dissemination project.

να. Leipzig University Library νβ. St. Catherine's Monastery νγ. National Library of Russia

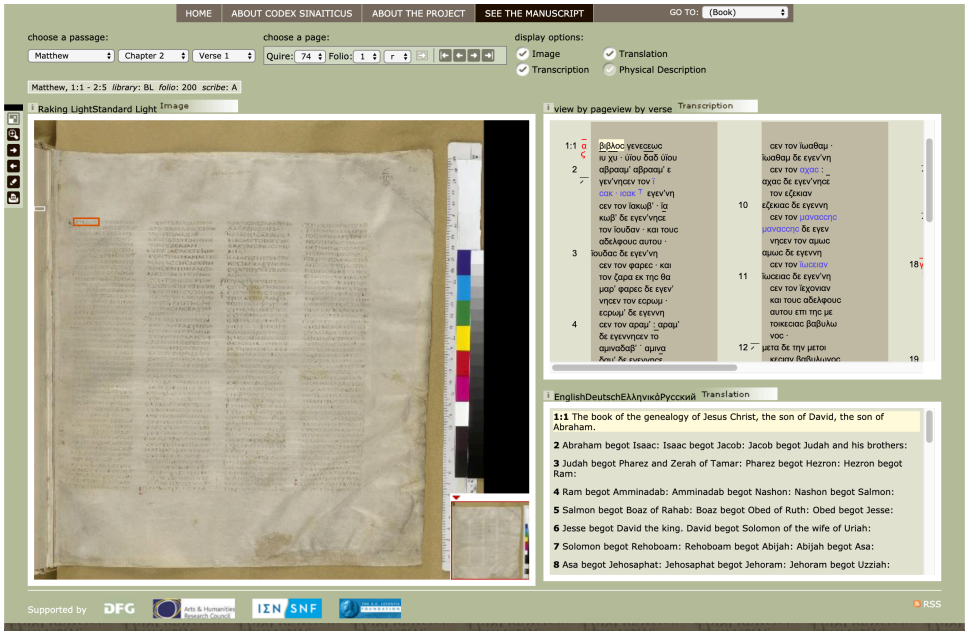


Figure 6: The interface for viewing the *Codex Sinaiticus*.
The red box on the codex matches the highlit word in the transcription, which further corresponds to the highlit verse in the translation. (*Codex Sinaiticus Project*)

The result of their dissemination project is a website that provides Biblical scholars with a wealth of information. Basic navigation is provided by either by book, chapter, and verse; or by quire and folio. The main viewer is divided into four sections which can be individually enabled or disabled: an image of the associated folio; a transcription of the text done entirely in lowercase (as the codex was written entirely in capital, there is no loss of information, only increased readability); a translation, where available, into English, German, Greek, or Russian; and a description of the folio. In the transcription, spaces are provided that are not present in the original. Additionally, text that differs from other established works are indicated through the use of color, and where parts of the codex are missing due to damage, the text indicates through brackets what is presumed to be the missing text based on other versions.

With respect to interactivity, there are a number of useful features. Variances in the transcription are displayed via hovering text when mousing over certain words. By clicking on any word or selecting a range of text in the transcription, the corresponding text in the scanned image is presented in a red box. Similarly, by clicking on a word in the image of the folio will highlight the corresponding word in the transcription area, allowing for the viewer to quickly go back and forth bewteen the two. The image viewer also has the ability to switch between even and raking lighting, although doing so resets the zoom factor on the image meaning it is not possible to quickly alternate between between the two. The transcriptions may be viewed either laid out mirroring the codex, or separated out by verse. There is no way to view the raw transcription data (save for downloading the entire transcription) and no key is provided to explain certain details such as the difference between red and blue coloring in the transcription viewer or the

abbreviations used in the variances hover text.

3.1.1.5. Scholastic Commentaries and Text Archive

A project of Jeffrey C. Witt at the Loyola University Maryland, the Scholastic Commentaries and Text Archive intends to become a large collection of religious documents that have been scanned and transcribed. Launched formally in 2019, though still under development, it proposes maintaining an extremely tight connection to the manuscript tradition by focusing not on entire folios, but on sentences and sections. When viewing a document in the SCTA, text is divided by paragraph, based often on classical divisions. Certain annotations are provided, particularly when a text quotes or makes reference to another. At the end of each paragraph is an icon that, when clicked, displays a menu. The options there include the ability to read and view comments posted by other readers; to view the original manuscript layout of the paragraph and, where available, a facsimile of the paragraph in the manuscript; view, compare or collate variants; download raw TEI data; and view citation information.

The ability to add comments is one that is not common in other editions. Because of the SCTA has not been active for very long, there are very few comments, but such a mechanism represents a shift in way such texts are interacted with: they are no longer consumed, but also produced and ammended via commentary. Over time, and presuming that the comments are substantive, the feature could represent a return to a contextualized and interpreted text.

As well, the explicitly defined citation information is something that should not be surprising, but as most other editions do not provide it, it nonetheless is. Individual paragraphs on SCTA have direct links that can be cited, not unlike a DOI, and correspond to entries in the

corresponding XML transcription which enhances the longevity, although the link is not entirely obvious to a less technical user.[17] Where this system potentially presents a problem is that the works on SCTA are intended to be in a constant state of update (or at least, subject to regular updates). There does not appear to be a mechanism to view items as they were, although such a feature could be provided later.

17. The citation URL for Figure 7 is `http://scta.info/resource/pl-l4d49c1-d1e115`. The final element of the URL (*pl-l4d49c1-d1e115*) is the `xml:id` for the cited text.

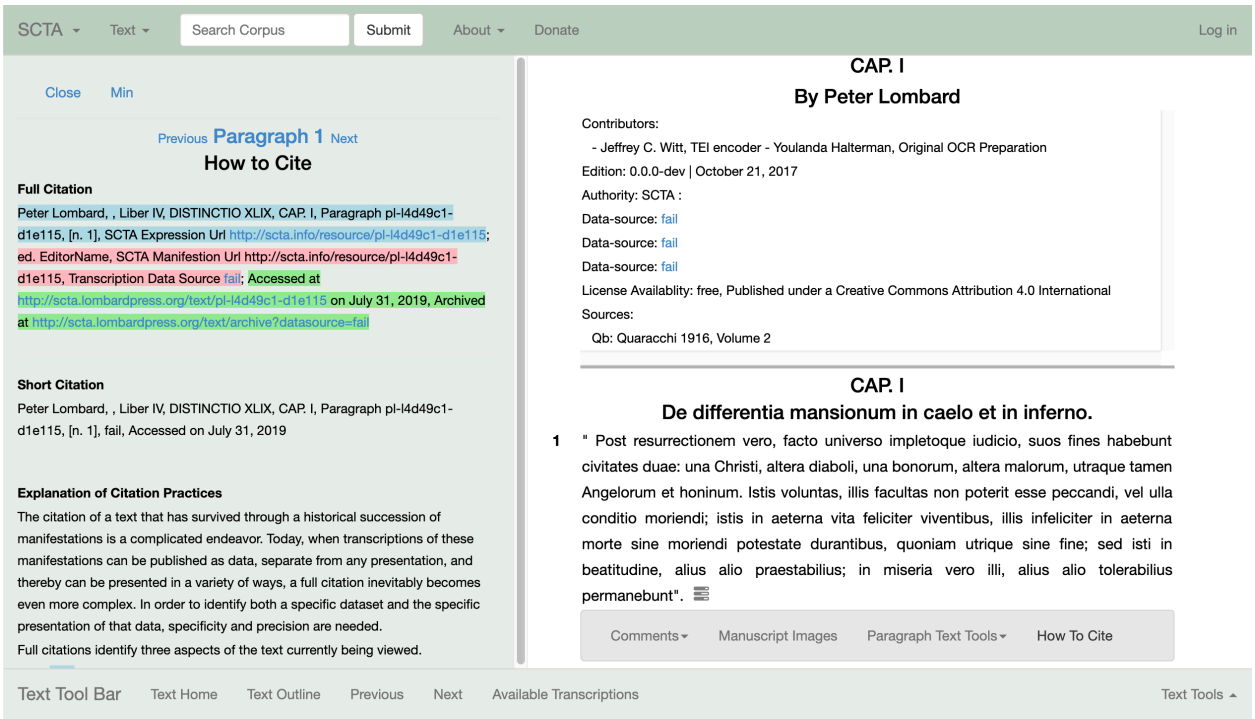


Figure 7: Interface for viewing works in the SCTA.
The sidebar mentioning citation information can be hidden and is not visible by default. (*Codex Sinaiticus Project*)

3.1.2. Presenting the *Luzero*

In reviewing the presentations of digital projects, it is notable how many have begun to take advantage of the interactive capabilities that the digital medium provides. Early digital editions of works were recreations or mimicries of printed editions. The text itself was generally static and the only degree of interactivity was the ability to click through links to rapidly jump from chapter to chapter, or to view footnotes at the bottom of the page and return to the main text. The newer digital editions take advantage of the ever-advancing web technologies to enable more responsive and usable experiences for the reader. Whereas the older, static websites were hampered by the sheer absence of now-omnipresent technologies like JavaScript or CSS, there is not much limit to what modern sites can do.

The most common feature that the digital editions have is linking to facsimiles of the manuscripts or books that they were made from. Even with transcriptions for which there is an extremely detailed record of scratches, erasures, or rewriting, researchers prefer being able to compare a transcription to the original. The reasons are varied, but the coordinators for Jane Austen's *Fiction Manuscript* sum up the necessity for viewing a manuscript:

> one of the recurrent features the reader of these manuscripts will notice is the stroke of the pen by which she repurposes a comma so that it might also function as a caret, and combines a comma with an exclamation mark, or builds a new word out of the shapes of discarded letters. Such attempts to repair and redirect alphabet and punctuation are precious clues, suggesting both thriftiness and an assertion of control over mental and graphic movements. They are also impossible

to represent in print. ("Editorial Principles")

While incunables may have less free variation, there is still some secondary essence that is captured in facsimile form that a mere transcription cannot capture and is thereby valued by researchers.

The availability to distribute the originals, however, can prevent such a feature. The original editions for *La dama boba* were scanned by the Biblioteca Nacional de España; they are freely available under a Creative Commons license,[18] as all such scans from the library are. For the *Luzero*, unfortunately, not all of the editions are available with such a license. For example, while I was allowed to take pictures of the 1494 edition at the Archivo Capitular de Huesca and of the 1500 edition at Southern Methodist University, permission was granted for personal study only. Nonetheless, it is possible for me to include and redistribute other versions, such as the 1495 Seville edition which was scanned by the Biblioteca Nacional de España. I will work to secure rights to the other additions in the future.

Search features are one that are very useful to researchers, and the only edition that had advanced search capabilities was *Faust*. It is somewhat understandable that certain texts might not have a need for them —most biblical scholars using the *Codex Sinaiticus* will know exactly where the subject of their research is— but no digital edition will be worse for including it. However for editions like *La doma boba*, it seems odd not to allow searching by lemma. There are many automated lemmatization engines for English and Spanish, so a search index ought to be able to fairly readily handle lemmas. In the case of the *Luzero*, between handing spelling variants and

18. Creative Commons is an organization that developed a number of reusable licenses, designed to allow for permissive licensing of works with language written for maximum compatibility in different legal systems.

expanding abbreviations, a large portion of the work will have been done by the time the work is presented. A fully lemmatized search would be best based off of a critical edition made in modern Spanish that is linked to the words in the original editions. Nonetheless, work could be done to create an old Spanish lemmatization engine that would benefit other projects. While that is out of the scope of the current project, were it to be made in the future, it could be trivially added.

One feature that was almost entirely absent in the electronic editions was the ability to modify display settings within the text. The maximum extent to which any one addition allowed customization was in *La dama boba*, where annotations could be turned on or off. If activated, however, the color choices made were not modifiable. For some users, certain color combinations that are chosen by the editor may not be optimal for their experience with the text. A common convention is to use red struck text for deletions and green text for additions. However, the most common form of color blindness is deuteranomaly, and deuteranomates have difficult distinguishing those colors. For expansions, the *Estoria de Espanna* opts for using a gray text. While visually pleasing and less jarring than historical practice of using italics, users with other visual impairments may have difficulting perceiving the grey due to a lack of contrast. Because of the nature of CSS in the modern Web, there is no reason not to include such features. Thus the *Luzero* edition should feature the ability to modify certain characteristics of display to suit the needs and interests of readers.

Several of the works reviewed include critical editions. Researchers that are interested in comparing the evolution of a text or doing paleographical work will regularly consult each transcription and often compare it to the facsimile, while other readers are not interesed in such

details. A religious scholar is probably more concerned with the basic concepts presented in commentaries on SCTA, just as a historian may want to verify certain factual details in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Neither of those require the extra information that typical transcriptions have which may be more distracting than useful. Furthermore, more casual readers may not be able to fully discern what the correct reading for a passage that appears differently in selected editions. The solution is a critical text where the editor intervenes to do that work for the reader.

A common feature of critical editions is the regularization and modernization of certain aspects of the text. The degree to which each of those processes is done is different, and based upon a surprisngly broad range of ideals. As will be discussed shortly, is not uncommon for some degree of regularization of spelling to happen (wherein, e.g., *z*, *ȝ*, *ç* may all be transcribed as *z*). The *Estoria de Espanna* shows one approach with its primitive edition that modernizes certain aspects of punctuation. It seems somewhat odd, though understandable if collation is to be maintained to a large degree, that there would not be effort to modernize the edition much further. The age of the text means that, without updated spelling, some words may be obscured for the modern reader, and changes in meaning or loss of vocabulary mean that some words are simply unintelligible. In the case of the *Luzero*, if modernization is to be done, it seems optimal to use the most modern Spanish possible with respect to spelling. Syntactically and lexically, it is, despite its age, very readable to speakers of modern Spanish, and so no changes ought to be made there, although for words whose meanings may have changed substantially, a glossary may be provided.

One of the last things to note is that the editions that best take advantage of the capabil-

ities of a digital presentation are the ones that are specially coded by the project to be tightly integrated with the text and what it can reveal. While not every project can devote the resources towards developing its own custom presentation engine, that should nonetheless be a general ideal for newer projects.

3.2. Transcribing documents

The first step in the creation of a digital text from an existing paper work is a transcription. There are a number of different methods that can be used to aid in the process. For printed texts, a common technique is called optical character recognition or OCR in which a computer analyzes scanned pages from a source and attempts to determine which letters are represented on the page. Its accuracy varies, but without the intervention of a human transcriber the results of it are generally not acceptable for critical scholarly work. Even OCR algorithms with high accuracy may still not be sufficient because errors have a way of snowballing. As Kenning Arlitsch and John Herbert note, a 98% accuracy in determining each letter results in, on average, only a 90% accuracy rate for five letter words, and the rate is worse exponentially worse for each additionally average letter. If the text were to be compared with another text for alignment or to determine differences or changes, an error in a word in either text will generate an error in the comparison, which adds an *additional* exponential factor.[19] Nonetheless, such an error rate can be acceptable in many projects, especially when techniques to correct for errors are applied. For

19. Given a letter accuracy rate l, and a word length w, we can define the per-word accuracy as $a = l^w$. Given some number n witnesses of the word, the likelihood that the accuracy is maintained through the comparisons even lower, where $a = l^{w^n}$. With a dozen witnesses in the *Luzero*, and an average word length of about eight letters per word, that means for at least 90% accuracy at a per-word level, the per-letter accuracy would need to be 99.8904%, or allowing for only a single mistake per thousand letters.

instance, if a word is not found in a dictionary, letters with similar shape may be substituted if they constitute a correct word. Alternatively, various hueristics involving the words around it or other context in the work may be used to determine what a word ought to be. The Google Book Project, as an example, is purely automated and searching for key terms generates acceptable results, although the transcription for any given block of text may be quite low. This is due to many words being repeated many times in a text —in particular key terms likes names, places, or dates that a researcher may search for and furthermore may be found close to one another. One instance of the word may have a transcription error, but one or more will likely be correctly transcribed which allows the text to be used for more general reference and indexing, but not much more.

Within the the medieval and early modern field, it is evident that the errors provided by automated text recognition do not provide adequate transcriptions for deep study or the preparation of critical editions. With the recent boom in artificial intelligence research, some researches have turned to new neural-network–based OCR instead of the traditional rule-based OCR for both incunables (Springmann and Lüdeling) and manuscripts (Hawk et al.). While their accuracy is still not sufficient for a critical edition, it is rapidly improving and could soon be used to enable the same research in medieval works that traditional OCR enabled for eighteenth and nineteenth century works. In the mean time, the *Luzero* will need to be transcribed by hand, although a very accurate and paleographically correct transcription could become a rich data source for incunable OCR studies, particularly in Spain where the same typefaces would be in regular use.

Beyond the question of reading the characters is that of format. The goals and require-

ments of each transcription project may be different, and that will inform the actual transcription itself. For example, the transcriptions entered into a database like the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) have a moderate degree of normalization applied to the text: letter forms like ꝛ, ſ, or ȝ are merged with other letters to aide searching but ç or z that would be c with modern orthogaphy are left differentiated, and abbreviations are expanded and left unremarked. CORDE is only designed to "extraer información con la cual estudiar las palabras y sus significados, así como la gramática y su uso a través del tiempo" (*Corpus diacrónico del español*),[vδ] but not for studies in paleography or bibliography. Transcriptions made with paleography in mind tend to include more information about particular graphical forms of letters as well as paratextual information, for example, whether a letter changes color, or where text or line breaks occur. The extra information be of great use to a number of other fields, but CORDE is not that.

While the HSMS transcription model is still popular within its domain, in the 1980s another model was proposed and has become the standard for most new transcriptions due to its comprehensiveness. The Text Encoding Initiative is an incredibly detailed XML-based format that includes all of the concerns that could potentially come across a transcription. It is used by some of the largest corpora, including the British National Corpus, the Perseus Project, and the EpiDoc, to illustrate the breadth of fields that it is designed to handle. However, its detail comes from not just representing a transcription, but many other aspects of a text. It is rare, for instance, for a transcriber to be concerned with demarcating individual clauses, but the TEI allows for text to be encoding including such information. Nonetheless, for researchers of poetry, it can be advan-

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vδ. extract information to study words and their meanings, as well as the grammar and its use across time

tageous to have files already marked for the lines of poetry.[20]

The complexity of the TEI does come with disadvantages. Because the format is based on the XML format that is hierarchical in nature, it is difficult to represent overlapping elements that are commonly indicated in texts. It is common, for instance, to want to indiciate both section breaks and page breaks in a transcription. As sections and pages are parallel models for dividing a text, it is not possible to use both and produce a hierarchical organization of any text. A page may have one or more sections on it (in the some editions of the *Luzero* there are as many as three chapters on a single page), and a section may likewise comprise several pages.

The TEI suggests a number of different methods to handle overlap. They are, however, quite complex and often non-intuitive. As a result, some transcriptions which are quite simple in the HSMS standard may not be able to be easily represented in TEI. The strengths and weakness of these and other methods will be observed in the following survey.

3.2.1. Survey of Transcriptions and their Methods

It is not my intention in this section to present an exhaustive survey of all transcriptions and their methodologies, but rather to show the breadth of different methodologies in active use by major projects. Many transcriptions, particularly for similar content, will borrow or copy their methodology from other transcriptions.

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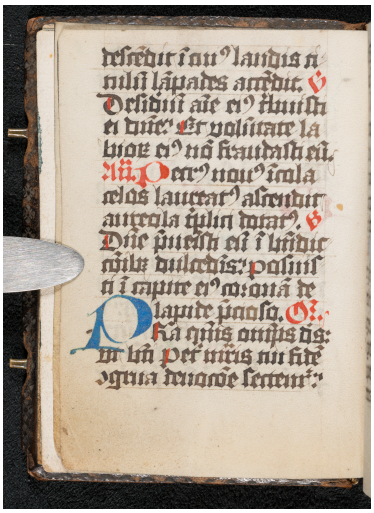
20. Consider a verse that is broken across two lines. It may be to algorithmically impossible determine that two lines belong together as a single verse, but by including both lines as a single verse it will be easier for a researcher to later correctly interpret or process the verses.

3.2.1.1. The Dragon Prayer Book Project

The *Dragon Prayer Book Project* is a collaboration at Northeastern University to transcribe the eponymous book. The book itself is a richly decorated German Dominican manuscript from approximately 1461 and is the only medieval manuscript in Northeastern's collection. The project aims to conserve both the text and the imagery of the book in the transcription. Like in the *Luzero*, it is contains numerous abbreviations that must be interpreted.

The editors of the Dragon Book Project decided to experiment with collaborative transcriptions. To allow for such collaboration, the Dragon Book Project uses Google Docs, a cloud-based WYSIWYG word processor. The format of the transcriptions thus is technically a KIX file, which is not fully documented outside of Google, however, because it is readily converted to other formats within the web application and is never edited directly by transcribers, the exact encoding it uses is of less importance. The WYSIWYG nature of Docs allows certain paratextual elements like text color to be applied in a more literal manner, rather than just being encoded with textual elements like in most transcription formats. Others, such as a abbreviations, still require the use of a text based format. Specifically, any information related to the deletion, insertion or changing of text, as well as marginalia and indications relating to the doubt or illegibility of text.

An example transcription can be seen in Figure 8. Some of the inaccuracies in the transcription can be attributed to it being presented as an example of a work in progress rather than a finalized transcription. To mark colored text, the Dragon Book Project colors the text accordingly, but for rubricized text, they highlight the text with a red background. Lines are explicitly numbered, but the relative size of text is ignored so that there is no way to know from the transcription



Page 4 (*0018)
1 desce(n)dit i(n) cuj(us) laudis ti=
2 tulu(m) la(m)pades acce(n)dit. ?
3 Desidu(er)iu(m) ai(mae)e ei(us) t(ri)buisti
4 ei d(omi)ne? Et volu(n)tate la=
5 bior(um) ei(us) no(n) fraudasti eu(m)
6 ?? Petr(us) nov(us) i(n)cola
7 celos laureat(us) ascendit
8 aureola t(ri)plici dotat(us). ?
9 D(omi)ne p(?)uei(?)sti esi i(n) bri(n)dic=
10 c??ib(um) dulcedi(n?)s ? Posuis=
11 ti i(n) capite ei(us) corona(m) de
12 lapide p(re)cioso. O?
13 P(rae?)sta qu(aesumu)s om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s
14 ut b(ea)ti Pet(ri) m(a)r(ty)ris tui fide(m)
15 (con)grua devot(i)o(n)e sectem(u)r (;?)

Figure 8: In-progress transcription of the Dragon Prayer Book Project ("A Guide to Transcription")

blue *P* is twice the height (and in a different script style) than the surrounding text. The use of a question mark to indicate an unknown letter, however, would make it difficult to distinguish an unknown letter from an actual question mark.[21] Additionally, their process, despite preserving much other paratextual information, does not record the actual abbreviation themselves. The project leads do include several lists of frequent abbreviations, but these are for the transcribers to use, and cannot be used to recover the original text for paleographic study.

The use of a cloud-based WYSIWYG editor to enable collaborative editing is useful to bring more people to the project and complete it expeditiously. Furthermore, a large part of the project is designed to bring together researchers from different fields. As the editing environment that the transcribers use is one that is familiar to many researchers An unfortunate side effect of the

21. Most likely if it were to occur in the text, the mark would be ⁇ or the historical *punctus interrogativus*. Unicode does not encode such a glyph, although the Medieval Unicode Font Initiative currently reserves U+F160, U+F1E8, and U+F1F1, for the forms with, respectively a vertical, horizontal, and lemniscate tilde over the period.

particular format they chose, however, is the inability to readily convert the resulting transcription into other formats commonly used for processing by other tools (this is different from its ability to convert to other similar WYSIWYG or semi-WYSIWYG formats). Nonetheless, this is not seen as a problem by the project organizers themselves as currently they "have no plans to move to a TEI file or automate this process because the text of the prayer book is heavily abbreviated and contains rubrication we want to represent in our transcription" (Packard). If they were to move to another format, it is likely that it would need to be done by hand because of potential ambiguities in the various formats that can be generated by Doc.[22] A smaller concern is the proprietary nature of the Docs platform, but given the ability to export into open formats such as HTML or PDF (even if these may not be as editable as the original Docs file) will easily preserve the work for posterity.

3.2.1.2. Estoria de Espanna Digital

Another project that experiments heavily with collaboration for transcription is the University of Birmingham's *Estoria de Espanna Digital*. The project has ambitious goals, as the transcriptions are also used for collation between five separate editions as well as regularization.

Transcriptions are done using the TEI format. TEI is a standard that was first devised in 1987 to facilitate the exchange of data between different groups in the digital humanities. Until then, groups used a variety of different data formats common with specific fields, or even unique

22. It may be possible that a raw KIX file —the format used by Google Docs— could be more directly converted, but as of the writing of this, I have not seen a complete reverse-engineering of the format, though from the descriptions provided by Jason Somers ("How I Reverse Engineered Google Docs") it seems the bulk of the format is diff codes used to generate display data, and since that is in a DOM environment, it likely would not differ substantially in nature to the files generated by its built-in HTML export.

to projects. As a result of its need to cover many fields, the standard is extremely comprehensive in its ability to tag documents. Its comprehensiveness gives it a flexibility that other transcription standards lack, but the the flexibility comes at a cost: there is more than one way transcribe the same document. For example, rubricized text in medieval documents regularly also served as headers. The TEI standard defines a `<head>` tag for headers, and a `<rubric>` tag for rubricized text, both of which would be perfectly acceptable in a document where —as is often the case— the two concepts coincide completely. As a result, despite the presence of a single standard, each project must decide what information it wants to retain in the transcription and correlate it to the tags available in TEI. For example, a document can be divided hierarchicaly by chapters, or by pages, but not by both. One project may place linebreaks in between verses of a brief poem that is embedded in a much larger prose transcription, but a book of poetry might employ the verse break tag instead within poetry. Others might use both, in the case that a verse is completed on the next line.

For the most part, however, TEI aims to preserve paratextual information on a semantic level. As such, it does not have a lot of tags concerned with, for instance, the size of text, or its exact location on a page. Projects such as the *Estoria de Espanna* that wish to preserve larger amounts of visual or stylistic information must devise their own system. For example, for rubricized text, the `<head>` tag is used, as such text most often is used for delineating chapters or sections.

The project "attempted to represent with Junicode characters something approaching the form of the individual characters produced by medieval scribes" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital* "Methodology").[23] They do not, however, attempt to preserve different letter forms such as ſ

23. Junicode, whose name derives from "Junius-Unicode", is an open source font devel-

and *s*, although it does curiously preserve the form *ſ* using the `<hi>` tag. The project does, however, capture abbreviations with a surprisingly level of detail, although they use two separate systems of marking abbreviations: the first, using a simple pair of `<am>` and `<ex>` tags, and the second a more complex arrangement of `<abbr>`, `<expan>` and `<choice>` tags. For example, a word with a simple abbreviation whose expansion can be done in place is rendered in the *Estoria de Espanna* such as *ꝑte* (*parte*) would be transcribed as `<am> </am><ex>par</ex>te`. Other words, such as *nr̄o* (*nuestro*), despite superficially appearing as simple, require a much more complex solution: `<choice><abbr>nr<am></am>o</abbr><expan>n<ex>uest</ex></expan></choice>`. However, the project is not universal in its practice: the transcription guide cites the word *xpristiano* (*cristiano*) as a word that should not have its abbreviations indicated, even though *xpo* (*cristo*) would.

A great many other details are preserved. Scribal annotations are recorded in three variants: current reading, original, and corrected. Because the current reading may indicate both versions (one overwriting the other), this can result in a very complex transcription for *l~~os~~* (*les* with the word *los* written overtop):

```
<app>
  <rdg type="lit">
    <seg rend="overwritten">
      <seg type="1">les</seg>
      <seg type="2">los</seg>
    </seg>
  </rdg>
  <rdg type="orig">les</rdg>
  <rdg type="mod" resp="1">los</rdg>
</app>
```

---

oped by Peter S. Baker. It contains glyphs for all characters defined by the Medieval Unicode Font Initiative. Most likely they mean that whenever characters are defined by MUFI, they use that assigned codepoint.

```
<head rend="h1" n="Rubric">
  <seg xml:id="rubricStartE215r" next="#rubricEndE215r">
    De como don Vermudo fue alçado Rey <am>ȝ</am><ex>e</ex><lb/>
    de la batalla q<amp̃></am><ex>ue</ex> ouiero<amp̃></am><ex>n</ex>
    entre Yssem<am>ȝ</am><ex>e</ex>
  </seg>
</head><lb/>
<ab n="100">
  <hi rend="init5">L</hi>uego q<amp̃></am><ex>ue</ex>
  <seg xml:id="rubricEndE215r"
    prev="#rubricStartE215r">Çulema</seg><lb/>
  Mauregato fue mu<lb break="no"/>
  erto alçaron los al<lb break="no"/>
  tos omnes por Rey<lb/>
  a don Vermudo el
</ab>
```

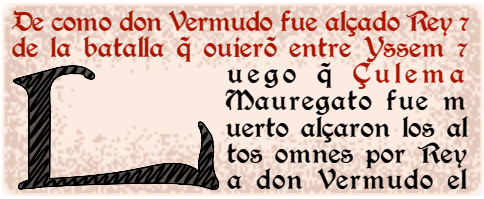


Figure 9: Transcription from *Estoria de Espanna Digital* and recreation of the document it represents *Lucero* (*Estoria de Espanna Digital* E2 15^{r})

The problems with the hiearchical nature of TEI due to its reliance on XML is evident when the reading order and page order of the text is different. Figure 9 shows a transcription whose intended reading order is very clear visually due to the rubricized text, but is otherwise out of order.[24] The resulting transcription is difficult to read.

For the transcription process, Estoria de Espanna uses Textual Communities, a program developed at the University of Saskatchewan. This allowed, for instance, transcribers to work in parallel with their transcription and an image of the manuscript while guaranteeing the validity of the XML they produced. Furthermore, the Textual Communities system allowed "the general editor to monitor progress across all of the witnesses simultaneously" ("Methodology").

One of the early anticipated problems that the project had was the difficulty of entering in

24. The transcribed text is taken from an example provided by the project. A copy of the manuscript page it is based on is not available, so the source shown in Figure 9 is my interpretation of the original. I will provide discussion in the section on presentation.

the fairly complex TEI needed to achieve the project goals of "depth rather than breadth of data" ("Methodology"). Figure 9 clearly demonstrates the unintuitiveness of many of the tags, such as `<ab>` being used for sentence level divisions, or `<hi>` for drop capitals. The difficult correlation of the tag names to their use is attributable to TEI itself rather than to the Estoria de Espanna coordinators. Anticipating the problems with the ability to input in the correct format, they created an online course to teach transcribers a sufficient amount of TEI encoding. It appears that the complicated TEI format had a notable impact on the support from volunteers: from the original fifty people who agreed to help, only seven provided any substantial contribution to the project. Furthermore, a division of labor seems to have arisen wherein some transcribers would transcribe the base text with less encoding information, and others would revise with complete tagging:

> Some crowdsourcers primarily did some of the 'drudgery' of creating a digital edition by doing tasks such as ensuring that the lines of text in the transcription matched the lines of text in the manuscript image, and inserting the correct line break tags. Although this may be perceived as 'donkey work' it was by no means unimportant: having tasks such as this completed enabled the in-house team to complete the rest of the transcription of that folio more quickly ("Crowdsourcing")

In all, paid transcribers were able to reduce their time to produce a finished page in a complex manuscript page from eighty-one minutes on average to just twenty-three minutes in checking the transcription of a volunteer (Duxfield 137).

3.2.1.3. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts

The third and final transcription project that will be reviewed is *Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts* from the Hispanic Seminary for Medieval Studies. The DLOST grew out of the Dictionary of Old Spanish project. To develop the dictionary, a transcription format was devices to allow computers to process the texts. This could, for instance, allow new words to be more easily discovered, but also find instances of words across multiple texts to look for potential shifts in meaning.[25] However, they soon realized they had an entirely collection of transcribed texts too, which were far easier to work with that manuscripts or incunable originals, as well as more easily transmited as data files. Thence came the idea for the DLOST which was inaugurated with transcripts of manuscripts that were not used for the Dictionary of Old Spanish.

The transcription process for these works followed a design that was based on several apparent principals: (1) preserve details that are considered most important for scholars of me dieval documents, (2) be easily processed by computers, and (3) be easily entered by human tran scribers. Given the state of computing at the time, a number of choices were made that today might seem odd, but for legacy reasons are maintained even in the current version of the standard. The transcription standard is described in *A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*, whose title recognizes its original purpose. The standard is comprehensive, supporting notation for folio and column breaks including different numbers

25. One of the key features of many of the editions produced from the HSMSis concordances which clearly was a focus for quickly evaluating different meanings of the same word with a text or across multiple texts. At the time, concordances were a fairly complex problem given the limited computational resources of the time. Compare to today where concordances can be generated with only a few lines of code in modern programming languages and outputted instantaneously.

of columns on a single page or inset pages, the editorial insertion or suppression of spaces for scribal errors, various types of diacritics and special characters, as well as the ability to render paratextual information. But because it was originally written in 1977, it is held back by the limited character set support of 1970s computing.[26] As a result, between editorial and paleographic considerations, certain common abbreviations and letter sequences had complex inputs. The word *quien* abbreviated as *q̓ẽ*, for instance, would be transcribed as `q<u><<i>>e` , where the first `<u>` represents an abbreviated letter not shown in the text, the `<<i>>` an abbreviated *i* that *was* visible via superscripting. For documents with extensive abbreviation, the resulting transcription can be very difficult to read. Marginalia, scribal insertions and deletions, etc, are all made possible, although when these occurs over multiple lines they are only generally connected to each individual line, with no way to encode the connection between them. Certain encoded elements can optionally include a remark to comment about the element, but it is period-terminated, allowing for a single sentence. Images can be described by these remarks, but otherwise the size and position of the image cannot be specified. Discontiguous text only has limited support, although generally sufficient for typical manuscripts as it would be rare to have, for instance, two separate rubric like entries crisscrossing that would obligate a different syntax.

3.2.2. Transcribing the *Luzero*

One of the more striking observations that can be deduced from the review of previous transcription projects is that simplicity can be a virtue — so long as the simplicity does not pre-

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26. The first company to create a somewhat standard ASCII extension was Hewlett Packard in 1978, well after the first *Manual* was published, so there would have been no way to ensure consistency like is possible today with Unicode.

vent more complicated work. In the Dragon Prayer Book project, the simplicity of a WYSIWYG editor and familiar tools made it easy for transcribers to focus on the transcription, and to enhance interdisciplinary work. Nonetheless, the format it uses makes it hard to be processed by traditional tools in the digital humanities community. The transcriptions used by DLOST are very standardized, but were designed to be easy for a computer to process, not necessarily for a human to transcribe, and are limited by what was possible with computers when it was created. Simple transcriptions are easy to understand, but more complex ones can be stretch the limits of legibility because of their heavy reliance upon only moderately-mnemonic symbols. *Estoria de Espanna* Digital combines the collaborative editing with an advanced transcription standard, but it is one that is so complicated some volunteers worked primarily to check and fix the paratextual syntax more than transcribing, and virtually requires processing by a computer to make sense of the textual content of the transcription.

From the three projects, we can see that the Dragon Prayer Book project has the simplest transcription methodology, and thus found it easy to involve people from within and without the field. The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital, on the other hand, is very complex requiring specialized training because of the amount of metatextual informational being encoded into the TEI documents. Even after the training, transcibers needed to have the work reviewed and reworked often times to achieve desired results. Basic transcriptions have a lot of "line noise" making the transcription itself difficult to discern —even though he Digital Communities interface used does allow for some syntax highlighting it actually emphasizes the tags rather than the base text! The HSMS transcription standard, despite being the earliest, occupies somewhat of a middle ground.

Most transcriptions are fairly easy to enter and read, with complex documents requiring ever more complex transcription elements, but simple documents with lots of abbreviations (which are the most common thing noted in many medieval transcriptions) are fairly straightforward.

The question, then, becomes how the transcription process for the *Luzero* should go about to balance speed, usability, depth of data, and accuracy. For this, I would propose a different transcription format entirely. Brian Munroe's infamous comic, shown in Figure 10, is always referenced when proposing standards, and was given full consideration before coming to the decision not to follow either the HSMS or TEI transcription models. Where, however, my proposal will differ is that does not aim to be a universal standard, but rather apply specifically to the transcription of the *Luzero* and its particular needs. At the same time, I intended to demonstrate a methodology by which other projects can devise formats while still providing data portability through an ability to easily convert to the more universal, but complex, standards. The final transcription format had two primary influences: (1) Perl's second slogan, and (2) John Gruber's Markdown.

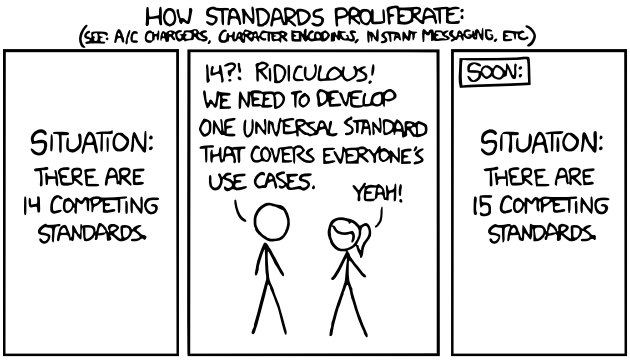


Figure 10: XKCD #927: "Standards"
The mouse-over text for this stated "Fortunately, the charging one has been solved, now that we've all standardized on mini-USB. Or is it micro-USB. Shit." (Munroe)

Perl's second slogan derives from the 2nd edition of *Programming Perl* which, in the context of designing programming languages to help one get their job done, surmises that

> At one extreme, the so-called "fourth generation languages" make it easy to do some things, but nearly impossible to do other things. At the other extreme, certain well known, "industrial-strength" languages make it equally difficult to do almost everything.
>
> Perl is different. In a nutshell, Perl is designed to make the easy jobs easy, without making the hard jobs impossible. (Wall et al. ix)

In other words, tasks that are common and simple should ideally be very easy and intuitive. The easiness should not come at the expensive of making harder tasks even more difficult or impossible. Looking back at the Dragon Prayer Book Project's transcription format, the first part is fulfilled: there is almost no learning curve in transcribing the most common elements of the text. The accuracy of the transcription can be verified by a quick glance between the original document and the transcription. But it fails for the hard jobs, because they are impossible: the format simply cannot handle the more detailed metadata that future researches might desire, and has no way of being converted to formats for use the analytical tools that they may use. The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project's decision to use the TEI certainly makes more difficult tasks possible: the TEI tags were designed for almost every use case possible in textual analysis and criticism. It therefore fulfills the second part of the principle. However, as the sample transcription in Figure 9 as well as the very need for a detailed online course to learn to write it show, basic transcriptions are neither simple nor easy.

John Gruber created his Markdown format with an emphasis on readability. The guiding philosophy is that a

> Markdown-formatted document should be publishable as-is, as plain text, without looking like it's been marked up with tags or formatting instructions [...]
>
> To this end, Markdown's syntax is comprised entirely of punctuation characters, which punctuation characters have been carefully chosen so as to look like what they mean. E.g., asterisks around a word actually look like *emphasis*. Markdown lists look like, well, lists. Even blockquotes look like quoted passages of text, assuming you've ever used email. (Gruber "Syntax")

When looking at a TEI-encoded transcription, it is often times impossible to have a feel of what the document is or says. The transcription is only truly legible if displayed through a program, or otherwise processed. The difficulty in reading the document is important: during the process of transcription, a transcriber should be able to quickly go back and forth between document and transcription, know what they have transcribed and still need to transcribe, and check for errors. When doing this, the extra breaks in the flow of text that are not present in the original increase the likihood — to say nothing about having a transcription verified by a second transcriber. HSMS-encoded transcriptions tend to feel less tagged due to the lighter weight of much of the markup. While without doubt this was to ease processing by computers, it has a secondary effect that the transcriptions are easier to read. Furthermore of the tags used are inherently intuitive and naturally-feeling. For example, when rubrics continue on another line that begins with unrelated text, the first rubric mnemonic ends with +, as if to say "all of this, plus the next":

```
1 {RUB. La sexta mansion es pora meter a-mor +}
```

```
{IN2.} La .vj<<a>>. mansion es {RUB. entre dos.}
```

Line breaks are also identified by the end of the line of text: the mimicry of the original format in the transcription format aides readability.

A key point is that each project has goals that are different. The Dragon Prayer Book Project has met their goals by deciding what they wanted to do, and adjusting the transcription format to suit; it only lacks inasmuch as it cannot be readily utilized by others. Both the HSMS and the TEI are designed to handle a lot of different things, but rarely does any text or project need to make use of all of them. Similarly, HTML was designed to handle numerous different formatting options, but Markdown was designed to handle the absolute most common. After examining the various editions of the Luzero and considering the goal of a detailed, diplomatic, and critical edition, I divised a format that should greatly simplify transcribing, enhance raw legibility, while also enabling portability to other formats. The formal definition can be found in attachments.

Some of the most common elements in transcriptions —newlines, abbreviated characters— are designed to be very easy to enter. More complex items, such as images, command a slightly more complicated syntax, but are nonetheless possible to enter without overly confusing code. It is best demonstrated via an example, seen in Figure 11.

Several things should be immediately evident. Spaces are only significant to signal a gap, so multiple spaces can be used to provide alignment and make the transcription visually appear close to the original. Line breaks, like in the HSMS format, are significant, but blank lines are ignored unless specially signaled to allow for spacing out meta information or, as in the example transcription, the header from the chapter start. Metadata is marked with an initial # followed

```
# chapter: 21
# page: 24v
# page-header: *P*rimera parte

*~  ¶  Ca.  xxj.  como  los  tres… ~*
 ~ …reyes llegarõ a Bethleẽ y conocierõ y ado… ~
 ~ …raron a Jeſu:y que ſe hizo  ela eſtrella.  ~

[img:15,3kingsAdoration]   [2,D]Eſpue ſaliẽ-
                               do eſto  tres
                           reyes  ela ciu=
                           dad d̃ jeruſalem
                           apecioles la  ſo=
                           b edicha eſtrella
                           y lo  guio haſta a
                           betleẽ  õde eſta
                           ua xp̃o naſcido
                           y como los  i=
                           chos reyes lle=
                           garõ a bethleẽ
                           la eſtrella q̃ los
                           guiaua puſooſe ſo
                           b e la caſa  õde
eſtaua el niño Jeſu:en q̃ los reye  manifieſta-
mente conoſcieron q̃ eſtaua en aq̃lla caſa el
rey que ellos venian a ado ar . E  eſpues
nunca ma  parecio la  icha eſtrella:po q̃ ya
no era mas neceſſario:mas fue reſoluida en=
la materia p ejacente que era vapo es y ay-
re  e que era fo mada. E apararonſe lo  di-
chos reyes y entraron  entro en caſa:y ha=
llaron el niño Jeſu enlos b aço  e aparato
real:po q̃ Jeſu eſtaua en pob eza y en enfer-
medad d̃ la carne ſegũ ſu edad aſſi como eſtã
lo  otros niño  e aquella edad: y embuelto
en paños pob es  e guiſa q̃ non lo podian co-
noſcer po  modo humano:mas conocierõlo
po  interio  y  iuina reuelaciõ:alumb ado
po  ſpritu ſancto que mouia ſus co açones
a firmemente creer que eſte era hijo  e  ios
eterno\\ y homb e naſcido en tiempo d̃ aqu-
lla virgen que lo tenia enſus b aços. E aſſi
fue certificado ſymeon po  el eſpiritu ſanto
que mouio ſu co açon quando enel templo
lo recibio en ſus manos: y aſſi mouio el co a-
çon d̃ Anna p ofetiza para que lo conoſcieſ-
ſe y publicamente lo dixeſſe alos judios en

# img-3kingsAdoration-title: The Adoration of…
    the Three Kings
# img-3kingsAdoration-description: Mary sits…
    with the baby Jesus on her lap.  One of…
    the three kings is kneeling and reaching…
    out to Jesus.  The other two stand to the…
    side holding their gifts.
# img-3kingsAdoration-filename: 1555_21_a.jpg
# img-3kingsAdoration-text:
```

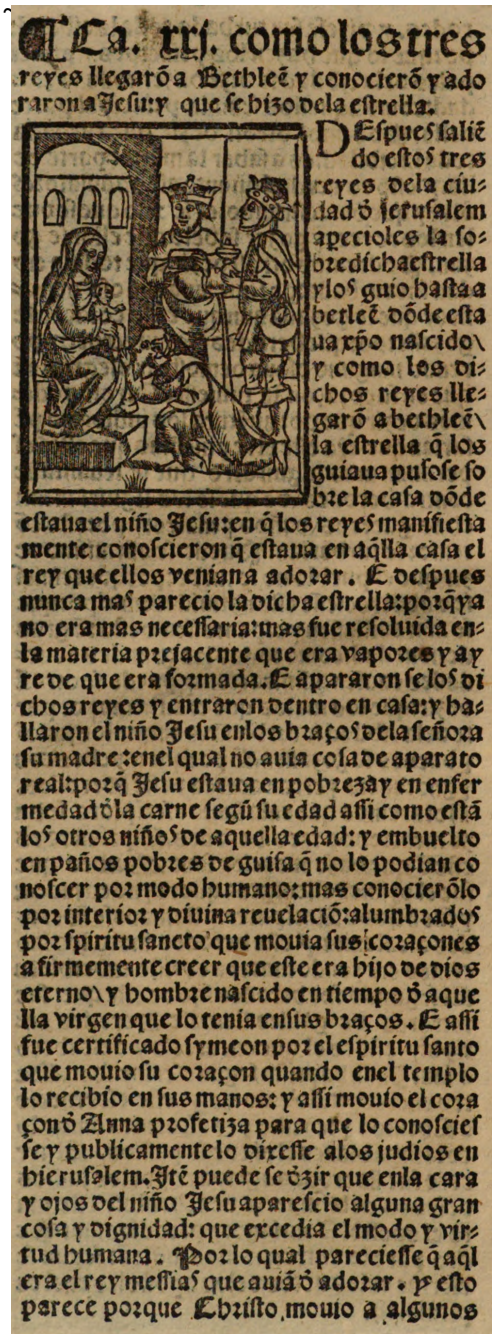

Ca. xxj. como los tres
reyes llegarõ a Bethleẽ y conocierõ y ado
raron a Jeſu:y que ſe hizo dela eſtrella.
DEſpues ſaliẽ
do eſtos tres
reyes dela ciu=
dad ỏ jeruſalem
apecioles la ſo=
bredichaeſtrella
y los guio haſta a
betleẽ õde eſta
ua xp̃o naſcido\
y como los di=
chos reyes lle=
garõ a bethleẽ\
la eſtrella q̃ los
guiaua puſoſe ſo
bre la caſa õde
eſtaua el niño Jeſu:en q̃ los reyes manifieſta
mente conoſcieron q̃ eſtaua en aq̃lla caſa el
rey que ellos veniana adozar. E deſpues
nunca maſ parecio la dicha eſtrella:poz q̃ya
no era mas neceſſaria:mas fue reſoluida en=
la materia preſacente que era vapozes y ay
re de que era fozmada. E apararon ſe los di
chos reyes y entraron dentro en caſa:y ha=
llaron el niño Jeſu enlos braços dela ſeñoza
ſu madre:enel qual no auia coſa de aparato
real:poz q̃ Jeſu eſtaua en pobrezay en enfer
medad ỏla carne ſegũ ſu edad aſſi como eſtã
loſ otros niñoſ de aquella edad: y embuelto
en paños pobres de guiſa q̃ no lo podian co
noſcer poz modo humano:mas conocierõlo
poz interioz y diuina reuelaciõ:alumbradoſ
poz ſpiritu ſancto que mouia ſus cozaçones
a firmemente creer que eſte era hijo de dios
eterno\y bombre naſcido en tiempo ỏ aque
lla virgen que lo tenia enſus braços. E aſſi
fue certificado ſymeon poz el eſpiritu ſanto
que mouio ſu cozaçon quando enel templo
lo recibio en ſus manos: y aſſi mouio el coza
çon ỏ Anna profetiza para que lo conoſcieſ
ſe y publicamente lo dixeſſe alos judios en
hieruſalem. Itẽ puede ſe ỏzir que enla cara
y ojos del niño Jeſu apareſcio alguna gran
coſa y dignidad: que excedia el modo y vir-
tud humana. Poz lo qual pareciesſe q̃ aq̃l
era el rey meſſiaſ que auiã ỏ adozar. y eſto
parece pozque Chriſto mouio a algunos

Figure 11: Transcription of the *Luzero*, with source facsimile.
The final six lines of the main transcription were removed for spacing considerations. (Ximenez ỏ Pɔexano, *Luzero 1555* 24^{v})

by a colon-delineated key/value pair, which helps to separate it from the main content. A rubric is marked by simply surrounding its associated text with ~~, and large text —seen in the header and the rubric— is marked by surrounding with `* *`. The image and the drop cap are signaled between brackets which aludes to their rectangular shape, with a number indicating their height in number of lines along with a label (for images) or the letter itself (for drop caps). Additional information about the image is seen at the bottom, included as metadata entries that reference the image's label. The three-way distinction between title, description, and text is inspired in part by the way that many accessibility programs would work. The title gives a concise description of the image, similar to HTML's `<title>` tag, and could also be used for cataloguing purposes. The description is intended for a richer, detailed explanation, as if describing it for someone who does not have access to the image. It aims to mirror the ideas of HTML's `<alt>` tag. The text entry is used to identify text included in the image and was inspired by the text inside of HSMS's `{MIN}` and `{DIAG}` mnemonics; it is left intentionally blank here but could be removed entirely. The rubric and several of the picture descriptions cross several lines, so ellipses are added at the end to signal their continuation. Ellipses at the beginning are an optional additional: they are not required, but in some cases may make the transcription clearer.

The abbreviations have been greatly simplified by simply not marking their expansions. While this may seem unthinkable, the reality is that most abbreviations are unambiguous in their meaning and can be determined either programmatically or via a lookup system. The abbreviation *q̃* universally expands to *que* in Spanish. The abbreviation *õ* is nearly always expanded to either *om* or *on*, and this can generally be predicted based upon the letter that follows because

at the end of syllables *n* and *m* are not contrastive. These and other rules mean that a computer, particularly armed with a dictionary that includes older forms or common prefixes or suffixes, can determine the vast majority of abbreviations without needing the transcriber to specify it. In the rarer event that it seems that an abbreviation cannot be expanded, however, it can be specified. For example, the eighth line of the chapter's main text could be written as `<betleẽ=betleem>` `< õde= onde> eſta` or as `betle<ẽ=em>  <õ=on>de eſta` (in both cases, a computer program could determine the exact location and type of abbreviation). The angle brackets were chosen because they already enjoy a lot of use for abbreviation expansions and the equals sign was chosen as the delineator to emphasis the idea the two sides are equivalent.

The only information not conveyed is that of sentence boundaries, which is more a result of such a marker not being entirely useful in some parts of the *Luzero* where the boundaries may not be entirely clear. Nonetheless, it would be fairly simple to add in an addition syntax to enable it without being intrusive.[27] For everything else, it is very simple to create a program that could convert my transcription into, for instance, either the HSMS or TEI formats. More importantly for the TEI, it would be equally trivial to modify such a program to convert it in different ways. For example, while the *Estoria de Espanna* project expects certain elements like rubrics encoded in `<head>` tags, as previously mentioned, they could also just as well be encoded with `<rubric>` tags. It would be trivial, then, to adjust a program that converts my format to use `<rubric>` instead of `<head>`, or whichever other tag may opportune for others.

It is true that such an approach puts more work on a researcher intending to use the tran-

27. For example, one could borrow the linebreak syntax from LaTeX and use `\\` and allow for an optional sentence number immediately before or after.

scription. However, if a defined grammar is provided in addition to a reference implementation of a parser, then the amount of extra work involved in writing a customized conversion program is trivial. In the case of the *Luzero* transcription, I have provided a grammar as both an EBNF file and as a Raku (formerly known as Perl 6) grammar. I have also provided two separate reference implementations, one in JavaScript and the other in Raku.

There are other things that, while not strictly necessarily, would also be advantageous to other future projects. A transcription editor that can provide instant feedback should help to reduce errors. For example, in the 1555 edition of the Luzero, the *d* and ð are generally predictable: ð is used word-initially, and *d* is used everywhere else. If a transcriber for that edition entered in a word-initial *d* or used a ð anywhere else, an interactive editor could alert them and allow for an immediate correction if necessary.

Similarly, spelling could eventually be checked against the same edition. If an edition normally uses *delos*, and the transcriber finds it split across two lines in the original, they should mark it with an unwritten hyphen. Since modern Spanish uses *de los*, though, the transcriber may mistakenly leave it as is. Or, if one time the book has *de los* with the space, the transcriber could signal it as the original author's error.

When undertaking a large transcription project, a researcher or team should perform the following steps for the greatest efficiency:

1. *Examine each work with detail, to determine what meta- and paratextual elements might be worthy of transcribing and their relatively frequency.*

   The script used in a book written entirely in Fraktur does not probably need to be indi-

cated in the transcription. But one that alternatives between the Fraktur and Antiqua likely would.

2. *Determine a simple text-based format to use in transcription.*

   To do this, the designer of the format should (a) devise the simplest markup or syntax for those elements of highest frequency, (b) consider the capabilities of later processing to detect 4h, (c) maintain maximum readability in plain text, and (d) allow room for potential expandability, perhaps via a generic comment syntax.

   If, for instance, two elements always occur together — German in Fraktur, Latin in Antiqua — the format need not treat the two as separate. Likewise, if the mark & always means *et* in Latin and *und* in German, there is no need to explicitly not as much in the transcription, since the surrounding language will determine its reading. The format should be reviewed early in the transcribing process to make any necessary adjustments.

3. *Create a formal grammar and a reference implementation for a parser.*

   The formal grammar ensures that there are no ambiguities in the format and it can be readily implemented by others. A reference implementation means that most of the work in interpreting the text will already be done and against which others can compare their parses to. This implementantation should be well documented and designed so that convertors for other formats may be quickly created.

3.3. From Transcription to Display

Once the texts from the multitude of editions of the *Luzero* have been fully transcribed, it is necessary that they be processed and presented in a manner that is useful to researchers

and readers alike. It is is in the processing that the transcriptions take life and are formed based on the goals laid out in section 3.1 While it is possible for some to take the transcriptions or the processed data and create their own presentations to highlight one aspect or another of the documents, most scholars interested in the *Luzero* will just want an edition that meets the general needs for critical study.

3.3.1. Framing the Transcription

In Section 3.2 I described the process of creating a transcription format. Table 1 shows the final syntax used. To facilitate the process of entering in text, I created a web-based interface that consists primarily three vertical frames. A transcriber can, if working from a scanned text, load an image into the middle frame and adjust the level of zoom according to their need. The left frame is where transcribers introduce their transcription which is parsed and presented in the right frame in a manner that allows transcribers to verify their accuracy. Both HSMS and TEI are capable of handling non-contiguous text, but require syntax that can be easily mistyped and

Table 1: Transcription Syntax for the *Luzero*.

Syntax	Explanation
`* text *`	enlargens *text*
`~ text ~`	rubricizes *text*
`text ...`	inside large or rubric text, continues logically with next large/rubric
`word-`	combines *word* with the following, no visible hyphen
`word=`	combines *word* with the following, visible hyphen
`[img:height,key]`	drop capital for *letter* that is *number* lines high
`::`	line that is blank in the source text
`<abbr=exp1,exp2…>`	explicitly defines *abbr* as expanding to *exp*
`^number`	inserts a footnote (*number* matches metadata with key *number*)
`trans. # text`	marks *text* as a comment for *trans.*
`# key : value`	indicates a metadatum, with associated *key* and *value*
`\x`	where *x* is a special character, inserts that character

cause the text to not be read as contiguous. In my interface, such connected elements (generally rubrics) are displayed in the right frame with a visual indication of their continuity. The layout indicated by the transcription is preserved, which allows for a three-way visual comparison to check the transcription.

Typing special characters can be difficult for transcribers. Above the left frame are buttons that insert various letterforms and punctuation that are not generally available on keyboards. Above the right frame are buttons that insert special syntactical constructs. When a transcriber clicks on one, the syntax for associated feature is added in a context-sensitive way. Upon clicking the rubric button, if no text is selected, the text `~ rubric text ~` is added with the text "rubric text" already highlighted so that any typing will immediately replace it. If text is already highlighted, then the tilde structure will be added around it. When adding an image, the transcriber is prompted to provide a keyword for it. While the image syntax is added at the location of the cursor, several pieces of metadata are also added to the bottom of the transcription to encourage the development of an accessible edition. For an image with the keyword "nativity", the following is added

```
[img:10,nativity]
# img-nativity-title:        a short title
# img-nativity-description:  a good description
# img-nativity-filename:     separate folders with /
# img-nativity-text:         text found in image, if any
```

which reminds the transcriber the importance of providing the information for users who use assistive devices.

When hovering over both letterform and syntax buttons, a brief guide and explanation is shown above the center frame. For letterforms, it gives a name for the form and provides advice

for using it. The explanation of *ꝛ* indicates that it is most common after rounded letters like *b*, *ꝺ*, *o*, and *p* while the explanation for *ꝑ* notes that due to its unregularity, a manual abbreviation expansion will always be necessary. For syntax buttons, the guide details the meaning of the syntax. The syntax `[3,D]`, for instance, which is used for drop capitals, is explained as the height in lines followed by the letter itself, both in brackets.

The goal of the transcription interface is to make the process simple even for non-technically inclined users. Future advancements could include automated loading from a server, real-time collaborative editing, or the ability to immediately see if an abbreviated word is readily interpretable. Even without such features, I average less than fifteen minutes per page, which is far under the average for other projects.

Lastly, while reviewing the transcriptions, I introduce notes about the text by using the footnote syntax. I base them on the commentary that I develop in Chapter 4. An example of such can be seen in Chapter 2:[28]

```
unicia  e galilea:la qual virgen era˜ d-ſſ
poada con ſjoeph:`varon mucho ſan-
to:ſjuto :˜ temiete a  ios  ˜ virge.^1 E co-
mo la˜ virge `ſſſetouiee^2 ſpueta en  oaci=

#1:  Ximénez quotes Luke 1:26-27 here, …but
     …adds in the adjectives santo, justo, …
     …and temiente. {commentary}
#2:  estuviese {language}
```

The footnotes provide two different types of information, and accordingly are given different tags in braces. By categorizing footnotes, readers will later be able to decide to show or not show different types of comments. Because of alignment techniques that will be performed during processing, the description of Ximénez's insertion of adjectives into Luke can be applied

28. The supporting analysis can be found on page 123.

to all editions, assuming that the text is present. On the other hand, a note given the language tag might reasonably be assumed to be specific to a given edition.

3.3.2. Processing the Transcription

To parse the transcriptions, I used the following grammar:

```
grammar Luzero-Grammar {
  token TOP   { <line>+  \n }

  token line  {
              || <.metastart> <meta>
              || <transcription>
              || <empty>
              }
  …
}
```

The purpose of each token can be understood from the grammar. The most important token is `<word>`, which along with `<punctuation>` defines the actual text found in the book. The remaining tokens serve mainly to provide meta- and paratextual information about the book.

Because multiple interfaces will be created, the definition for each edition's object includes distinct chapters and pages:

```
class Edition {
  has Text    @.text;
  has Chapter @.chapters;
  has Page    @.pages;
  has Meta    @.meta;
}
```

The `Page` objects contain `Column` objects which contain `Line` objects. All contain relevant `Text` and `Meta` so that their contents can be generally reconstructed without needing to reference the outer edition. Such information can be calculated directly from the longer sequences of `Text` and `Meta` objects and for them to be calculated by using the meta data, but their inclusion makes it easier to develop newer interfaces at a the cost of a relatively small amount of memory.

Once the transcription has been tokenized, it is processed to create a `Transcription`. The

`Transcription` is used as an intermediate level in the process because in my transcription process, each chapter is contained in a separate file. Once all of the transcriptions for a given an edition have been processed, they are then combined to create an `Edition`, at which time the `Chapter` and `Page` objects are created associating every transcription element simultaneously with a chapter and a page, column, line, and offset.

3.3.3. Finding Differences and Aligning Editions

The rote work of finding the difference between texts is something that computers excell at. The most commonly used technique for calculating that is described in a seminal paper by Eugene W. Myers, and is known today as the Myers diff algorithm. For the purpose of editing the *Luzero*, I have chosen the Myers diff algorithm for its canonicity and its simplicity. The algorithm creates an edit graph and then calculates the shortest distance between the two, by way of additions and deletions.[29] For example, to transform the sentence "Ximénez es un gran escritor" into "Ximénez es un escritor español", we would obtain the edit graph shown in Figure 12.

Thus, the process can be described as taking "Ximénez es un gran escritor", deleting *es*, adding *fue*, deleting *gran* and adding *español*. A deletion followed by an addition, or an addition followed by a deletion, can be interpreted as a substitution.[30] Such changes could be shown, for instances as is common in many word processing programs, as "Ximénez ~~es~~ fue un ~~gran~~ escritor español".

---

29. Ultimately, all algorithms for calculating diffs describe the transformation in these terms, which means that another algorithm could be chosen. It is possible that some texts may be compared more easily using a different algorithm

30. The "greedy" nature of Myers' algorithm coupled with its preference for deletions means that additions cannot be followed by deletions.

There are some aspects of text editing that can cause problems without making modifications to how the algorithm works. For instance, any punctuation mark, even if it is semantically identical, will be identified as a difference. Given the lack of standardization of punctuation during the medieval and early modern periods, this means that punctuation marks such as the comma, slash, period will be identified as differences. Modern critical editions tend to update punctuation to comport with contemporary standards, which means in calculating differences, they should not be identified as contrastive. In fact, including them in the diff creation may cause the appearance of so many supposed differences that more substantive ones will be obscured.

Although Spanish spelling was not entirely consistent in the late medieval period, it had

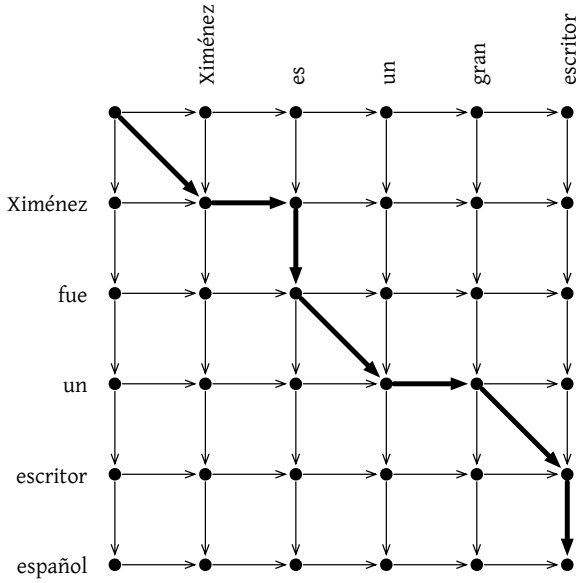


Figure 12: Edit graph solved with the Myers diff algorithm.
Diagonal paths represent words that both sentences have in common, rightward paths represent words that need to be deleted, and downward paths represent words that need to be added.

mostly standardized. The problem with medieval Spanish orthography that presents itself when trying to analyze text is the heavy amount of abbreviations that it presents, as well as letter form variation and spacing. Consider the sentences “jħu xp̃o biuio cõ ſus paðɾeˢ” and “jesucrito vivio con sus padres”, both of which could conceivably be found in Spanish incunables. No two words are found as exact matches, and thus the result of applying a typical difference algorithm to them give a transformation defined as deleting all of the first, and adding in all of the second. This is shown in Figure 13 While technically accurate, it is also not useful. There is no substantive difference for even a historical linguistic. Only a paleographer would care about them, but because of the design of most algorithms to keep differences in blocks, a paleographer would not get much useful information from such a comparison. Furthermore, a reduction in the number of

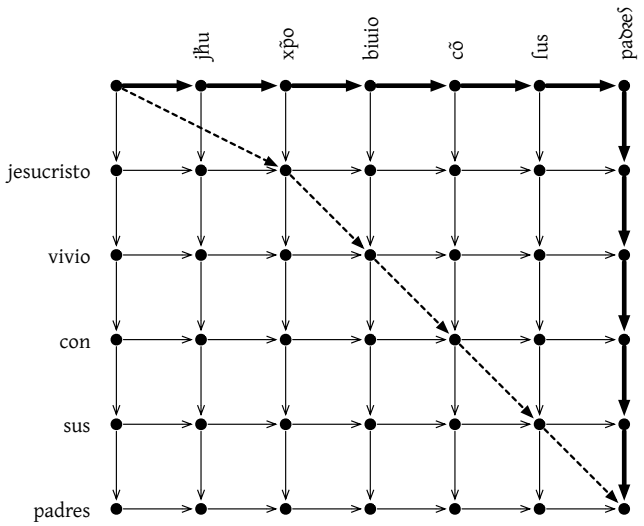


Figure 13: Worst-case scenario edit graph solved with the Myers diff algorithm.
No words align due to minor orthographic differences. The dotted line represents an idealized path.

incorrectly identified differences has a welcome side effect: the algorithm executes substantially faster.[31]

The difference algorithm must, as a result, be adapted to better comport to the norms of medieval texts. Two things need to be modified to produce results that are more useful. The first is a method of comparing two words that takes into consideration the orthography in Spain. The second is a modification to the results of the difference algorithm.

For the second, which is simpler, given a method that equates two words that are not identical means that a transformation cannot be described only by way of additions and deletions. Instead of defining the transformation as a series of deletions or additions at certain points, matching text will need to be explicitly defined for both versions of the text.

The first modification is more complex. When doing comparisons of textual data, or strings, most programming languages or libraries provide support to do certain types of agnostic comparisons, for example, ignoring capitalization, whitespace, or punctuation. While useful, they do not suffice to handle the multitude of abbreviations found in the *Luzero*. The most complicated are the many abbreviations can have multiple interpretations. For instance, *v̇dad* is *ꝛverꝝdad*, but *v̇tud* is read as *ꝛvirꝝtud*. Both use the *ṽ* abbreviation, however, so a simple substitution is not adequate.

To allow a difference algorithm to properly support medieval Spanish and to facilitate later presentation of the texts, I have opted to process the transcribed text into tokens that are

---

31. For instance, the Myers diff algorithm's "expected-case time behavior is shown to be $O(N + D^2)$" (Myers 252), where D is the number of additions and deletions required to transform one text into another.

not numerical references to speed processing (as in some algorithms) but objects. While less efficient, the result is more flexible. The base class into which the text will be tokenized into is `Words`. A basic definition of a class to show all of the functionality described by the previous paragraphs would be

```
class Word {
    has Str  $.text;
    has Meta @.meta;
}

multi sub infix:<eqv> (Word:D $a, Word:D b)  …
```

`@.meta` holds information that is not required for comparison, such as punctuation, line breaks, or textual commentary. The base form which is to be compared is stored in `$text`. The subroutine `infix:<eqv>` is used for comparing two `Word` objects.

The format and purpose of the paratextual information in `@meta` will be discussed in a later section. For now, it is sufficient to explore the mechanism by which `&seems` works. What follows is a general outline for the process

```
multi sub infix:<eqv> (Word:D $a, Word:D $b) {
    my ($a,$b) = ($.text,$w.text);
    return True if $a eq $b;
    $a = simplify($a);
    $b = simplify($b);
    return so (expand($a)   expand($b));
}
```

When the diplomatic form of a `Word` (from `.text`) is compared to that of another `Word`, even if they are both abbreviated, they can be assumed to be equivalent. If they are not, then two separate techniques are employed to determine if they can be reasonably considered a match. The first is to simplify the orthography to remove generally insignificant differences, defined as those differences that are not contrastive. Converting ð to *d*, and other similar graphic variants is possible because the difference between ð and *d* holds no phonetic or semantic value: editions

that distinguish ð and *d* or ɾ and *r* do so in a generally systematic, and never contrastive, way. The letters *y* and *v* can be simplified to the high vowel because, although each can alternate between a vowel and a non-vowel pronunciation, such a difference is entirely non-contrastive. Some double consonants are contrastive but most, even if they apported a distinct pronunciation, were rarely contrastive, so they can be reduced to a single letter as in Modern Spanish. The *ç*, representing the phoneme /t̪s̪͡/, was contrastive with *z* /d̪z̪͡/, however, an analysis of the *Luzero* shows that there was no word contrasted with it, and so it is reduced to *z* in front of *a*, *e*, and *o*. Although theoretically *ç* was not used before the front vowels *e* and *i*, it is occasionally used where it is intended to be simply *c*. The *r* was generally used as in modern Spanish, but following certain consonants where the single *r* is trilled its spelling was inconsistent –at times *r* and at others *rr*, and can be simplified to a single *r* in those contexts. During the late fifteenth century, the word-initial phoneme /f/ was in the process of being aspirated (leading to its eventual total loss in modern Spanish for many words), and as evidence of the state of flux for its pronunciation, it is common to find some words written —even in the same witness— with an initial *f* or *h*. As the change only effects word-initial /f/, such a substitution is only applied word-initially, and not for any *f*. Table 2 illustrates the simplifications that are used for the *Luzero*, and would likely be useful for other documents from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century Spain.

The second technique finds all abbreviations and expands them. Abbreviations may be ambiguous, and it is possible that the expansion may find several words. The tilde over a vowel generally represents a nasal consonant after the vowel, that is *n* or *m*. The abbreviation *quãdo* could be interpreted as either *quando* or *quamdo*. While it is clear that *quamdo* is not a valid Span-

ish word —and future enhancements may filter out such interpretations— for the purpose of calculating differences, it is sufficient to see if *any* potentially expanded version of one word matches *any* potentially expanded version of another. In some cases, the unabbreviated version may take either consonant, as is the case with *abraã*. There are some hypothetical cases that could represent real differences in the texts (*ão* could be *ano* or *amo*), but should be sufficiently rare enough that one of the two in such cases may be presumed a typo and represent an intentioned changed on behalf of the author or editor. For the edition of the *Luzero*, the abbreviations as seen in the list of abbreviations on page xviii was used.

The ability to equate two words that are merely spelled slightly differently is important to the analysis of texts. Existing alignment programs like CollateX or Juxta have recognized this and attempt to compensate for these small, relatively insignifant differences by allowing for a tolerance of dissimilar words, based on some variation of the Levenshtein edit distance. That has an advantage of being language and input agnostic, but also presents several significant disad-

Table 2: Orthographic simplifications for the *Luzero*.

Simplifications (Input → Simplified)								
ɒ	→	d	ss	→	sf	^sca	→	esca
ɾ	→	r	ff	→	f	^sco	→	esco
ſ	→	s	lrr	→	lr	^scu	→	escu
ʃ	→	s	nrr	→	nr	^sp	→	esp
7	→	y	srr	→	sr	^st	→	est
y	→	i	cca	→	ca			
v	→	u	cco	→	co			
ça	→	za	ccu	→	cu			
ço	→	zo	nct	→	nt			
ç	→	c	^f	→	h			

Note that ^ represents a start-of-word anchor.

vantages. Small typographical errors on the part of a transcriber will be overlooked, as their edit difference is often under the typical limits. The approach used in editing the *Luzero* will only dismiss known equivalencies, and as such, a random typographical error will be unlikely to be a word that is considered equivalent. In effect, presuming the editor verifies any differences found, the language- and orthography-aware comparison ensures accurate transcriptions. Furthermore, a mistake in one part of a word is not necessarily equivalent to a mistake in another part of the word. For example, the difference of a letter within a stem that does not form a distinct valid stem. The words *contemplar* and *conremplar* should be recognized as being more likely equivalent than the difference of a single letter in the ending, such as in *compramos* (first person plural present indicative or simple preterit indicative) and *compranos* (informal singular imperative or third person singular present indicative forms of *comprar* with enclitic pronoun *nos*, or third person plural present indicative with enclitic pronoun *os*) which are sharply contrastive. While the current editing of the *Luzero* does not take into account the morphology of the words it compares, it would be an avenue for future exploration.

When critically studying a text with multiple versions, finding the differences between any two versions is useful. In the case of the *Luzero*, though, there are nine extant editions. For the critical editor, being able to quickly sift through and find similarities and differences in all nine editions is paramount. As opposed to finding the differences between two texts, there is no definite standard or canonical way to collate differences between multiple editions. Certain programs such as Juxta and CollateX are designed to look at larger texts on a macro scale, and others, such as TRAViz, can present incredible level of detail. The algorithms employed by such pro-

grams range from multipass types to brute force, and most programs offer a variety of alignment algorithms that may work differently on different texts. The output from macro-level algorithms can generally easily be encoded for later use in TEI XML documents, but the complex result of the analysis by TRAViz may not be possible because TEI expects mostly linear texts and a hierarchical document model.

The approach employed in the editing of the *Luzero* is simple, but sufficiently effective. The result can be easily rendered into a TEI document (which assumes documents are aligned along a table) or other format for use by other programs. More importantly, the process is designed to be modular so that it may be easily adapted in the future to be improved generally or to better handle documents that require special treatment. Figure 14 explains the steps in the process. In effect, the difference algorithm is applied between a base text and each other witness text. The resulting diffs are expanded into a two-row table, with deletions and insertions represented as gaps in the corresponding row. The base text is then used as an anchor for merging the two tables, although insertions and deletions are treated independently from previous alignments. Any column with no gaps represents a shared common word. The space between such columns are then reanalyzed to optimize the alignment between editions that may have quite different text. In futuer work, the differences could be reanalyzed to determine if any additions or deletions could be interpreted as substitutions or transpositions. The final result is an aligned text whose constituent elements may be easily displayed or, alternatively, further analyzed to determine linguistic or orthographic processes that caused the differences.

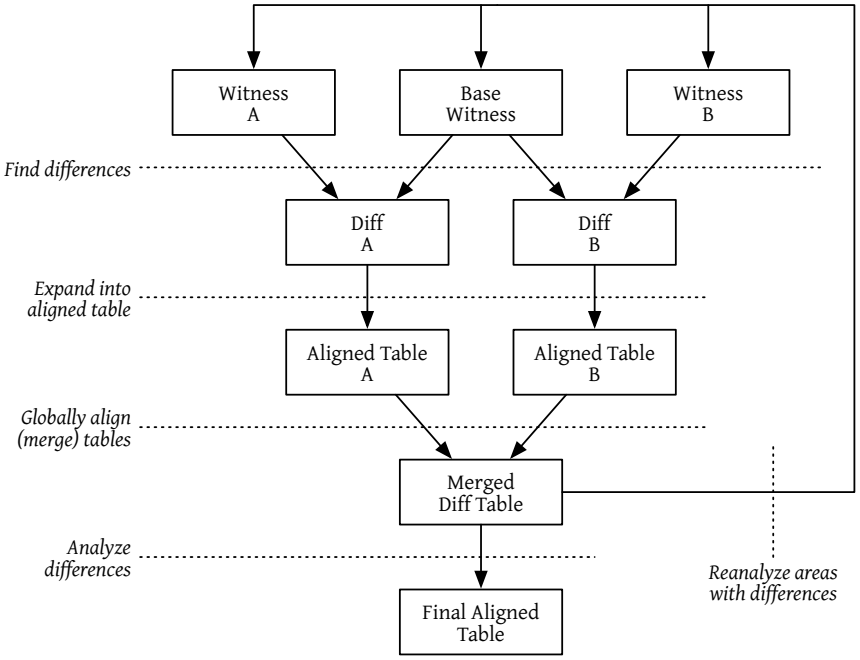


Figure 14: Alignment process used in editing the *Luzero*.
Each dashed line represents a process that is fully modularized.

3.3.4. Word-level Metadata

Many digital editions provide for searching exact literal terms (`word` would match *word* only) or with some degree of basic wildcards (`word*` would match *word*, *words*, *wording*, *wordings*, and *worded*). This can be done easily: after processing the text, a table is made for each individual word, recording its position, and creating an index of words with their positions. The utility of search an index with diplomatic editions is greatly lessened by the diverse orthographic forms present. As I state in a former work,

> [q]uanto mais fixa a ortografia interior de palavras numa língua, mais fácil é pesquisar nesta forma (permitindo que *corr** coincida com *corre*, *corrimos*, *correrdes*). Mas para línguas que apresentam modificações internas, como gradações vocálicas,

> mais difícil é. A pesquisa *corr** que pretende encontrar todas as palavras que são formas de *correr* no asturiano não serviria para as formas do presente pois apresenta uma alternância vocálica *o-ue* (*cuerre*). (§3)[νε]

The language of the *Luzero*, Castilian, presents the same vowel alternation that Asturian does. Consequentially, even if forms are fully normalized, the problem of interior changes is still present.

The solution is to index words not just based on their diplomatic or normalized forms, but also on their lemma or lexeme. The lexeme of a word is an abstract form of the word, normally represented in writing by lemma (its uninflected or dictionary form).[32] For example, the words *fue*, *vamos*, *ibais*, *yendo*, and *iré*, despite appearing to have no apparent relationship to each other, are all forms of the verb IR.[33] Allowing users of a digital edition to find text based on lexemes will improve their ability to locate text of interest.

---

32. Generally in linguistics, a lexeme is generally considered to be an abstract entity, and a lemma is a concrete and typical uninflected form that is used to represent it. That usage is not universal: in psycholinguistics, the lemma is the abstract mental concept, and the lexeme the written/spoken production. For the present work, I will use *lemma* to maintain consistency with most NLP research.

33. It is standard to represent lemma in small capitals, and I will use the similar petite caps to distinguish them from abbreviations. Thus the the lemma IR is distinguished from *ir*, which is the infinitive form of IR. Additionally, I employ a fixed-width font to represent a query. In this way, *fue* could be said to be an appropriate result for the corpus search `ir`, because *fue* is a form of IR.

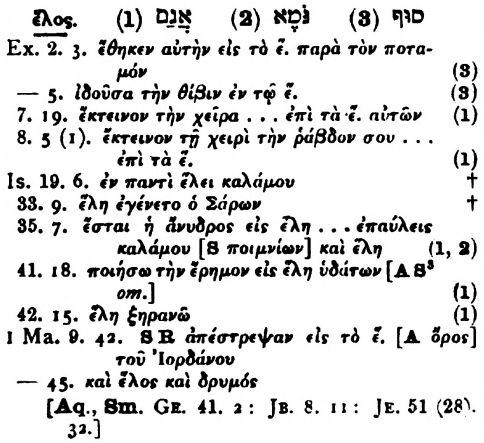
νε. the stabler the interior orthography of words is in a language, the easier it is to search in this way (allowing *corr** to match with *corre*, *corrimos*, *correrdes*). But for languages that present internal modifications, such as vowel differences, it is more difficult. The search *corr** which intends to find all words that are forms of *correr* in Asturian would not work for the present tense forms as it presents a *o-ue* vowel alternation (*cuerre*).

The process of lemmatization provides two important pieces of metainformation about a word. The first, as mentioned, is the lexeme. The second is the morphological information that is used to derive the lemma from the word, or vice versa. For a word like *textos* (lexeme TEXTO), the morphological information could be defined as plural; for *dijeron* (from DECIR), it would be plural, third person, and simple preterite. By attaching the morphological information to each word, rather than just the lexeme, more complex seaches are possible. Thus a researcher interested in comparing the construction of perfect forms with TENER or HABER may search for results by just finding forms of either verb followed by a past participle of any verb.

One situation that can occur with the process of lemmatization is that a word can simultaneous be a form of two separate lexemes. The word *trabajo* could be either TRABAJAR in its first person, singular, simple present, and indicative form, or it could be TRABAJO in its singular form. Without the accents of modern Spanish, there is also a third possibility: TRABAJAR in its first person, singular, simple preterite, and indicative form (*trabajó* in modern Spanish orthography) In such a case, the information for all valid interpretations should be saved with the word. While there are methods to determine which is the more likely form with some degree of accuracy (preceded by *un*, *trabajo* can only be a form of TRABAJO), they are complex and may not always be accurate. Determining such differences with older Spanish is certainly possible, but certainly with greatly diminishing returns.

3.3.5. Concordances

Concordances are simple but useful component to editions of books. A basic concordance shows all uses of a word in a text to show the various contexts in which it is used. Figure 15 illustrates



ἕλος. (1) אֵגֶם (2) גֹּמֶא (3) סוּף

Ex. 2. 3. ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἕ. παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν (3)
— 5. ἰδοῦσα τὴν θίβιν ἐν τῷ ἕ. (3)
7. 19. ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρα . . . ἐπὶ τὰ ἕ. αὐτῶν (1)
8. 5 (1). ἔκτεινον τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ῥάβδον σου . . . ἐπὶ τὰ ἕ. (1)
Is. 19. 6. ἐν παντὶ ἕλει καλάμου †
33. 9. ἕλη ἐγένετο ὁ Σάρων †
35. 7. ἔσται ἡ ἄνυδρος εἰς ἕλη . . . ἐπαύλεις καλάμου [S ποιμνίων] καὶ ἕλη (1, 2)
41. 18. ποιήσω τὴν ἔρημον εἰς ἕλη ὑδάτων [A S^{3} om.] (1)
42. 15. ἕλη ξηρανῶ (1)
1 Ma. 9. 42. S R ἀπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸ ἕ. [A ὄρος] τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
— 45. καὶ ἕλος καὶ δρυμός

[Aq., Sm. Ge. 41. 2: Jb. 8. 11: Je. 51 (28). 32.]

Figure 15: Concordance example from Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath's *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*
The entry shown identifies the location and surrounding text for forms of the world ἕλος, which was used to translate the Hebrew words אֵגֶם, גֹּמֶא, and סוּף. The symbol † is used to indicate where there is no clear Hebrew equivalent.

an extreme example of this that simultaneously concords two languages in a text. To construct a fairly simple concordance is not difficult given the capabilities of modern programming languages. The following code would, given a word to look for, output a concordance:

```
1  sub concordance ($text, $query, $size) {
2    $text.match:
3      /
4        . ** {$size}
5        $query
6        . ** {$size}
7      /,
8      :g;
9    .Str.put for $/<>
10 }
```

There are several shortcomings, however, with such a naïve approach: matches found within `$size` characters of the text's bounds would not appear, and words would be clipped at the edge of the result. For the *Luzero*, however, beyond the aesthetics, it is important that the concordance be generated without prejudice to the orthography of the underlying words. As

well, some consideration should be given the differences between the versions. Ideally, when generating the concordance, if the text displayed to either side of the base word has variances (that is, deletions or additions), they should be indicated. At the same time, a user should be able to focus on a single edition if they are not interested in the structures. Ultimately, the display of the concordances should be harminious to the rest of the edition with respect to orthography and critical apparatus.

3.3.6. Towards a digital edition

Once the transcriptions have been parsed and converted into structured data, the creation of a digital edition becomes a question of presenting and interacting with the data. For this, I opted to use a standard HTML-, CSS-, and JavaScript-based solution. The combination allows the edition to be viewed in any standards-compliant browser. Furthermore, they are standards that are likely to be supported for the foreseeable future, increasing the longevity of the digital edition.

When opening the digital *Luzero*, the user is presented with two reading modes: single or multiple edition. In single mode, there are two layout options available. The first, a diplomatic layout, recreates as closely as possible the layout of the original text, including line breaks, column divisions, and image placement. Figure 16 shows this view compared to the original. Currently the font is the same as used in this dissertation (a custom variation of Gentium), but in future editions a blackletter font could also be applied which would provide for horizontal spacing more consistent with the original. The second layout, a running layout, does not divide the text into columns, and only has line breaks where the original edition would have it. Such

breaks can be optionally marked, however. In the multiple edition mode, the reader can visualize the alignment table to quickly find differences and changes in the text because differences are signaled in the running text only when they exist (as might be seen in a typical text-editing program). The running layout can be seen in Figure 17.

In the multiple edition view, all selected editions are shown simultaneously, aligning the text. Both its utility and current shortcomings can be seen in Figure 18. It is relatively easy to spot several potentially important differences such the spelling of modern Spanish's *majestad* as its modern form, *magestad* or *maiestad*, for instance) or the then-common alternation between *propia* and *propia*. At the same time, the generally less importance contrast between *a la* and *ala* is unnecessarily highlighted. In future versions —particularly with improvements to the diff engine—, it would be ideal to allow the viewer to highlight only the differences that they are looking for. A reader might only be concerned about phonetic changes, or actual whole word deletions or additions, and could thus tune the view to their particular research.

Several features not found in other editions are the ability to change the colors and font style. Colors mimicking the tan paper of incunables is æsthetically pleasing, but for readers with visual impairments, the relatively lower contrast may impede their ability to read. To avoid choice overload, there are several preset options, though further customization is possible. Text size can also be manipulated in two ways. By sizing all elements in the digital edition in em units, standard browser controls can effectively zoom in and out of the entire edition. For controlling only the size of text in the text viewer, an additional control is available which is likely most useful when in the multiple edition mode.

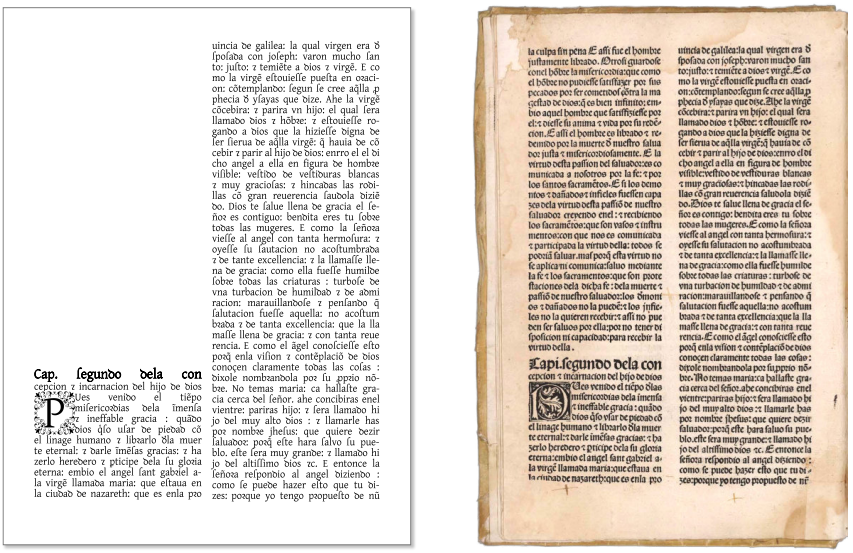


Figure 16: A diplomatic view of the *Luzero*'s 1494 edition, alongside a photograph of the same page in the 1494

finita. E porende el hijo de dios tomo nuestra humanidad: e ayũtola ayũtalo a si enel suposito diuino: de guisa q̃ aq̃l mesmo era dios e era hõbre. en quãto dios tenia virtud infinita: e podia satisfazer: pero no podia morir ni padecer: lo qual podia hazer en q̃nto hõbre. y porq̃ aq̃lla mesma p̃sona era dios y era hõbre: hõmbre la muerte e passion suya e recebida enla humanidad/ offrecida graciosamẽte e cõ caridad en sacrificio a dios padre: por satisfazer con que nos es comunicada e participada la virtud della/ todos se podriã saluar. sauar mas porq̃ esta v̄tud no se aplica ni comunica/ saluo mediante la fe e los sacramenos/ sacramentos que son protestaciones dela dicha fe/ dela muerte e passiõ de nuestro saluador: los demonios e dañados no la puedẽ: e los jnfieles no la quieren recebir: e a puedem pueden ser saluos por ella: por no te posicion ni capacidad/ para receibir recebir la virtud della.

Capitulo segundu Cap segundo dela cõcepcion e incarnacion del hijo de dios

PUes venido el tiẽpo delas misericordias del dela ĩmensa e ineffable gracia/ quando dios q̃so vsar usar de piedad cõ el linage humano/ e librarlo ðla muerte eternal: e darle ĩmensas

Figure 17: A running text view of the *Luzero* with inline comparison, showing chapters 1 and 2 from the 1494 (base) and 1495 (compared) editions with orthographic simplifications enabled.

ala		ðiuina	mageſtað		poꝛ	los	pecaðos	ðe	todo	el	linage	humano:	en	q̃nto	fue	ðe	ſu	ꝓpia	volũtað/
	a la	ðiuina	mageſtað		poꝛ	los	pecaðos	ðe	todo	el	linage	humano	en	q̃nto	fue	ðe	ſu	ꝓpꝛia	volũtað:
	a la	diuina		maieſtad	poꝛ	los	pecados	de	todo	el	linage	humano:	en	quanto	fue	de	ſu	ꝓpia	voluntad
ala		ðiuina	majeſtad		poꝛ	los	pecados	ðe	todo	el	linage	humano:	en	quãto	fue	ð	ſu	ꝓpꝛia	voluntad

Figure 18: An aligned-text view of the *Luzero* showing an excerpt from chapter 1 from the 1493, 1494, 1495, and 1555 editions

While not implemented fully in the current project, it will not be difficult for future editions to display metatext and paratext, or modify the existing text in place. Based on the reader's preferences, marginalia, contextual notes, editorial interventions, linguistic notes, and critical aparatuses can be shown or hidden in a variety of ways. While fully-accurate automated expansion of abbreviations is not currently possible, the present version hypothesizes how such a display would work by displaying all possible expansions when the user hovers over a word. Once abbreviations can be determined unambiguously (either via an old Spanish dictionary or comparison with other editions), an option could be made to expand abbreviations in a variety of manners. One in-place text modification that was implemented adjusts the ſ, ʃ, ꝛ, and ð letterforms into their modern equivalents. These two features show how future work could easily enable other display options, such as having expansions signalled either via the standard critical marks or italicization, or devising their own system such as coloration.

Similarly to the way that the abbreviation expansions are done, in the future additional word-level features could be added. For example, clicking on a word could reveal a popup panel that shows concordances, definitions, and orthographical variations. Such an approach would be ideal for more detailed information that would not normally be expected to be on the same page in a typical print edition.

A key advantage in using HTML is that it is, particularly for generally static webpages, mostly accessible without additional intervention needed by developers, assuming that adequate semantic tagging is done. Unfortunately, at the present moment, the ability to provide the type of specific pronunciation needed to make the *Luzero* properly accessible has not been standardized

nor is possible in a manner such that most screen readers and braille devices would read the text in an aceptable manner.[34] The World Wide Web Consortium, recognizing the current shortcomings, formed a working group in 2016, and in 2019 formulated a working draft of solutions. Based on the working draft, I have included a preliminary `aria-smpp` attribute that, in the event the working group's recommendations are implemented, should improve the performance of screen readers. If changes are made, adjustments to the digital edition should be minor and easily done by future researchers.

In the meantime, and with the understanding that the best way to verify accessibility is with extensive user testing (which was not possible in the present work), the current digital edition was tested using the W3C's Web Accessibility Evaluation Tool. No accessibility errors were detected. Some elements were flagged as alerts, that is, potential issues that require review, but may not be problematic. In the diplomatic view, all text was flagged for being justified. Because the idea of the diplomatic view is to render the text as closely as possible to the original, no changes were made in that mode. For the flowing text view, the same issue was flagged, however, it is because it makes the columnar view —which aides readability in wide browser viewers— more evident. Allowing for some additional view options, however, would optimize presentation for whom the justification causes more problems than it solves.

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34. There are some methods to cause a screen reader to generate pronounce a word in a particular way, but they often cause braille devices to show the pronounced form, rather than the original text.

3.3.7. Towards a print edition

Digital editions are dynamic and interactive, which can present many useful advantages for the study of a work. Nonetheless, there is still a need for print editions. Particularly for a deep theological text as the *Luzero*, a print edition to permit deep study is a virtual necessity.

Fortunately, once a digital edition is completed, there is not much additional work that needs to be done to create a print version. Rather than process the transcription data to create HTML nodes inside of a web browser, the data can be processed into a format suitable for print — which may include a HTML document appropriately styled with CSS. For the *Luzero*'s print edition, I will be using XeLaTeX, which is LaTeX running on the XeTeX engine.[35] It was chosen due to in part due to the ubiquity of LaTeX, a set of macros for TeX used for text formatting and academic publishing, and its enhanced abilities for handling non-ASCII text which is important for the *Luzero*'s complex text needs. To an even greater degree than when using a combination of HTML and JavaScript, the print edition can be a diplomatic edition that matches font, layout and imagery, or alternatively a modern edition with a rich variety of meta- and paratextual constructs.

An initial code for the conversion can be found in Attachment A. While the print edition cannot change once it has been printed, it can be manipulated in a similar way upon generation. If the editor desired to use a certain edition as the base edition, they could set the parameters of the generation program accordingly. Such a process could even be enabled for readers of the *Luzero*. The advent of print-on-demand services means that users who prefer a print edition can demand the same specific characteristics that a digital user can, but have it printed it out. In a

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35. This dissertation is itself typeset using the XeLaTeX.

classroom, for instance, a professor might generate a copy that includes footnotes for historical context and margin notes for definitions of older words, but might eschew the critical apparatus. Because contextual notes can be tagged in the transcription format, the professor may choose to have as much or as little additional information for the student.

3.3.8. Future enhancements

While the majority of the digital interface is usable for most researchers, there are still additional improvements possible. A variant with modernized spelling and punctuation, direct dictionary access (similar to the concordance), better pronunciation indication, improved alignment, or a 1D interface would assist readers in the study of the work. Several of the features —particularly pronunciation and a 1D interface, would be of benefit to users with assistive devices.

Pronunciation, which is useful for assistive devices, will likely be conditioned on a way to modernize spelling. The incunable text does not distinguish words which are identically written but for their stressed syllable. Efforts to modernization the text will uncover such distinctions, allow the verb *eſta* to be properly differentiated from the adjective/pronoun *eſta* by rendering them, respectively, as *esta* and *está*. Additionally, it will allow readers who find the original orthography distracting to better connect with the text.

Occasionally the alignment algorithm does not produce optimal results. The current algorithm, which uses equal weighting for each step, is not fully optimal for the alignment. At the moment, if one edition has *enla* as one word, and another *en la* as two, the algorithm will calculate a deletion and two additions when they should be deemed orthographic variants of each other.

In most cases (and in the current implementation), a correction can be made after the alignment has been finished, but an improved algorithm could find a more optimal edit path. Even then, it is inevitable that occasionally a diff or a resulting alignmentment table will have suboptimal results. Future work should find a way to, with minimal technical knowledge, edit the results.

Lastly, for as much as adding accessibility features is to a web page (as the digital *Luzero* is), there are inherent problems for being fully accessible. The interface is multidimensiona and optimized for visual scanning. For visually impaired users, a single dimensional interface is likely to be better suited. With the advent of mass-market voice controlled interfaces in cars and speakers, a 1D interface will not benefit just a small segment of the population.

Nonetheless, an important principal in designing accessible interfaces is to involve the users themselves. What may make sense for a seeing user who is familiar with texts in their multidimensional form and accostumbed to rapidly scanning a page of text may not be intuitive for a low vision user. At the time of the present work, to my knowledge, there are no diplomatic editions designed, so there are no models to follow. It would be fruitful research to study and test interfaces with visually impaired users to produce models for future projects.

غَرَنْ يَاشْ ءَالْشَبْحَارْتَهْ ءَالْمَنْهْ آبَرْقَ
نْنْ شَلَا ءَانْغْبَرَا كْشَ كَا ءَانَالْـمَنْهْ نَسْقَ
شِقِيَارَا ءَانْ لَـمْرْنَـأْنْتَهْ لَـكْمَرْقَ
نِ ءَانْلَتِيَارَّبْرِيَاتَ نِيَانْلَبَلَنْقَ

قَغْبْشْ آ شَبَارْ ايَهَاشْ مِشْ آمَهْشْ
لْكَا كْنْتَاسِنْ ءَانْلْشْ تِيَانْبْشْ بَّشَهْشْ

دَاشْكُنِيشِدُ (حَدِيثْ دَا يُوسُفْ)

Chapter 4

The First Part of the *Lucero*

Across the various mentions of Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo's *Lucero de la vida cristiana*, there is curiously little analysis of the work outside of its introduction. Commentators have generally viewed the work as an example of the linguistic side of Humanist transition in Spain as the work was written in Spanish,[36] despite its often heavy reliance on Scholastic authors and thought. The actual content has only rarely been considered relevant or important enough for analysis. Nonetheless, the book represents a textbook on Catholic theology that uses, particularly in the

36. As Pedro Ruiz Pérez notes, many of the authors that began using and elevating the status of non-Latin languages were Humanists, and that "la expresión de esta tendencia [del uso de lenguas vulgares] correspondió a la filología humanista" (25).

νε. the expression of this tendency [of using common languages] corresponded to the humanist philology

first part, the life of Christ as a guide to its teachings that were oriented not towards the religious Latin-reading elite, but to laypersons and *conversos* (forced converts from Judaism to Christianity and their descendents).

4.1. Major divisions

The first part of the *Lucero* is divided into eighty-seven chapters that, for the most part, narrate the life of Christ. A few chapters focus theological issues that are detached from but support the narration. Given the large number of short chapters, it is easier to group them according to their themes before analyzing them. Table 3 lists these groups.

The first group describes the incarnation of Jesus, specifically why it was necessary for there to be a savior. Without doubt, this section was included to convince *conversos* that Jesus must necessarily exist, and to do so he draws heavily upon the Old Testament. The second group describes the relationship between Joseph and Mary. In describing the Nativity, Ximénez discusses at length the Magi and the birth of Christ.

Table 3: Chapter Groups in the First Part of the *Lucero*

From	To	Topic
1	8	Jesus Incarnate and in the Womb
8	11	Relationship between Joseph and Mary
12	23	The Nativity
24	30	Jesus' Infancy
31	35	Scriptural Interlude
36	46	Baptism, Life and Works of Christ
47	52	The Last Supper
53	69	Passion, Stations of the Cross, Resurrection
70	74	The Gifts of the Glorified Body
75	82	Christ Resurrected, Visits Disciples, Ascension
83	87	The Gospel, and the Teaching and Reception thereof

Ximénez then spends five chapters discussing God, Jews, Mary, and John and how each is portrayed in scripture, which serves a primer for the following section narrating Jesus' life as a child and an adult. The following section focuses on the Last Supper. Ximénez uses a unique division of stations of the cross in his Passion. Before describing Christ's visit on earth in corporal form, he devotes several chapters contemplating the Gifts of the Glorified Body as described by St. Thomas Aquinas. He concludes his narration of Christ's Life by recounting the interaction that the Jesus Resurrected had with his disciples and others before finally ascending to heaven.

Finally, Ximénez completes the first part of the *Lucero de la vida cristiana* by explaining how the Gospel ought to be taught and understood. These final chapters are an important segue to the second part which has a much stronger theological content and lacks the narrative style that Jesus's life permits in the first part.

4.2. The Incarnation of Jesus

Ximénez begins with a discussion on the formation and development of Jesus. To do this, he begins before his birth, looking at Old Testament prophecies that would be familiar to his readers. Following that, he details his early childhood and the events that surrounded it. The focus in the first section is presenting Jesus as simultaneously divine and human.

4.2.1. Chapter 1: Before the Beginning

To begin his recount of Jesus' life, Ximénez begins not with the nativity itself, nor even the conception of Jesus, but rather with a rationalization for Jesus' life, moreover the divine nature of his life. For the Christian reader, this section would be superfluous, but for a Jewish reader particularly, such a discussion becomes fundamental. Based on the readings of the Torah, Jews

had ideas in their mind of what the Messiah would be like, and that did not always plainly coincide with who Jesus was. Maimonides, says that the Messiah would, among other things, be observant to the Law, rebuild the Temple, gather the people of Israel, and fight the wars of God ((רבי משה בן מימון, ד, א) and, in obvious reference to Jesus, states that "וְאִם לֹא הִצְלִיחַ עַד כֹּה, אוֹ נֶהֱרָג, בְּיָדוּעַ שֶׁאֵינוֹ זֶה שֶׁהִבְטִיחָה עָלָיו תּוֹרָה (ד, א)."[νς] Ultimately, as Nora Weinerth notes in her discussion on a Christmas play that debuted in the middle of the *Lucero*'s six decade publication run, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation "were perhaps the least understood and the most intolerable to Jews and many uneasy *conversos* whose earlier faith affirmed above all the unity and incorporeity of God" (253).

Belief in these two doctrines, foundational for establishing and understanding Jesus' divinity, would cause a Jew to be deemed a מין (*min*), or a type of heretic, per Maimonides's Laws of Repentence for "האומר שיש שם מנהיג אבל הן שנים או יותר" (3.7),[νζ] and for "האומר שיש שם רבון אחד אבל שהוא גוף" (3.7).[νη] That is to say, the Christian proselytizer had quite their work cut out for them, because the cornerstone belief of Christianity relies the commission of a Jewish sin for which they will not participate in Olam Habo.[37]

Consequently, Ximénez devotes the first chapters of the *Luzero* to establishing, by way of

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37. There are other explicit heresies in Maimonides's list of sins of people who have no share in the World to Come that must be overcome by a Christian evangelists, such as the establishment of the New Law. Ximénez address the topic delicately, but separately, and in a later chapter.

νς. If he did not succeed to this degree or was killed, he surely is not the redeemer promised by the Torah

νζ. saying that creation has rulers but there are two or more

νη. saying that there is one God, but he is physical in nature

the books of the Torah, the necessity and divinity of Jesus, that is, his birth and his divinity. In the first chapter, titled effectively as such, "De la incarnación del hijo de Dios y de su conveniencia y necesidad," Ximénez begins with a statement on Jesus' dual nature: "E el meſmo q̃ era ɗios eterno: fueſſe hecho hõbꝛe en tiẽpo. E aſi el meſmo q̃ era ɗios: fueſſe hõbꝛe. E aquel meſmo hõbꝛe fueſſe ɗios: ſeyenɗo vna persona" (*Luzero 1495* iiiiᵛ).[νθ] The "el mesmo" referred to is specifically God the Father. By saying that God the Father was made man, Ximénez is able to avoid the appearance of stating that there is more than one divine entity. Although no one reading the *Luzero* would be convinced by that single line, delaying certain discussions until later (or entirely, as in the case of the Holy Spirit's place in the trinity).

Ximénez immediately explains the evident contradictory consequences of this dual nature. Jesus is simultaneously mortal and immortal, passible and impassible. However, because of the difference in the divine and the human, the sins committed against God, they are unable to be satisfied by a mere human, because the infinite majesty of God requires an infinite sacrifice: "los peccaɗos ɗel humanal linage [...] ſon cometiɗos ꝛ hechos contra la mageſtaɗ ɗe ɗios:que es infinita:ɗeſta parte los pecaɗos requieren infinita ſatiſfacion" (iiiiʳ).[ξ]

Perhaps unintentionally, in explaining why Jesus' eventual sacrifice was the only way to atone for the gravity of the sins committed by mankind, Ximénez presents a core difference between Christianity and Judaism. In Christianity, sins against God are the most severe, as suc

---

νθ. And he, despite being God eternal, was made man in time. And thus despite being God, was man. And that same man was God, being one person ξ. the sins of mankind [...] are committed and done against the majesty of God, which is infinite, thus the sins require infinite satisfaction

cinctly summarized by Aquinas: "Unde peccatum quod est circa ipsam substantiam hominis, sicut homicidium est gravius peccato quod est circa res exteriores, sicut furtum; et adhuc est gravius peccatum quod immediate contra Deum committitur, sicut infidelitas, blasphemia et huiusmodi" (*Sum. Theo.* I–II q.73 a.3 co.).[ξα] In stark contrast, in Judaism, sins against God may be the least because they can be atoned for directly on Yom Kippur according to Mishna Yomah: "עֲבֵרוֹת שֶׁבֵּין אָדָם לַמָּקוֹם, יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים מְכַפֵּר. עֲבֵרוֹת שֶׁבֵּין אָדָם לַחֲבֵרוֹ, אֵין יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים מְכַפֵּר, עַד שֶׁיְּרַצֶּה אֶת חֲבֵרוֹ." (*Eighteen Treatises From the Mishna* 128).[ξβ] Ximénez further develops the topic of sins, including differentiating the gravity of them, in the second part of the *Luzero* when discussing the sacrament of confession.

If the skeptical reader were to accept that a sin against God could truly only be atoned by a sacrifice as great as that of Jesus, then a subsequent question might arise: what of sins committed against God after Jesus' atonement? Ximénez approaches this unstated, though implied, question by referring to the virtue that Christ instilled in mankind and is passed from along through faith and the sacraments. Towards the end of the chapter, he makes an important statement regarding salvation that "todos podꝛiã ſaluar" (*Luzero 1495* iiiiᵛ),[ξγ] but that some may not be saved. Inconsistencies of logic aside, he delineates two distinct groups. The first, demons and the

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ξα. Wherefore a sin which is about the very substance of man, e.g. murder, is graver than a sin which is about external things, e.g. theft; and graver still is a sin committed directly against God, e.g. unbelief, blasphemy, and the like ξβ. A transgression which a man has been guilty of towards his God, Yom Kipur will atone for ; but a transgression a man has been guilty of towards his neighbour, Yom Kipur cannot atone for, until he has appeased his neighbour ξγ. all can be saved

damned, are simply and unreservedly stated to be incapable of receiving the virtue.

The second group, however, is of more interest. These are the non-believers or *infieles*, which is to say the Jews and perhaps the Muslims. They cannot be receive the virtue of Christ's passion "poꝛ no tener ɒiſpoſicion ni capaciɒaɒ:para recebir la virtuɒ ɒella" (iiiiᵛ). However, their willingness and capacity for receiving is grounded in their ignorance, which is precisely the purpose for which Ximénez is writing the *Luzero*. Additionally, by saying that the virtue cannot be merely given, Ximénez returns to a topic he mentions in his prologue: forced conversions are not conversions. For someone to be saved, they must understand their conversion fully, it cannot simply be pressed upon them. At the same time, there is a small challenge presented to the faithful. Christ's virtue cannot merely be communicated to the non-believers, because that does not affect, in and of itself, their ability to receive or understand the Good News.

4.2.2. Chapter 2: The Annunciation

And it is with good news that Ximénez begins his second chapter. While his narration is based on Luke 1:26, he prefaces the narration to explain what God intended for his people with by sending Jesus. While it does not necessarily describe what a Jewish person would expect in the Messianic era, the message is nonetheless positive and attractive: "ɒios q̃ſo vſar ɒe pieɒaɒ cõ el linage humano ꝛ libꝛarlo ɒla muerte eternal:ꝛ ɒarle ĩmẽſas gracias: ꝛ haʒerlo hereɒero ꝛ p̱ticipe ɒela ſu gloꝛia eterna" (iiiiᵛ)?[ξδ] It is in that context that Ximénez commences his narration with the arrival of the angel Gabriel, translating Luke.

Ximénez provides a loose translation of Luke 1:26-27, but includes one major addition.

ξδ. God wanted to forgive mankind and liberate it from eternal death, and get it immense grace and make it heir and participant in His eternal glory

Ximénez exalts Joseph as "varon mucho ſanto:justo:ꝛ temiẽte a ɔios ꝛ virgen" (iiiiᵛ).[ξε] In the Bible, no such adjectives are applied, but he is mentioned as being of the House of David — an unexpected omission given that his lineage is crucial to Jesus fulfilling prophecy as the Torah makes clear that the Messiah would come from that house.

Ximénez resorts to portraying a pious Mary contemplating an Old Testament passage to to connect Mary with the Messiah: "la virgẽ estouieſſe pueſta en oꝛacion:cõtemplanɔo:ſegun ſe cree aq̃lla ꝑphecia ꝺ yſayas que ɔiʒe.Ahe la virgẽ cõcebiraꝛ parira vn hijo: el qual ſera llamaɔo ɔios ꝛ hõbꝛe" (iiiiᵛ). Mary was praying to be worthy not to be the virgin that Isaiah mentions, but rather to be worth to be her servant, showing a total devotion to serving God's will. There is no biblical basis for this, but because he wrote *ſegun ſe cree*, it must have formed a part of the oral tradition in

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ξε. very holy, just, and God-fearing man and virgin



Figure 19: The Annunciation in Isabel's *Libro de horas*("Libro de horas de Isabel I" 181)

medieval Spain. In painting, it was not uncommon to portray Mary kneeling, praying, or studying (van Dijk). Based on the depictions of the Annunciation in several Books of Hours that Ximénez may have been exposed to in his lifetime, it seems plausible that Ximénez drew influence from the illustrated tradition. For example, in Figure 19, Mary can be seen in deep study with book. As van Dijk notes, "between the thirteen and fifteenth century, silent reading, and with it silent prayer, became more common" (421). As such, in the aforementioned illustrations, Mary reading should be interpreted as prayer.

Ximénez breaks with the traditional depiction of the scene by describing the angel Gabriel's vestments as white. While the way angels are general portrayed in the Bible and in early artwork used this white, medieval artwork preferred red, representing divine love, or blue, for heavenly contemplation and divine knowledge (Marriot 82). Spanish artwork shows a preference for clothing Gabriel in red, and Mary in blue. The standard colors and poses further reinforces why Ximénez would envision Mary as being deep in prayer when Gabriel arrives.

Another visual flourish added by Ximénez is that of Gabriel kneeling before beginning the salutation that forms the basis of the Hail Mary. The commonness of the prayer for the reader, is, according van Dijk, "crucial to understanding the image's devotional character, for when taken into account, the angel's kneeling posture and the words emanating from his mouth become a model of devotional practice for viewers to imitate" (421). While van Dijk was writing about visual depictions of the Annunciation, the analysis is equally sound for Ximénez's textual description.

The words of Gabriel return Ximénez to Luke's narrative, which he continues into track

closely, but to which he interweaves a great deal of explanatory text. If we compare Luke's text to Ximénez's, it is much clearer in the latter why Mary would be so taken aback (the italics show Biblically-sourced texted in the *Luzero*). Luke states "Ipsa autem turbata est in sermone eius et cogitabat qualis esset ista salutatio." (*Nova vulgata* Luke 1:29)[ξς] In contrast, Ximénez writes that

> como la ſeñoꝛa vieſſe al angel con tanta hermoſura: ꝛ oyeſſe ſu ſalutacion no acoſtumbꝛaꝺa ꝛ ꝺe tanta excellencia: ꝛ la llamaſſe llena ꝺe gracia:como ella fueſſe humilꝺe ſobꝛe toꝺas las criaturas: *turboſe* ꝺe vna turbacion ꝺe humilꝺaꝺ ꝛ ꝺe aꝺmiracion: marauillanꝺoſe *7 penſanꝺo q̃ ſalutacion fueſſe aquella*: no acoſtumbꝛaꝺa ꝛ ꝺe tanta excellencia:que la llamaſſe llena ꝺe gracia:ꝛ con tanta reuerencia. (*Luzero 1495* 4[v], emphasis mine)[ξζ]

Although Mary's surprise is probably a reaction that anyone might have upon hearing such a great, Ximénez uses his explanation as an opportunity to remind the reader about how special, and humble, Mary was. By qualifying the greeting as *de tanta excellencia,*[ξη] he recognizes the Hail Mary as a prayer that the reader could employ. Furthermore, the humility implied, which is not strictly Biblical —Ximénez discusses in much greater detail with the birth of Christ—, should draw the attention of the astute Jewish reader. Humility in Judaism is associated with devotion

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ξς. But she was troubled at his words and wondered what kind of greeting this was ξζ. as the Lady saw the angel with such beauty, and heard his unusual and of such excellence greeting, and he called her full of grace, as she was humble above all creatures, she *was troubled* from a troubling of humbleness and of admiration: marveling herself *and wondering what greeting that was*, unusual and of such excellence, that he called her full of grace, and with such reverence ξη. of such excellence

to God, for "מה מים מניחין מקום גבוה והולכין למקום נמוך אף דברי תורה אין מתקיימין אלא במי שדעתו שפלה." (*Talmud* .תענית ז)[ξθ] Ximénez uses a Jewish understanding of humility to predispose his reader to recognizing Mary's holiness, rather than discussing the Immaculate Conception which is the form of describing her special status in Christianity.

In order to reinforce Mary's surprise and fearfulness, Ximénez states that when Gabriel calls her by name telling her not to fear, the angel does so with an intimate knowledge of her emotion and how great of a message he has to deliver. That message, in which Mary is informed that she will give birth to Jesus, is an almost unbroken translation of Luke 1:30-38. There are only three exceptions to this, two of which are minor additional commentaries to clarify for the reader or to add a visual detail, and another is an elision.

The first addition clarifies the meaning of Jesus's name as meaning *ſaluaꝺoꝛ* after Gabriel tells Mary that that would be the name she gives her child. Ximénez's second addition, showing Mary "poniẽꝺoſe toꝺa enlas manos ꝺel ſeñoꝛ" (*Luzero 1495* v^{r}) after Mary finds out about Elizabeth being pregnant, doubles as a both a sign of devotion and joy. The reason for the first is to provide necessary context for the reader.The second addition is merely a single preemptive line in an explanation of the significance of Mary's words, and in Ximénez's repetition nature, is not substantially different than when he writes that she gave her consent to Gabriel, "cometienꝺoſe a la voluntaꝺ ꝺe ꝺios" (v^{r})ǫ

The elision, on the other hand, is a curious. Ximénez's translation of Luke 1:31 begins

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ξθ. [j]ust as water leaves a high place and flows to a low place, so too, Torah matters are retained only by one whose spirit is lowly, i.e., a humble person o. committing herself to the will of God

as expected, "eſte ſera muy grandɛ:ʒ llamadɔ hijo dɛl altiſſimo dios ʒc." (iiiiᵛ),º[α] but ends with an abrupt *etcetera*, for which we can conclude that the deletion was fully intentional. The rest of that verse and the subsequent, "et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius, et regnabit super domum Iacob in aeternum, et regni eius non erit finis" (*Nova vulgata* Luke 1:32-33);º[β] is something that would be important to Ximénez's target audience, as the Messiah for Jews necessary was to come from the house of David, and the verses indicate precisely that. A possible explanation is that Ximénez felt that those verses did not provide sufficiently different information once it was said that Jesus was to be the son of God, but given Ximénez's proclivity for repeating things multiple times with variations, it is an admittedly tenuous explanation.

At that point, Jesus is conceived as Mary receives the Holy Spirit, and Ximénez, in what appears to be a reference to former controversies on the nature of Jesus' divinity with Christianity, says that Jesus' body was at that moment "formadɔ ʒ organiʒadɔ 7 animadɔ" (*Luzero 1495* vʳ),º[γ] but also "vnidɔ al verbo dɔivino en perſona" (vʳ).º[δ] Mirroring the words used at the beginning of the Gospel of John, Ximénez intends to show Jesus as having always existed, but made flesh at conception.

The second chapter ends with an explicit imperative to the Christian reader to follow the example that Mary gives. Thus the Annunciation serves two purposes in the *Luzero*; the first is to establish the divinely ordained nature of Jesus' conception, and secondly to show how Mary

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oα. this will be very great, and called the son of the God Most High oβ. and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David. He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end oγ. formed and organized and ensouled oδ. united with the Divine Word in person

is a model for how Christians should act. The Christian who devotes himself will be "guiaꝺo 7 cõſolaꝺo" (v^{r})^{oɛ} in order to fulfill God's will on earth.

4.2.3. Chapter 3: Explaining the Annunciation

Having thus recounted the events of the Annunciation, Ximénez analyzes it, summarizing, and to a lesser extent, reorganizing, Thomas's *Quaestio 30* on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, whose title is essentially the same as that that Ximénez gives his third chapter. In it, Ximénez focuses on the *necessity* of the Annunciation, that is, why it was necessary for the angel to have announced it to Mary when, as Thomas points out in the objections to his first article, she already believed in the Incarnation. Ximénez excludes the objections that Thomas originally proposes, rather only the responses to them.

In a manner that is different from the norm when citing Thomas, Ximénez provides his own summarized introduction, incorporating elements of the *quaestio*. In effect, Ximénez says, the dignity of Jesus was announced by an angel by virtue of it being of divine origin. At the same time that it revealed the nature of Jesus, for Ximénez, it revealed even more about the nature of Mary: "ſignificaua la ꝺigniꝺaꝺ ꝺella enlas palabꝛas ꝺel angel: enquãto la llamo:llena ꝺe gracia ȝ bẽꝺita entre toꝺas las mugeres [y] la virginiꝺaꝺ ſuya ante el parto ȝ en concebir" (v^{r})^{oς}.

While Thomas does mention those ideas in his treatment of the Annunciation, it is not as much in relationship to Mary herself, but how those attributes relate to the Gabriel's presence or Jesus's divinity. For example, the greeting of Gabriel does not inform the believer of anything,

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oɛ. guided and consoled oς. her dignity was signified in the words of the angel where he called her full of grace and blessed amongst the women and her virginity before the birth and in conceiving

rather it only serves to "reddere mentem eius attentam ad tantae rei considerationem" (*Sum. Theo.* III q.3 a.4 co.).[οζ] A potential reason for Ximénez's emphasis on the holiness and virginity of Mary could be found in the relationship between Mary and Jews in medieval Spain. Paulino Rodríguez Barral notes that it was even before the 15th century, it was common to include a scene of Jews attacking Mary during the Assumption.

> Si la narrativa apócrifa relativa a la muerte y asunción de María había recogido desde antiguo el tema del ataque de los judíos al cuerpo de la Virgen será en estos momentos [los siglos XII-XIII] cuando el tema se popularice [...] Paralelamente el enfrentamiento doctrinal va a hacer del tema de la Encarnación uno de sus caballos de batalla. La intensidad con que se defiende en los tratados de polémica antijudía la concepción virginal de Cristo es directamente proporcional al empeño con que el judaísmo la niega (58).[οη]

Considered in this light, it makes sense that Ximénez would emphasis Mary's nature as defined by Gabriel. Gabriel is the first angel to be named in the Torah, and in that particular part of the Torah (Daniel 8) he explains a vision to Daniel. Thus, Ximénez may have reasoned that the words

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οζ. draw her attention to the consideration of a matter of such moment οη. if the apocryphal narrative related to the death and assumption of Mary had been known since ancient times, the theme of the attack by the Jews upon the body of the Virgin, it would be in these moments [12th-13th century] when the topic was popularized [...] At the same time the doctrinal confrontation would make the Incarnation one of its primary warhorses. The intensity with which the virgin birth of Christ is defended in the treatises of anti-Jew polemics is directly proportional to the force with which Judaism rejects it

of Gabriel could potentially have more weight than other forms of analysis. Furthermore, as Rodríguez Barral later notes, it was common for churches dedicated to Mary to be located where previously there had been a synagogue (58).

On the topic of Mary's virginity, and again using the words of Gabriel, Ximénez justifies the divinity of Jesus: "[significaba] otroſi expꝛeſſamente la ɗignidaɗ ɗel hijo:en quanto ɗixo el angel:benɗito es el fruto ɗel tu viẽtre. ⁊ ɗixo que ſeria llamaɗo hijo ɗel muy alto" (*Luzero 1495* v^{r}):$^{o\theta}$ As Ximénez twice uses the words of Gabriel to directly attribute qualities to Mary and to Jesus, it may be likely that he wants to leverage a figured trusted both by Jews and Muslims in their religions to add weight to his Christian ideas.

Having summarized and briefly expanded upon Thomas, Ximénez begins actually quoting the *quaestio* beginning with the first article, on why it was necessary to announce the conception to Mary. He lists the four main reasons given in the answer to the article's question —maintain the order of events, ensure Mary had full knowledge of what was to come and willingly accepted, and establish a link between between Jesus and mankind— but otherwise ignores the both the objections and Thomas's response to them.

Ximénez addresses the second article, on whether it needed to be an angel to fulfill the announcement, using more of the response. But he greatly summarizes Thomas's text, sufficiently enough to potentially cause problems for the reader. Thomas originally writes

> quam mediantibus Angelis divina ad homines perveniunt. Unde dicit Dionysius,

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oθ. once again the dignity of the Son was signified when the angel said blessed is the fruit of your womb and said that he would be called Son of the Most High

> IV cap. Cael. Hier., *quod divinum Iesu benignitatis mysterium Angeli primum edocti sunt, postea per ipsos ad nos cognitionis gratia transivit. Sic igitur divinissimus Gabriel Zachariam quidem docebat prophetam esse futurum ex ipso, Mariam autem, quomodo in ipsa fieret thearchicum ineffabilis Dei formationis mysterium.* (*Sum. Theo.* III q.30 a.2 co.)[π]

Ximénez's text reveals the extent of reduction: "las ɒivinas reuelaciones ſon anũciaɒas ꝛ reuelaɒas alos hombꝛes poꝛ los angeleſ como ɒiʒe el ſanto ɒioſinio:ſegun en muchos lugares ſe lee en la ſancta eſcriptura" (*Luzero 1495* v[r])[πα]. Upon comparing the two texts, in Thomas' original, we can see that Dionysius makes a relatively simple observation which is entirely supported by two Biblical events. Ximénez could have summarized referring only to the scriptures with the same effect, but opts to also mention Dionysius.

Though Thomas explicitly cites Bede in his explanation, Ximénez does not mention him, despite including of the entirety of Thomas' quotation of him on the symmetry between man's perdition and salvation. Ximénez does, however invert the Bede's text to begin with the fall of man and conclude with the Jesus as the Savior. The third reason is the one that he shortens the

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π. Divine things are brought to men by means of the angels. Wherefore Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. iv) that "the angels were the first to be taught the Divine mystery of the loving kindness of Jesus: afterwards the grace of knowledge was imparted to us through them. Thus, then, the most god-like Gabriel made known to Zachary that a prophet son would be born to him; and, to Mary, how the Divine mystery of the ineffable conception of God would be realized in her."

πα. the divine revelations are announced and revealed to men by the angels as saint Dionysius says, according to what is read in many places in the holy scriptures

most. In Ximénez's rendition, the reader is told the angel messenger was necessary because "a los angeles es cõnatural la virginiꝺaꝺ" (v^{v}):$^{\pi\beta}$ In doing so, he removes mention of author of the text, Jerome, and also removes a sentence explaining why virginity is a heavenly virtue. We should not, however, read much into the omission of this line, as Ximénez devotes an ample amount of words on the chaste nature of Mary and Joseph; that may, in fact, be partly his rationale for glossing over it.

Although for Thomas the relative ranking of Mary and the angels is part of the response to the first objection, Ximénez discusses it as if it were a continuation of the third reason. In Judaism, the human soul is considered more holy than an angel, because it descends to the earth without corruption. In Christianity, however, the corporeal nature was often seen as as a weakness, being subject to infirmity.

This explains the mention of Jesus as being lesser than the angels (the incarnation gave him a passible body), but Mary being both "mayoꝛ que los angeles: q̃to ala ꝺigniꝺaꝺ a que ꝺiuinalmẽte era elegiꝺa: quãto al eſtaꝺo ꝺe pꝛeſente viꝺa era inferioꝛ" (v^{v}):$^{\pi\gamma}$ While not the intent of Ximénez to enter into the finer details on the theology of angels, it is clear that once again he aims to demonstrate the exceptional holiness of Mary, even if in this case, the example works better for a Christian reader than a Jewish reader.

He begins his treatment of Thomas' third article, on whether the angel needed to appear corporeally, with the third part to his initial answer, stating that although Mary was capable of

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πβ. virginity is connatural for angels πγ. as much greater than the angels in the dignity that was divinely chosen [him] as he was inferior in his present state of life

degree of certainty in what she was told, we as humans understand better what we can see with our eyes than what we only imagine. Ximénez adds a second sense here referring to both "las coſas que vemos cõ los ojos: ꝛ oymos cõ las oꝛejas" (v^{v}).$^{\pi\delta}$ While both Thomas and Ximénez quote Chrysostom, Ximénez does not name him, and uses the quote on why Mary did not receive a dream to segue directly into Thomas' reply to the first objection: "no sſolamente recibio la viſion coꝛpoꝛal:mas avn la illuminaciõ ĩtellectual. y poꝛẽƀe fue muy ꝑfecta eſta reuelaciõ" (v^{v}).$^{\pi\varepsilon}$ Given that reasoning –which Thomas himself derived from Augustine— it makes sense that Ximénez added the sense of hearing. Seeing the angel would be a sufficient enough vision, but Gabriel also explains to her her role in the incarnation of Jesus.

To conclude the third chapter, Ximénez takes on Thomas' fourth article, on whether the annunciation took place in becoming order, focusing exclusively on Thomas' answer, and excluding any response to objections. Thomas' answer is based on the three things that the Angel understood of Mary: (1) how to make her aware of the esteem she was held in by way of his greeting, (2) how to instruct her about the incarnation and birth, and (3) how to gain her consent

As opposed to Thomas, who cites other scholars and provides much additional commentary, Ximénez only cites the words of Gabriel to conclude. These quotations summarize and emphasize the importance of the Annunciation for Ximénez. In the first, he repeats Gabriel's greeting to remind the reader the holiness of Mary as recognized by a messenger of God. In the second, Gabriel describes how Jesus will conceived through the Holy Spirit, born of a virgin, and will be

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πδ. the things that we see with our eyes and we hear with our ears πε. not only received corporeal vision but also intellectual enlightenment and thus this revelation was very perfect

called Savior and Son of God. And in the third, he quotes Gabriel in mentioning Elizabeth to demonstrate to Mary that through God all things are possible.

4.2.4. Chapter 4: The Incarnation, Known Since Adam

Ximénez provides what appears to be his own synthesis of ideas in which he demonstrates, as the title indicates, "Cómo el artículo de la incarnación fue siempre diuinalmente ordenado," although he ultimately digresses into other articles of faith. This was an idea that Jesus' Incarnation was a part of the Divine Plan, and not conditioned upon the fall of man. Explicitly rejected by Thomas, the theologian whom Ximénez most likes to quote, the idea was hotly debated in medieval times and, in fact, today is still considered an unsettled question.

Inasmuch as Ximénez explicitly agrees with the premise of Jesus always being ordained, he does not actually provide many arguments to the effect. In fact, he often uses a combination of Thomas' ideas without stating that Thomas disagrees with him. This may be because he feels that Thomas arguments are valid, but his conclusion ultimately erroneous, and wishes to continue citing him to maintain an air of authority.

To begin his discussion, Ximénez compares what God is to what man is, using a series of antonymic descriptions. God is, *inter alia*, infinite, lord, and inmutable, but man is finite, servant, and mutable. That God, described so grandly, would considered deigning himself and becoming man, described so meekly, and in particularly a man that would eventually be crucified, should thus seem to be an impossible tenant of the Catholic faith. And yet, he points out, that is what the was prophesied and believed from the beginning of the Church.

The incredulity of those who do not understand is evidenced by Matthew 13:57, in which

Jews are scandalized by the idea, which Ximénez cites (and to which he adds that that the Gentiles found frivolous and crazy). But Since God wants all men to be saved (*Nova vulgata* I Tim. 2:4), and, Ximénez argues, "la via ɗela saluacion ꝛ ɗe venir ala bienauenturança es el miſterio ɗel a incarnacion ɗel hijo ɗe ɗios" (*Luzero 1495* vi^{v})[πς] it makes sense that this had been revealed to all of mankind throughout all ages, in order that all could be saved.

In order to justify the necessary foreknowledge of the Incarnation, Ximénez refers to a *sancto doctor* but whose name he does not provide. According to this theologian, God revealed the truth —that is, Jesus' eventual incarnation— to the Adam in a dream. If the Incarnation was thus known before the fall, it was a part of the Divine Plan all along.

While many medieval theologians believed that Jesus' incarnation was not conditioned on the the fall,[38] and could have influenced Ximénez, based on the text, it appears that Bonaventure is the author that he ultimately cites. Ximénez says "eſtanɗo ɗoꝛmienɗo le reuelo ɗios eſte alto ſecreto.es aſaber que ɗios hauia ɗe ſer hecho hõmꝛe:avn q̃ no le reuelo que hauia ɗe ſer para reɗemir ſu pecaɗo:poꝛq̃ no le fue reueleɗo q̃ auia ɗe peccar" (vi^{r})[πζ] and that after the fall, "conoçio q̃ la incarnaciõ ɗel hijo ɗe ɗios en q̃ ɗios auia ɗe ſer hecho hõbꝛe:era para reɗemir ſu peccaɗo" (vi^{r}).[πη]

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38. For example, John Duns Scotus, Robert Grosseteste, Anselm of Aosta, Ramon Llull, amongst others, particularly Franciscans.

πς. the way to salvation and to come into happiness is the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God πζ. while asleep, God revealed to him this great secret, that is, that God would be made man, although he did not revealed that it would be to redeem his sin, because it was not revealed to him that he would sin πη. knew that the Incarnation of the Son of Man in which God would be made man was to redeem his sin

This text closely mirrors that found in one of Bonaventure's Dubia:

> sicut Sancti exponunt, Adam in sopore illo raptus est et ad caelestem curiam dicitur fuisse perductus ; et hoc innuit textus, quod statim post evigilationem prophetice locutus est : *Hoc nunc os* etc. Si ergo vere locutus est prophetice, praecognovit, quid significabat mulieris et viri coniunctio et mulieris de latere viri formatio. Sed primum significat Christi incarnationem ; secundum, passionem : ergo praecognovit Christum incarnandum et Christum passurum ; sed redemptio et reparatio praesupponit lapsum : ergo praecognovit Adam lapsum futurum et suum remedium. (*Com. Sent.* II Sent. d. 23 dub. 4)[πθ]

Augustine himself only mentions Adam understanding that Eve came from him, but Bonaventure extends this to further knowledge about the Incarnation that aligns with Thomas's belief that "[n]am ante statum peccati homo habuit explicitam fidem de Christi incarnatione" (*Sum. Theo.* II-II q.2 a.7)[ϟ]. For Ximénez, the realization after the fall is when the mystery of the Incarna-

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πθ. As the saints explain, in that sleep Adam was snatched up and is said to have been conducted to the Celestial Court; and the text hints at this since immediately upon waking Adam said prophetically: This is now bone, etc. If, then, in fact, he spoke prophetically, he foreknew what the union of man and woman meant as well as the formation of woman from the side of man. But it first signifies the Incarnation; and second his Passion; consequently, he foreknew that Christ was to become incarnate and that Christ was to suffer. But redemption and reparation presuppose a fall. Consequently, Adam foreknew both the fall that was to be as well as his remedy

ϟ. before the state of sin, man believed, explicitly in Christ's Incarnation

tion was first "revelaɔo ⁊ creyɔo" (*Luzero 1495* vi^{r})ϟ$^{\alpha}$ as opposed to merely being revealed as it was in Adam's dream.

The second half of Ximénez's chapter reveals the importance of having Adam believe in the Incarnation. While the Jews believed in the coming of the Messiah, their vision of what he would be did not coincide with Christianity's vision of the resurrection of Jesus. According to Jewish tradition, The Messiah would be a mighty king from the house of David. How then, to reconcile conclusions of Jewish scholars with the Christian thought? To answer that question, Ximénez begins by tracing the path of the knowledge of the Incarnation from Adam through the figures of the Old Testament, following to a large extent books 16 through 18 of Augustine's *De civitate Dei contra paganos*, although he only uses it inasmuch as he needs to demonstrate the continuity, or lack thereof, of mankind's knowledge of the Incarnation. It could be said that such knowledge defines what Augustine referred to as his City of God.

Adam, Ximénez says, taught it to Eve and to all of his descendants up to Noah. Noah, in turn, teaches it to his descendants. However, because of the great number of people, the knowledge was lost as mankind turned to idolatry. Here Augustine provides greater detail, using Babylon as an example of the sins of the city of man. Only the nation of Heber, which continued to speak the original language, was the one that should be considered a continuation of the Augustinian City of God.

Ximénez like Augustine portrays Abraham as a point of renewal. Augustine follows Genesis 12:1-6 closely in his explanation, but Ximénez extends it further. God, he says,

> lo traxo ala tierra ɔe ꝑmiſſiõ: ⁊ le reuelo expꝛeſſa ⁊ claramente eſte miſterio ɔla

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ϟα. revealed and believed

> incarnaciõ: ꝛ le juro q̃ a ꝛ a ſu ſimiente ɗaria aq̃lla tierra ɗ ꝑmiſſiõ. Otroſi le juro q̃ ɗe ſu ſimiente ꝛ linage naceria el ſaluaɗoꝛ ꝛ meſſias q̃ ɗios auia ɗ embiar a ſaluar el mũɗo. *E aſi ɗioſ ſeria hecho hõbꝛe ɗ ſu ſimiẽte ȝ linage* E poꝛ cõſiguiẽte q̃ en ſu ſimiẽte ꝛ linage ſerian bẽɗitas toɗas las gẽteſ (v[ir], emphasis mine)?[ϟβ]

Thus not only will Abraham's descendants be blessed and possess Canaan, the *tierra de promisión*?[ϟγ] and, as was understood by Jews, beget the Messiah, that Messiah would be God made incarnate.

Abraham and his lineage went to Egypt but returned to Canaan, which Ximénez describes as being in the middle of the habitable world, such that "aſſi fueſſe ɗeriuaɗo eſte conoçimiẽto a toɗo el mũɗo" (vi[v], emphasis mine)?[ϟδ] Neither the Bible nor Augustine explain Abraham's return from Egypt this way. However, it serves for an argument that Ximénez makes after explaining that the promise of the Incarnation was also received by and renewed in David: "juro ɗios a ɗauiɗ q̃ ɗe ſu ſimiẽte ꝛ linage naçeria el rey meſſias: q̃ era hijo ɗe ɗios hecho hõbꝛe poꝛ la aſſumpciõ ɗla carne" (vi[v])?[ϟε] That David's line would produce the Messiah is a view shared by both Jews and

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ϟβ. brought him to the land of promise and expressly and clearly revealed to him this mystery of the Incarnation and he promised that he would give yonder land of promise to him and to his seed. As well he promised that the Savior and Messiah that God would send to save the world would be born from his seed and lineage. *And thus God would be made man from his seed and lineage.* And consequently all of the people of his seed and lineage would be blessed ϟγ. land of promise ϟδ. in this way this knowledge were spread to all the world ϟε. God swore to David that the King Messiah, who was the Son of God made man by the assumption of the flesh, would be born of his seed and lineage

Christians.[39]

As Ximénez explains, knowledge of the Incarnation was spread throughout the world. Consequently, it was known to all the prophets, who were divinely inspired to give testimony of it in their writings. Ximénez curiously believes that the prophets may not have even realized what they were saying, and yet unbeknownst to them, they were actually writing about Jesus. As such, he claims, "toꝺos los ꝓphetas ṕncipalmente fuerõ poꝛ ꝺios inſpiraꝺos:ꝑa q̃ p̃phetaſſẽ eſte articulo z vꝺaꝺ:z ꝺieſſen teſtimonio ꝺe nr̃a ſaluaciõ" (*Luzero 1495* vi^{v})!ϟζ

That a prophecy might only be visible after its fulfillment is not a concept foreign to Jewish theology. In fact, Maimonides says as much, that "וכן כל כיוצא באלו הדברים בענין המשיח הם משלים ובימות המלך המשיח יודע לכל לאי זה דבר היה משל ומה ענין רמזו בהן מלכים ומלחמותיהם) 12:1)ϟη

While a harsh critic might argue that it is an easy exercise to retrofit prophecy onto simple statements, it is a useful technique for Ximénez. By presenting many examples of prophecy that aligns with Christian theology, fundamental Christian beliefs might appear to be evident from Old Testament texts. He can, for example, better establish Jesus' dual nature as something that

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39. For instance, Maimonides while clearly rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, says that "אם יעמוד מלך מבית דויד הוגה בתורה [וכולה] את ה' ביחד שנאמר כי אז אהפוך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרוא כולם בשם ה' ולעבדו שכם אחד." (מלכים ומלחמותיהם 11.4, emphasis mine)ϟς

ϟς. If a king will arise *from the House of David* who diligently contemplates the Torah [*etcetera*] we may, with assurance, consider him Mashiach ϟζ. all the prophets were inspired by God primarily to prophesy this article and truth and to give testimoney of our Savior ϟη. In the Messianic era, everyone will realize which matters were implied by these metaphors and which allusions they contained.

would potentially less offensive or more acceptable to a Jewish or *converso* ear while providing fodder for Christian readers to solidify their own beliefs.

Ximénez details four beliefs or articles faith that were prophesied by Jewish prophets: (1) the Incarnation, (2) the Nativity, (3) the Coming of the Savior, and (4) the Passion. The Jewish prophecies, then, are appeals to authority for his *converso* reader who may find them more convincing than anything from a Christian theologian or text. For each belief, he lists Biblical verses that make reference to or support it. However, he generally only provides the meaning of them for the Incarnation and to a lesser extent the Nativity and the Coming of the Savior. For the Passion, he only lists references without further commentary. Given that the first chapters of the *Luzero* primarily treat the Incarnation, it makes sense for him to leave the other references less explained as he treats them in greater depth elsewhere.Nonetheless, the beliefs outlined are fundamental concepts that must be accepted by someone before being able to adequately understand and believe the rest of Christian theology.

In total, Ximénez lists nineteen examples of prophecies relating to the Incarnation which can be seen in Table 4 (*Luzero 1495* vi^{v}-vii^{r}).[40] He further lists thirty-seven examples of the prophecies related to the nativity, although several of them are repeated; three prophecies dealing with the time of Jesus' coming; and twenty for the Passion, although some of them do not appear to be commonly associated with Jesus' Passion.

Finally, as if to summarize all of the previous citations, Ximénez claims that "E ɗauiɗ habla enel pſalterio muy poꝛ eſtenſo ɗe toɗas las coſas perteneçientes ala incarnacion:miſterios:paſſion

40. Ximénez only provides the corresponding chapter. I have added the relevant verses when it can be so reduced

Table 4: Biblical Sources for the Incarnation According to Ximénez

Source	Explanation (Ximénez's and traditional interpretations)
Gen. 3:15-16	Eve is precursor to Mary, who in conceiving will destroy its power over mankind
Judg. 6:37-40	"[J]ust as the fleece became wet while the floor remained dry, Mary was filled with grace while everyone else was deprived of it; similarly while the fleece was dry and the ground wet, Mary alone was preserved from the sin that affected the rest of the world" (154)
Exod. 3:2	The bush, Mary, is untouched by the consuming fire (cf. Heb. 12:29, Prot. Jas. 20) which represents Jesus
Num. 17:1-8	Aaron's rod flowered without water, as Jesus was born without the involvement of a man
Isa. 7:14	God says that a virgin will give birth to a child who shall be named Immanuel
Isa. 8:17	Lord hides his face, that is, incarnate
Isa. 6:1	The Lord is seated on a throne, that is, he is made incarnate as a king (Ximénez also refers to John 7:13)
Isa. 35:1-2	Desert lilies bloom; Mary will give birth from nothing
Isa. 45:8	The dew from heaven that causes the earth to produce salvation mirrors the Holy Spirit coming down upon Mary to produce Jesus
Isa. 45:15	God is hidden in Israel, incarnate in Jesus
Jer. 31:22	The woman encompassing man is Mary holding Jesus in her womb
Ez. 44:1-2	The gate forever closed represents Mary's perpetual virginity
Isa. 9:5	A son, Jesus, is born for Israel; the dominion which rests upon his shoulders foreshadows his cross
Bar. 3:37-38	Wisdom, Jesus, is given unto Israel, but for the benefit of all mankind
Mal. 3:27	The sun of justice bringing health represents Jesus bringing salvation; Ximénez cites using Jewish ordering, that is Mal. 4(:3)
Mic. 5:1	The ruler will come from Israel from ancient times; Jesus is to be born of Israel and his coming was preordained from creation
Hag. 2:6-7	The Gospel, and the Teaching and Reception thereof
Jer. 31:22	See above, Ximénez cites and explains this verse twice
Isa. 11:1	From the stump of Jesse a shoot will produce a flower in which will rest the spirit of God; Jesse is David's father so Mary, of the House of David who will produce Jesus, who share God's divine nature; additionally, Ximénez says Nazareth's name means *flowers*, and although his translation is off —it could mean *branch*—, it does not affect his idea

ꝛ reſurrectiõ ꝺel ſaluaꝺoꝛ:ꝛ toꝺos ſus miſterios fueron pꝛenũciaꝺos poꝛ los ꝓphetas en ꝺiuerſos lugares" (viii^{r})?[ϟθ] The Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection —that is, the topic of the *Luzero*—

ϟθ. And David speaks extensively in the Psalter about all things pertaining to the Incarnation, Mysteries, Passion and Resurrection of the Savior, and all his mysteries were revealed beforehand by the prophets in diverse places

had already been foreknown and foretold by the at least second king of Israel. In other words, Ximénez is not explaining anything to his Jewish or *converso* reader that was not already known by their former king, and therefore they should be willing to trust his explanations.

Ximénez reminds his reader that the mysteries are not impossible nor even difficult for God, and that they should not read into God's incarnation as him losing any of his excellency because "ſolamẽte ay mutaciõ enla hũana natura" (viii^{r})[ρ] Ximénez notes that anything is fitting if it accords to its nature, citing and translating "el ſanto ɔoctoɾ". For example, where Aquinas writes "Pertinet autem ad rationem boni ut se aliis communicet, ut patet per Dionysium, IV cap. de Div. Nom. Unde ad rationem summi boni pertinet quod summo modo se creaturae communicet" (*Sum. Theo.* III q.1 a.1 co.)[ρα] Ximénez's rendition adds a an extra line to explain the reference to Dionysius that Thomas made: "Ala naturaleʒa ɔel bien ꝑteneçe q̃ ſe comuniq̃ ſegun el ſancto ɔioniſio:*aſſi como vemos eñl ſol: q̃ comunica ſus rayos: luʒ ȝ caloɾ: poɾ toɔas partes*. onɔe al ſumo biẽ cõuiene q̃ ſe comunique ſũmo moɔo a ſus criaturas" (*Luzero 1495* viii^{r}, emphasis mine)[ρβ]

Because his reader would likely not be able to read Latin or Greek, instead of referencing *Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων*;[ργ] Ximénez includes one of Psuedo-Dionysius the Areopagite's primary images in a way that the reader is not deprived of a lesson. The image of the shining sun is an

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ρ. the change is only in the human nature ρα. But it belongs to the essence of goodness to communicate itself to others, as is plain from Dionysius (Div. Nom. iv). Hence it belongs to the essence of the highest good to communicate itself in the highest manner to the creature ρβ. To the nature of goodness, it suffices to communicate, as according to saint Dionysius, *as we see in the sun, that communicates its rays* where it is suiting that the highest good communicate itsself in the highest manner to its creatures [sic] ργ. On Divine Names

important one in the work, as Noeli Dutra Rossatto describes:

> em Dionísio, a iluminação divina se articula como uma grande "cascata de luz" [...] Do alto do céu até a terra, as ideias dos seres se distribuem por degraus e engendram naturalmente uma só hierarquia divina ou celeste.
>
> De acordo com a analogia do sol, [...] tal como o sol torna a visibilidade possível, e é por si mesmo visível, de igual modo o Sumo bem é inteligível como Ideia, estando não apenas acima do ser em dignidade, mas também dando sustentação a ele; e, por fim, tornando as próprias ideias dos seres inteligíveis. (132)[ρδ]

Ximénez concludes his by summarizing its contents: Jesus is simultaneous comprised of word, soul, and flesh, and is the Divine Word incarnate. The final line of the chapter, expressing the importance of the mystery of the Incarnation, "ſegun ɒiʒe ſant juan ɒemaceno enel p̱ncipio ɒel tercero libꝛo ɒe ſus ſentenciaſ:en ſu incarnaciõ ɒemoſtro ɒios ſu potẽcia :ſu ſapiencia ſu juſticia:ſu bõɒaɒ ꝛ clemẽcia:ſegun aɒelante ſe ɒira" (*Luzero 1495* viii[r]);[ρε] probably belongs at the beginning of the following chapter. Furthermore, John of Damascus did not write any such book. But based on the subsequent chapter and its contents, the error is not the book, but rather the author: it should read Peter Lombard.

4.2.5. Chapter 5: The Nature of Jesus and his Conception

The fifth chapter, "De la ineffable excelencia e inmensos privilegios y de la materia y orden de la Concepción de Nuestro Salvador," synthesizes the views of a number of different church

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ρδ. todo ρε. according to what Saint John of Damascus says in the beginning of the third book of his *Sentences*, through his Incarnation God demonstrated his power, knowledge, his justice, his goodness, and his clemency, as will be soon described

doctors to discuss how Jesus' body developed and formed in Mary's womb, and how it differed from that of a regular person. In this chapter, Ximénez recognizes that much of what he tell his reader may be difficult to understand. To lessen the uncomfortability, he informs the reader that even John the Baptist who was able to recognize Jesus at his baptism in the river acknowledges that he "no era ſufficiẽte ɒe entẽɒer ꝛ inueſtigar ꝛ enſeñar alos otros el moɒo ɒela vnion ɒla natura ɒiuina ꝛ humana" (viiiᵛ)ᵖ.ᵖᶜ Despite the difficulty, Ximénez says that "con la ayuɒa ɒel ſeñor" (viiiᵛ)ᵖ.ᵖᶻ he will say a few brief things to inform the "ſimples."ᵖᵖᶯ

When Jesus was conceived, Ximénez says, he had three unique privileges over other hu mans at conception: (1) his body was formed immediately,[41] (2) he was ready to be ensouled immediately, and (3) he assumed the Divine Word.

For the first privilege, he says that Jesus' body was formed —*formado y organizado*, that is, for all intents and purposes, looked like a baby— immediately upon conception. For comparison, the forty-five day process of a regular baby's formation, taken from Psuedo-Albertus Magnus' *De Secretis Mulierum*, is presented. That medieval medical work sums up the formation of the human body thus:

> Its first six days are white and warmed
>
> Then bloody red for nine day's course

41. In the text, the first three privileges are listed as the first one, "El pꝛimero [ɒe los privilegios]: q̃ fue en vn inſtanti ꝛ ſubito foꝛmaɒo oꝛganiʒaɒo:animaɒo:ꝛ ɒel verbo ɒiuino aſſumpto" (viiiᵛ)ᵖ.ᵖᶿ As the text that follows relates to his formation in the womb, and the other two are later explicitly mentioned, it is clear that the first privilege is only the immediately forming of the body.

ρc. was not capable enough to understand and investigate and teach to others the form of the union of human and divine nature ρz. with the Lord's help ρη. simpleminded

In twelve its members almost formed

Eighteen complete, then it gains force. (79)

Ximénez further claims that the period of gestation is twice that for girls. Psuedo-Albertus does not make the claim, rather it comes from Aristotle by way of Thomas: "maris conceptio non perficitur nisi usque ad quadragesiumum diem, ut PHILOSOPHUS in IX *De animalibus* dicit ; feminæ autem usque ad nonagesimum" (*Sup. Sent.* III d.3 q.5 a.2 resp.)[ρι]

After the body is formed, "cria ɔios enel el anima" (*Luzero 1495* viii[v])[ρια] But with Jesus, the events were not ordered, rather simultaneous, instantaneous, and at the moment in which Mary accepted during the Annunciation. For a normal person, the process takes time because the virtue that resides in the man's semen takes time to grow and that requires a period of time. But because Jesus was formed out not from a man but from the Holy Spirit, which is full of virtue, there was no need to wait for virtue to grow. Hence, Jesus was formed, ensouled, and his corporeal and divine nature joined instantaneously.

The fact that all of this happened instantaneously was important to Ximénez: he repeats virtually the same statement nearly a dozen times throughout the chapter. Much of the Aristotelean view is shared by Jews and Christians. A fetus was, in effect, an unformed substance in the woman until the fortieth day (Ἀριστοτέλης, *Τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν* VII 1; Rosner 178). In Jewish law, fetuses were not considered people, defined as having been ensouled, until they first took a breath of air. For Christians, the ensoulment was generally thought to occur with the

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ρι. the conception of the soul is only perfected upon the fortieth day, where the Philosopher in *De animalibus* says: women upon the ninetieth day ρια. God creates a soul in it

quickening because the former caused the latter. Nonetheless, it was clear that a body had been formed. If, then, Jesus's body was given a soul after his body had formed, then it could cause the reader to think that Jesus was primarily human, and only received his divinity later which could be seen to disprove his wholly dual nature. Consequently, it was necessary for Ximénez to make it eminently clear that Jesus' conception was different, and that at no time was his body without its divine nature.

Of course, a reader might then ask two questions: (1) what was Jesus' nature in the womb, then, when regular people would form organ by organ?, and (2) why was Jesus' not born immediately if he was fully formed?

Ximénez responds to the latter question initially and makes clear a distinction between Jesus' conception and his augmentation, or the growth of Jesus' body. The conception was instantaneous by virtue of the Holy Spirit, but the augmentation was done "poꝛ la virtuꝺ augmentatiua natural ꝺel anima" (*Luzero 1495* viii^{v})[ριβ] And as Jesus' soul was human, it stands to reason, it would not differ in the way it grew the body. Furthermore, Ximénez argues, maintaining the normal augmentative process would demonstrate Jesus' humanity. In other words, had Jesus been born immediately, he may have been seen as a purely divine being, which could lead to heretical Manicheaist thoughts.

To the former question, Ximénez says that, in contrast to the normal order of formation —from liquid to having different body parts form individually—, Jesus began from the beginning with a body that was "mas pequeño ꝛ ꝺe menoꝛ quãtiꝺaꝺ: que ſon los cuerpos ꝺlos otros niños: quanꝺo es el anima criaꝺa en ellos: ꝺe guiſa que a penas ſe puꝺierã ꝺiſtinguir poꝛ la viſta los miem-

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ριβ. by the natural augmentative virtue of the soul

bꝛos ɗel cuerpo: tan ɗelgaɗos ꝛ pequeños eran" (viii^{v})ριγ As such, while the instantly formed body of Jesus was initially smaller, at the conclusion of the normal forty-five–day period of conception when ensoulment normally occurred, he would have been the same size as other babies and then be born with a normal size at the normal time.

The second privilege was that Jesus, upon conception, "fue animaɗo y ɗispuesto ꝑfectamẽte: para recibir el anima raʒonable: lo qual no pueɗe ser en otros hombres" (ix^{r})ριδ Man was considered to possess two natures, a physical, corporeal nature, but also a spiritual one. As previously mentioned, the belief at the time was that ensoulment did not occur until the end of formation for Christians or until birth for Jews. Lacking the soul, the body would have been seen as an empty shell, and more importantly, not yet fully a person.

The final privilege that Jesus received was that "el cuerpo ɗe jħu xꝑo enel meſmo inſtãti ꝛ punto ɗe ſu concepcion: fue aſſumpto ɗel verbo ɗiuino ꝛ hijo ɗe ɗios" (ix^{r})ριε perhaps the most as it represents the unity —from the beginning— of the human and divine natures. The ordering of the privileges that Ximénez lists is thus not haphazard. Lombard, one of Ximénez's primary sources for the chapter, in talking reference to Jesus and His conception says that "that particular soul [of Jesus] and that particular flesh were taken and united to the Word, and in them subsisted the person God and of man" (d.5 c.3$_{(16)}$ n.4). It appears that Ximénez may have in fact included

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ργ. smaller and of lesser quantity than are the bodies of other children when the soul is created in them, as such one could barely distinguish by sight the members of His body, as they were so small and slender ρδ. was ensouled and perfectly disposed to receive the rational soul which could not be in other men ρε. the body of Jesus Christ in the same instant and moment of his conception was assumed by the Divine Word and Son of God

a paraphrased —if not directly translated— version of such in the chapter. The the unity of soul and body is a person, and the unity of a man and God together is Jesus. As the soul lives on beyond the body, so too does the divine nature, except that it also existed before incarnation.

Having discussed the privileges of Jesus' birth, Ximénez turns his attention to what, based on his text, was a common thought in his times that he considered heretical. Notably soft in his presentation of the heresy, before stating the heresy he says that he wants to prevent well-intentioned believes from tarnishing Mary, Jesus or the faith: "e poꝛ que los ſimples no eſtẽ engañaꝺos eneſta materia ſegun eſtan muchos cõ ignoꝛancia [...] pẽſanꝺo ꝺeʒir coſas sotiles ꝛ ꝺeuociones: ꝺiʒẽn ꝺeſuarios ꝛ erroꝛes.ꝛ pẽſanꝺo honrar a nr̃a ſeñoꝛa ꝛ al ſaluaꝺoꝛ: ꝺerogã grãꝺemente ala ꝺigniꝺaꝺ ꝺla maꝺꝛe ꝛ ꝺl hijo ꝛ ala ꝑꝺaꝺ ꝺ nueſta ſanta fe catholica" (*Luzero 1495* ix^{r})ρις The belief that bothered Ximénez was that Jesus was formed from the venous blood of Mary. Worse still, he says that they would cite John of Damascus who said "el cuerpo ꝺe xp̃o fue concebiꝺo ꝺelas puriſſimas ꝛ caſtiſſimas ſangres ꝺla virgen" (ix^{r})ριζ[42] The problem equates to a misunderstanding on the part of some faithful. First, he says, the venous blood is not involved in conception. As Ximénez would later state, the medieval belief was that conception occurred during the mixing of blood

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42. Here Ximénez cites the third book of *Sententiarum*, which was actually authored by Peter Lombard. The line cited, nonetheless, is from John of Damascus: "συνέπηξεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἁγνῶν καὶ καθαρωτάτων αὐτῆς αἱμάτων σάρκα" (*Ορθ. Πί.* β.3 κ.2$_{(46)}$).ριη This is explained by the fact that the Lombard quotes the Golden Speaker in the *Sententiarum* (III d.2 c.1$_{(7)}$ n3).

ρις. and so the simpleminded may not be deceived on this topic as many are quite ignorant [...] thinking they honor Our Lady and the Savior, greatly abolish the dignity of the Mother and of the Son and of the Truth of our Holy Catholic Faith ριζ. the body of Christ was conceived from the most pure and virtuous bloods of the Virgin ριη. formed from her holy and most pure blood, He formed flesh

between man and woman. That blood went to either the *vasos seminarios de generación*ριθ(male) or the *vasos de generación*reproductive vessel (female) where it was "ꝺigeriꝺa ꝛ ꝺepuraꝺo" (*Luzero 1495* ix^{r})ρκ and in the case of men, changed to a white color.

Because traditional conception required blood from both parents, it could not have been possible for Jesus to be formed from Mary's blood, as that would necessarily have required blood from a male. The Holy Spirit, not being incarnate, could not have provided the necessary materials for traditional conception. As such, Ximénez states, Jesus' conception "no fue poꝛ ſimiente humana:mas ſolamente poꝛ operaciõ ꝛ virtuꝺ ꝺel eſpiritu ſancto" (ix^{r})ρκα

Even if Jesus could have been formed from Mary's blood, he could not have been formed from her *venous* blood because, as a result of the aforementioned purification process, "hay ꝺiferẽcia entre la ſangre que eſta enlas venas ꝛ partes ꝺel cuerpo:ꝛ enla otra ꝺicha ſangre que eſta enloſ vaſos ſeminarios ꝺela muger:como entre perfecto ꝛ ꝛ [sic] imperfecto" (ix^{r})ρκβ Ximénez continues to explain the workings of the body with respect to the formation of flesh and blood, and the preparation for reproduction. He then cites Aristotle's *On the Origin of Animals* as a source of his information. Ximénez states that "eſta es la materia ꝺe que el cuerpo humano es foꝛmaꝺo ſegun largamente pꝛueua el philoſopho ariſtotiles enel quinʒeno libꝛo ꝺlos animales" (ix^{v})ρκγ None of

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ριθ. seminary reproductive vessel ρκ. digested and purified ρκα. was not by human semen, but only by the workings and virtue of the Holy Spirit ρκβ. there is a difference between blood that is in the veins and parts of the body, and in other blood that is in the seminary vases of the woman, as between perfection and imperfection ρκγ. this is the material that the human body is formed from according to Aristotles's large proof in the fifteenth book of the animals

Aristotle's four works pertaining to animals contains that many books. It is clear, then, that he is not working from the Greek but rather from Scotus' Latin translation of an Arabic compilation of Aristotle's works on animals entitled كتاب الحيوان.[ρκδ] Books fifteen through nineteen correspond to the five books of *Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως*[ρκε] which describe in detail reproduction of animals and humans work.

While Ximénez describes the material from both men and women involved in procreation as being highly purified blood, Aristotle does not share the same view. Unlike Ximénez, Aristotle does not believe the reproductive material contributed by the woman, which he believes to be the catamenia, is as pure as the man's, that is, the sperm. They are, nonetheless, in agreement that menstrual blood cannot be what Jesus is formed from, as it is purged impure material. However well Ximénez may have interpreted and used Aristotle's text, the mere use of the text gives an air of authority to the rest of his arguments that he would not otherwise have as a theologian.

After concluding the scientific discussion, Ximénez reminds the reader that developing from Mary's blood was a necessary process. Jesus, as he already had mentioned and would continue to discuss in a later chapter, had to be like all other men, as Paul informs the Hebrews: "Unde debuit per omnia fratribus similari" (*Nova vulgata* Heb. 2:17).[ρκς] Thus the reader may conclude that were he to have been formed from some other material (or immaterial), he could not possess a truly human nature; but being formed through almost all the same processes, the reader knows that he shares their human nature. Ximénez anticipates that the reader may question that, if Jesus were like men in all ways, then would he not also have the same frailties, illness, and sins

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ρκδ. *Book of the Animals* ρκε. *On the Genesis of Animals* ρκς. Therefore he had to become like his brothers and sisters in every respect

as mankind? He does not respond in the fifth chapter, but rather devotes the entire next chapter to the topic.

The fourth and final privilege that Jesus received at his conception was to be "la ꝑimera anima q̃ vio la eſſencia ð ðios" (*Luzero 1495* x^{v})[ρκζ] which he equate to being in paradise. As such, Ximénez argues that for the nine months of her pregnancy, in effect, Mary's womb was a new Paradise. Literally encompassed Paradise, she "tuuo ðigniðað infinita poꝛ ſer maðꝛe ðe ðios: q̃ es infinito bien" (x^{v})[ρκη] It is for this reason that he claims that she exceeded not only every human in dignity, but every angel as well.

4.2.6. Chapter 6: Jesus' Humanity

In his brief sixth chapter, "Sobre las enfermedades y defectos que Jesucristo tenía," Ximénez anticipates a question that his reader may have based on his previous chapter: if Jesus's human nature is in all ways like any other man, did he have the failings that are so evident in all humans? Could Jesus sin? Or get sick?

To resolve this doubt, Ximénez turns to Thomas once again. Thomas distinguishes two different types of failings, the defects of the body (*Sum. Theo.* III q.14) and the defects of the soul (III q.15), which Ximénez terms calls *defectos spirituales* and *defectos corporales*, respectively. Ximénez begins by establishing which qualities pertain to which type of defect, for example, the spiritual defects are ignorance, sin, and pronity; the latter he specifies as "inclinación a mal ꝛ ðificultað al bien" (*Luzero 1495* xi^{r})[ρκθ] These definitions come from Thomas (*Sum. Theo.* III q.14 a.4

ρκζ. the first soul that saw the essence of God ρκη. had infinite dignity for being the Mother of God which is infinitely good ρκθ. inclination towards evil and difficulty towards good

co.).

While Thomas begins with Jesus's corporeal defects, which he says Jesus had, Ximénez prefers to begin discussing spiritual defects. He likely believed it easier to discuss any imperfections in Jesus after having established his flawless spiritual nature: "los ꝺfectos ſpũales cõſiſten en ꝺos maneras.es aſaber enla ignoꝛancia q̃ perteçe [sic] al entenꝺimiẽto:ꝛ enel pecaꝺo que cõſiſte enla volũtaꝺ. *E ningũo ꝺeſtos fue ni puꝺo ſer* en criſto" (*Luzero 1495* xi^{r}, emphasis mine)ρλ. In other words, the idea that Jesus could sin or even have the desire is literally antithetical to his divine nature.

There are two types of corporeal defects that Thomas describes, and which Ximénez calls natural and those caused by sin (*Sum. Theo.* III q.14 a.2 co.). While Jesus had natural defects such as hunger or thirst, this was merely a matter of how the body works, and thus necessary if he were actually incarnate. Of the defects caused by sin, Jesus displayed "la hambꝛe: la ſeꝺ: el ꝺoloꝛ: la triſteza: la fatiga: canſacio: la muerte" (*Luzero 1495* xi^{r})ρλα[43] Such conditions are a result, not necessarily of individual sin —Ximénez already clarified that that is incompatible with Jesus' divine nature— but rather of original sin that affected all of mankind. As such, he says, if Jesus did *not* suffer them, then people would not believe he was actually human and "poꝛ conſiguiente

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43. Hunger and thirst are listed under both. The first time, in the natural sense, it is called specifically a "inꝺigencia ꝺel cibo ꝛ ꝺel potu" (xi^{r}), which refers to an ordinary sensation, whereas in the second, sin-derived sense, he is likely referring more to the hunger or thirst that a poor person, incapable of obtaining food or drink, would suffer from.

ρλ. the spiritual defects consist of two things, that is, of the ignorance that pertains to understanding and of the sin that consists of will. *And none of the defects were nor could be* in Christ ρλα. hunger, thirst, pain, sadness, fatigue, tiredness, death

q̃ no era el meſſias" (xi^{r}). As well, in order to redeem sins, Jesus would need to die, and if he could not suffer death, then he would be unable to atone for mankind's sin.

Other defects not inherent to human nature, and especially those caused by "malicia ɒela materia: o ɒefecto ɒe la virtuɒ foɤmatiua" (xi^{r})[ρλβ] are not to be found in Jesus. Ximénez cites examples of diseases such as leprosy, scabies, ringworm, heart disease, and fever as examples of illnesses that Jesus did not suffer because they were not integral to human nature. As such, while he did not have those diseases, he did suffer "triſteʒa: fatiga: ɀ conſacio hambɤe: ɀ ſeɒ" (xi^{r})[ρλγ] which, Ximénez reminds the reader, are natural to human nature unlike the others that only affect certain individuals.

4.2.7. Chapter 7: God's Gifts to Humanity

For Chapter 7, "De los inmensos beneficios que hizo Dios en su incarnación al linaje humano," Ximénez turns to John of Damascus (*Ορθ. Πί.* β.3 κ.1$_{(45)}$) to identify and describe the qualities of God that are found in Jesus. However, while John of Damascus orders the qualities as *ἀγαθός, σοφός, δίκαιος, and δυνατός*;[ρλδ] Ximénez reorders this to begin with God's might before discussing his goodness, wisdom, and concluding with his justice. Given John of Damascus' description of God's might as being infinite, but made manifest in his decision to become incarnate, it reasons that Ximénez would lead with this quality as it would have been the most difficult for *conversos* or Jews to accept, and yet also what he had most recently explained.He also contrasts the two natures to a much greater degree John to continue his previous emphasis on Jesus' dual nature: "ſu potẽcia q̃ no pueɒe ſer penſaɒa mayoɤ coſa que ɒios que es *infinito ɀ immoɤtal*

ρλβ. evil of the materia: or defect of formative virtue ρλγ. sadness, fatigue, and tiredness hunger and thirst ρλδ. good, wise, just, mighty

ȝ criaꝺoꝛ: ſea fecho homꝛe *finito moꝛtal: ȝ criatura* ꝛc" (*Luzero 1495* xi^{rv})ρλε

God's wisdom, likewise, is represented by Ximénez as something infinite and necessary to solve an impossible problem: how can mankind be absolved of its sin, which was infinite in gravity? The *decẽtiſſima*ρλς solution, which Ximénez says God's creatures could not come up with, was the blood and death of Jesus. Neither Thomas nor John of Damascus say that humans are would have been incapable of coming up with the solution, nor that God's wisdom was infinite —although both could be inferred. Ximénez makes the observations explicit as he is writing for a common audience.

The goodness that God shows is that he did not scorn his creations, despite a sin that left them "para ſiẽpꝛe perꝺiꝺa ꝛ ꝺañaꝺa" (xi^{v})ρλζ Instead, he freed them out of his infinite goodness. In this case, Ximénez opts not to refer directly refer to God's compassion as does John. God's justice is particularly found in Jesus, he argues, because in conquering the devil, God himself did not use force, nor did he send another to conquer him. Instead, "el miſmo hombꝛe en eſpecie q̃ hauia ſeyꝺo vẽciꝺo ꝛ captiuo vencieſſe al tirano poꝛ juſticia. ꝛ eſto hiȝo el ſaluaꝺoꝛ enla cruȝ poꝛ ſu muerte" (xi^{v})ρλη

Finally, Ximénez concludes the chapter by including the famous homily of Leo the Great. The original, in Latin reads as follows:

> Agnosce, o Christiane, dignitatem tuam, et divinae consors factus naturae, noli in

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ρλε. his might that no greater thing can be imagined that God who is *infinite and immortal and creator* be made a *finite, mortal* man and *creature* ρλς. most decent ρλζ. forever lost and damned ρλη. the same man in form that had been conquered and captured would conquer the tyrant for justice, and this the Savior did by his death on the cross

veterem vilitatem degeneri conversatione redire. Memento cujus capitis et cujus corporis sis membrum. Remmiscere quia erutus de potestate tenebrarum, translatus es in Dei lumen et regnum. Per baptismatis sacramentum Spiritus sancti factus es templum: noli tantum habitatorem pravis de te actibus effugare, et diaboli te iterum subjicere servituti: quia pretium tuum sanguis est Christi; quia in veritate te judicabit, qui in misericordia te redemit cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen (Leo Magnus XXI c.3) (XXI c.3)[ρλθ]

Ximénez provides a direct translation, only leaving out the doxology:

O xp̃riano conoçe tu ɒignidaɒ ȝ hecho ⌜conſoɾte⌝ ȝ participe ɒla ɒiuina natura: no quieras toɾnar te enla vileȝa antigua y vieja: ɒe generanɒo ɒe tu pɾopɾio linage ȝ ɒignidaɒ aɒquerida poɾ la ɒiuina incarnacion:mas acuerɒate ɒe q̃ cabeça ſeas miẽmbɾo ȝ ɒe que cuerpo: ȝ recuerɒate q̃ libɾaɒo ɒel poɒerio ɒelas tiniebɾas: eres traſladaɒo enla lũbɾe ȝ reyno ɒiuino: ȝ no q́eras ſometerte otra veȝ al poɒerio ɒel ɒiablo. ca el p̃cio tuyo es la muerte ɒe jheſu xp̃o: el q̃l reɒemio en miſericoɾdia ȝ juȝgara en

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ρλθ. Christian, acknowledge your dignity, and becoming a partner in the Divine nature, refuse to return to the old baseness by degenerate conduct. Remember the Head and the Body of which you are a member. Recollect that you were rescued from the power of darkness and brought out into God's light and kingdom. By the mystery of Baptism you were made the temple of the Holy Ghost: do not put such a denizen to flight from you by base acts, and subject yourself once more to the devil's thraldom: because your purchase money is the blood of Christ, because He shall judge you in truth Who ransomed you in mercy

verꝺaꝺ. (*Luzero 1495* xii^{r})ρμ

The importance of Leo's text is evident because Ximénez translates it almost in full. For most of his translations, he summarizes it while providing a reference. Leo's work would not be familiar to a lay reader, justifying its inclusion in full, only omitting the doxology. His translation also shows some evidence of what he discusses in his prologue, that is, that he does not consider Spanish to be capable of adequately express what Latin can. However, it also evidences his intent to make the text more accessible to a less intellectual reader. For example, some single words in Latin are translated with pairs of words because he feels that a single Castilian word is not sufficient, but other times he adds additional words to coordinate phrases and make the text easier to understand.

Examples of such modifications in his translation include the case of *conſors*, paired with *conſorte y partícipe*, one of the words used is a direct descendent of the Latin, while the other adds value: sharing something can be a passive action, but participating is active. With *veterem*, rendered as *antigua y vieja*, the logic is less obvious as either word on its own would have sufficed.

In other cases, however, he replaces the Latin word with one that is either more natural

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ρμ. O Christian, know your dignity, and having been made comfortable and participant from the divine nature, do not turn to the old and ancient vileness, degenerating from your lineage and dignity acquired by the divine incarnation, but remember of which head you are a member and of which body, and remember that, having been freed from the power of darkness, you are brought into the light and divine kingdon; do not submit yourself again to the devil's power, for your price is the death of Jesus Christ, who redeemed in mercy and shall judge in truth.

or sensical. Instead of translating *iterum* with its direct descendent *ítem* he prefers the natural Castilian form *otra vez*. And instead of using the literal *sangre* for *sanguis*, he interprets the figurative language for his reader and instead employs *muerte*. Another modification to aide the reading is the addition of conjunctions like *mas* to contrast the negative command and imagery with the positive one that follows, and *e* to connect the two commands to remember. For these cases, it appears that his changes were designed to aide comprehension on the part of his reader.

4.2.8. Chapter 8: The Visitation

Ximénez begins Chapter 8, "Como la señora fue a visitar a Santa Elisabeth su prima, y de la sospecha y turbación que hubo José cuando vio a la Señora preñada," by discussing the visitation, but focuses exclusively on the parts in which Mary is present. For this reason, he omits the narration of Elizabeth, the visit of the angel to her, and the time after the birth of John found in Luke 1 and James 12.

Instead, Ximénez begins at Luke 1:39, with Mary hearing that her cousin is six months pregnant. The news moves her, and "houo tan grã plaʒer que segũ se cree luego otro ɗia ɗemañaɗa fue con gran pʀiessa ala mõtaña ɗe juɗea:ɗõɗe moʀaua ʒacharias ʒ helisabeth su pʀima a visitarla" (xii^{r})^{ρμα} This is a direct reference to the Protoevangelium of James which states that "[f]ull of joy, Mary went off to her relative Elizabeth" (67). For the timing, however, he prefers to reference Luke, who has Mary leave hastily to see Elizabeth.

The arrival of Mary to Zachariah's house may contain a contemporaneous political sleight.

ρμα. there was such great pleasure that it is believed that another day in the morning she went with great hurry to the mountain of Judea where Zacharias and Elizabeth, her cousin, lived, in order to visit her

In the Bible, the house to which Mary goes is referred to as Zachariah's, but Ximénez refers to it initially as Elizabeth's. While this is a small difference —and sentences later he refers to it as Zachariah's—, given the relationship of Isabel and Ferdinand, wherein Isabel zealously guarded her property and rights, this is more likely an intentional nod to the queen's power than a slip of the pen.

Also present in Ximénez's description of Mary's arrival are qualities that he attributes to Christ. The visit, he explains, serves to demonstrate the "ɒignidaɒ ɒe xp̃o" (*Luzero 1495* xii^{r})$^{\rho\mu\beta}$ because of John's genuflecting inside of Elizabeth's womb. In the Bible, John leapt (*Nova vulgata* Luke 1:41), and in the Protoevangelium, he further blessed Mary (James 12:1). Ximénez's version, while mentioning the leaping, twice mentions that John "fiço la reverencia" (*Luzero 1495* xii^{v})$^{\rho\mu\gamma}$ By describing his movements as a form of genuflection, Ximénez undoubtedly desired to represent to his Jewish or *converso* readers that John was not moved out of happiness, but out of reverence because the dignity of Christ demanded it. He also emphasizes Christ's divinity by explaining the importance of Elizabeth's greeting: "ɒonɒe me viene a mi tãto bien q̃ la maɒɾe ɒe mi señoɾ vẽ ga a mi.E assi ꝑfetiʒo que xpō era señoɾ ɒe toɒo el mũɒo:ɾ poɾ consiguiente era ɒios" (xii^{r}). Christ's divinity, having been previously described as necessary and prophesized, is now confirmed in triplicate: he is not just Lord of Elizabeth, but Lord of the world, and by extension, God. So imporant is the early recognition of Christ-in-womb as divine that Ximénez repeats it again several sentences later, with a slightly distinct explanation, just in case the reader did not understand the previous one: "Donɒe me vino a mi tanto bien:q̃ la maɒɾe ɒe mi señoɾ venga a mi.E esto ɒixo :poɾque le fue reuelaɒo poɾ el spiritu sãcto que hauia cõcebiɒo:ɾ traya enel vientre al hijo ɒe

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ρμβ. dignity of Christ ρμγ. made (the sign) of reverence

ɔios" (xi^{r})[ρμδ] In the second explanation, the knowledge of Christ as divine does not come merely from Elizabeth's personal perception, but rather from a divine knowledge imparted by the Holy Spirit, which ought to carry more weight for the reader. Having a Jew or *converso* understand the divine nature of Christ was a priority for Ximénez, because virtually the entirety of Christian theology is based on His divinity. In the eighth chapter alone, there are fifteen references to Jesus's status as God —either as the son of God, a part of God, or simply as God Himself— and three as Lord.

Insofar as Ximénez's goal was to avoid the Latin that would not be known to the common person, rather than present the words of Mary and Elizabeth as in the Vulgate, he provides his own, loose translation of their discourse. When Mary responds to Elizabeth with the Magnificat, he includes the first line, "Magnificat anima mea ɔominũ" (xii^{r})[ρμε] followed by *ɔc*. The Magnificat may well have been well known to a *converso*, as it was common in liturgy, and even included in some early liturgical-theatrical pieces such as the *Consueta dels tres Reis*[ρμς] which according to Ferran Huerta Viñas is the most characteristic of the late medieval period.[44] Consequentially, it did not need to be included in full, nor translated, as if translated, it is possible the connection between Mary's response and the song heard in liturgy might not have been clear. On the other hand, given Ximénez's distrust in Spanish to capture the supposed finer distinctions that Latin

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44. One scene described by Huerta Viñas, includes a "cant joiós dels Reis, que entonen en llatí l'himne del Magnificat mentre van seguint l'estel" (114)[ρμζ]

ρμδ. Whence did such goodness come to me that the mother of my Lord would come to me? And this she said because it was revealed to her by the Holy Spirit that she had conceived and carried in her womb the son of God ρμε. My soul glorifies the Lord ρμς. *Consort of the Three Kings*

could, he may not have wanted to produce what he would have considered a subpar translation for such an important prayer.

To keep his focus on Jesus' life, Ximénez mentions that Mary stayed with Elizabeth and Zachariah until John's birth and subsequent circumcision, but otherwise does not mention them again. That Mary stayed with Elizabeth is not biblical, but neither is it unreasonable.

4.3. The Relationship between Joseph and Mary

An integral aspect of Jesus' life for Ximénez was his family. The second section, including Chapters 8 through 11, detail the Holy Family, with particular emphasis on Joseph and Mary. To a reader of any background —*converso* or old Christian— the family dynamics must have been difficult to fully comprehend, so it needed to be explained before discussing Jesus' childhood.

4.3.1. Chapter 8: Christ's Divine Nature Revealed

In my grouping of chapters, I included the eighth in two separate groups because it treats two separate events: first, the Visitation, already described, and then the reuniting of Joseph with Mary in which he realizes she is pregnant. The latter half of the chapter may have been better off as a separate chapter, but by combining it with the Visitation, Ximénez parallels Elizabeth's coming to recognize that Mary is carrying God's child with Joseph's eventual realization of the same. Both Elizabeth and Joseph are told directly by the Holy Spirit of Christ's divinity.

The only mention of the Annunciation to Joseph is in Matthew 1:18, but Matthew only writes that Joseph desired to avoid disgracing Mary. Ximénez elaborates substantially: Joseph "fue mucho turbaꝺo . ꝛ creyo q̃ auia hecho algun mal recauꝺo ꝺe ſi:ꝛ q̃ [Maria] auia cõcebiꝺo ꝺe algu hõbꝛe poꝛ aꝺulterio" (*Luzero 1495* rxii^{r}). Ximénez shortly thereafter notes that Joseph imagined

Mary would have been stoned, it becomes understandable why Joseph would want to let her go quietly: she would otherwise have been stoned for adultery. Once Joseph seems to have set his mind on leaving her, an Angel appears to him and changes his mind. Ximénez may have depicted the event in this way to draw a clear parallel to the Pericope Alduterae, casting Joseph as the crowd and the the angel as Jesus, which would reinforce the idea of Jesus as divine in nature.

Although such a parallel may be obvious to those who know the stories well, Ximénez reinforces the idea that Jesus is divine by recounting both annunciations. Both Elizabeth and Joseph were told of his divinity and, supposedly, Joseph's doubts make her virginity more believable and her virginity further aids in viewing Jesus as divine: "ſin moſtrar la ſoſpecha q̃ houo joſeph ɔela ſeñora q̃nɔo la viɔo p̃ñaɔa" (rxii^{r})ρμη The reason for Ximénez's focus on Jesus' divinity may seem excessive, but let us recall that while the varying Jewish and Muslim views of Jesus may have seen him as a prophet, none considered him divine. At the same time, the divine nature of Jesus is a core tenant of Christian belief. Therefore, for *conversos* to believe in and understand much of the rest of Jesus' life and works, and by extension, the rest of the Christian faith, they needed to accept his divinity.

Having hence discussed Jesus' divine nature for now which is a recurring theme throughout the *Luzero*, Préxamo concludes his eighth chapter to talk about the Holy Family as a human family. As Ximénez describes it, the relationship between Joseph and Mary was rather unremarkable. Joseph did "toɔas las coſas q̃ el mariɔo ha ɔe haʒer" (xii^{r});ρμθ and Mary likewise "ſiruia con

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ρμη. without showing the suspicion that Joseph had of the Lady when he saw her pregnant
ρμθ. all the things that a husband must do

toꝺa humilꝺaꝺ ȝ ꝺiligencia [...] como las otras mugeres caſaꝺaſ" (xiiʳ)ꝑᵛ As expected in the care of family, their child –Jesus– was subject to both of them. Apart from Mary being the Mother of God, the only thing that made Mary and Joseph's marriage different was that "ꝺe comũ conſentimiẽto, teniã pʁometiꝺa perpetua virginiꝺaꝺ" (xiiiᵛ)ꝑᵛᵅ Although women were thought to be the ones that stimulated and seduced men into sexual acts, Ximénez said, Mary was different. So great was her grace and virtue that any person who looked at her would have lost any sexual appetite. As a result, Joseph and Mary were able to live chastely.

4.3.2. Chapter 9: Mary and Her Marriage

The various editions of the *Lucero* illustrate some of the theologically touchier issues in Catholic thought. The 1495 edition of the *Lucero* states that "fueron ambos ſiempʁe virgenes" (xiiiᵛ). By the 1515 edition and in all subsequent printings I have been able to access, however, this line had simplified into "fuerõ ambos ɣgenes" (*Luzero 1555* xiiiʳ). According to Catholic doctrine, Mary is regarded as undeniably an ever-virgin, that is, she was not only a virgin at the point of Jesus' birth, but also continued to be thereafter. As both Isidore of Seville and Thomas of Aquinas affirm the doctrine, that belief would have been present in 15th century Spain. However, the question of Joseph's perpetual virginity has never been settled. Perhaps the word *siempre* was left out because later editors disagreed with the idea of an ever-virgin Joseph.[45]

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45. Given that shortly before the deleted word the text reads "[e] aſſi la ſeñoʁa y el ſctõ joſeph viuierõ ſiẽpʁe en grãdiſſima caſtidad y ɣginidad" (xiiiʳ)ꝑᵛᵝ it is possible that the aforementioned word was deleted for being superfluous. Nonetheless, because the "assi" refers to Mary's grace that blocks sexual desire, the *siempre* that remains may be interpreted to refer to the time in which the two are and not before their betrothal.

ρν. served with humility and diligence [...] as the other married women ρνα. by mutual agreement, they had promised perpetual virginity

The virginal status of Mary is the more important issue and Ximénez devotes the next two chapters to discussing the two primary questions that may arise as a result. The first is "Why did she need to get married?", to which he responds in Chapter 9. The second is "Was it really a marriage if never consummated?", to which he responds in Chapter 10. Both of these questions are, perhaps, ones that would be asked not just by a Jew or *converso*, but by a Christian as well.

Addressing the need for Mary to be married, Ximénez displays his characteristic love of lists. Mary needs to be married, he says, for the sake of three people or groups of people: Jesus, Mary herself, and for us. His explanation of each involves another series of lists of reasons. In the end, he gives the following twelve reasons for which Mary needs to be married, any one of which individually ought to be sufficient:

1. for Jesus's benefit
    (a) so he was not persecuted by Jews and infidels as an illegitimate child and thus someone unworthy of honor
    (b) so his genealogy conformed to Jewish patrilineal norms
    (c) so he was properly protected
    (d) so he had a father to provide those things that a mother could not
2. for Mary's benefit
    (a) so she was not stoned to death for adultery
    (b) so that she would be believed in saying that Jesus was conceived of the Holy Spirit
    (c) so that she had a partner to help her with her needs
3. for our benefit

(a) so that her virginity could be proven by Joseph

(b) so that people would believe her virginity

(c) porque fuese quitada ocasion a las virgines que por su negligencia o en otra manera incurren infamia ca si enla señora hubiera alguna nota de infamia conella se escuchaan diziendo que no es marauilla que se diga dellas pues se dixo de la madre de dios

(d) to give meaning to the Church

(e) to confound the Manichaean heretics

At the same time, the inclusion of the list allows him to elaborate on Catholic theology in a way that supports and explains the marriage between Mary and Joseph, despite Joseph not being the father. To defend Mary's marriage by way of Jesus, he cites St. Ambrose who stated that had Mary not been married, Jesus would have been viewed as illegitimate by the Jews. The Jewish belief of an illegitimate Jesus "could have emerged as early as the second century" (587), and had Mary become pregnant by anyone other than Joseph, he "should have dismissed her immediately as was customary according to Jewish law" (21). Because Ximénez's intended readers —*conversos*— might be likely to think in a similar manner, it was important to make sure that there was little room for questioning. Being seen as illegitimate child of Joseph would cause Jesus to be persecuted, have fewer rights in society, and ultimately, appear to the Jews as "non legitimo ꝛ inꝺigno ꝺe honoꝛ" (*Luzero 1495* xiii^{r})ꝑᵛʸ Most especially, we can extrapolate, is that if Jesus was no longer seen as belonging to the house of David, he would not be seen a legitimate Messiah who in Judaism would necessarily be a descendent of David. Other reasons he gives are relatively similar for both Jesus and Mary and practical rather than theological. Had Mary not married

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ρvγ. illegitimate and unworthy of honor

Joseph, than she and Jesus would not have the financial support to survive well, and would put them both at risk. As well, he mentions with a vague citation — "ſegun tienen algũos ɔdoctoɔes antiguos" (xiii^{v})$^{\rho\nu\delta}$ — that the marriage would hide the nativity from the devil.

The reasons he gives for which Mary's marriage benefits us, except for the two related to Mary's virginity, are probably of minimal interest to the average *converso*.Ximénez cites Paul's assertion that the Church is to Jesus as Mary is to Joseph as a reason: it gives "significance" to the relationship. Lastly, he takes the opportunity to call heretical the Manichaeans who denounced marriage as being complicit in procreation, as well as others who said that only virgins could be saved.

4.3.3. Chapter 10: The Authenticity of Mary and Joseph's marriage

The second question relating to Mary's marriage for Ximénez is whether the marriage between Mary and Joseph was real. In this sense, the question certainly revolves around the doubt that a reader may have because of lack of consummation. To respond, Ximénez first establishes the requirements and effects of marriage and then analyzes Mary and Joseph's marriage accordingly.

Marriage, he says, is at its core a consent between souls. The effect is[46] "un vinculo indiſſoluble y inſepable entre lo^{s} cõtrayẽtes matrimõio y obligaciõ ꝑpetua a vnidad de ſus aĩos enlas coſas q̃ conocierẽ [*recte* conciernen] el acto del matrimaio [*sic*] es aſaber: enla ſociedad cõjugal y

46. I break from using the 1495 edition here because the 1495 edition is partially obscured in this passage.

ρνδ. as some ancient doctors hold

comũ obſq̃o y cõicaciõ delas obꝛas ȣ varõ y ȣla hẽbꝛa" (*Luzero 1555* ix^{r})[ρνε] A marriage is made by the consent which may be expressed by the vows, or by other signs indicative of the mutual consent. Ximénez perhaps refers to symbolic gestures such as exchanging wedding rings, but his main intent is to show that vows are not per se needed for a valid marriage.

Neither the Bible nor the Protoevangelium describes Mary and Joseph's wedding day, nor the wedding vows that theyw ould have taken. Nonetheless, Ximénez says, it was clear that they were married. While not making it explicit, he is certainly referring to the end of Matthew 1. The angel that appears to Joseph in a dream tells him "noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam" (*Nova vulgata* Matt. 1:20)[ρνς] and after waking Joseph "fecit, sicut praecepit ei angelus Domini, et accepit coniugem suam" (Matt. 1:24)[ρνζ] The action of taking Mary into his home is the clear sign of consent.

Additionally, Ximénez says that the marriage was a most perfect marriage because it contains the three *bienes de matrimonio*: (1) faith, (2) generation, and (3) sacrament. The first, faith, refers to the faithfulness between spouses. The second, generation, refers to the children that are fruit of a marriage. Jesus, while not biologically Joseph's, was nonetheless the fruit of their marriage. Ximénez discusses in more depth the third, sacrament. For him, it refers to the permanence of marriage which is something that was newly introduced in the New Testament: "no

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ρνε. an undissolvable and inseparable link between the marriage parties and perpetual obligation to unity of their souls in the things that concern the act of marriage, that is, in the conjugal corporation and common gifts and communication of the works of the man and the woman ρνς. do not be afraid of taking Mary as your wife ρνζ. did what the angel of the Lord had commanded him and took Mary home as his wife

hay ɗiuoɾcio ni ɗiuiſion ni ſeparaciõ: mas vniõ [...] poɾ toɗa ſu viɗa. E ɗſta parte el matrimonio enel nueuo teſtamento tiene pɾopɾiamẽte raʒon ɗ ſacramẽto: y es ſacramento: ɾ no el matrimonio que es entre los infieles: poɾque es ɗiſſoluble" (*Luzero 1495* xiiii^{r})℘^{ρνη} In describing marriage as a sacrament, Ximénez speaks to both Christians and non-Christians. For Christians, there had been a debate dating to at least seventh century as to the sacramental nature of marriage. If it were not a sacrament, it would not necessarily be permanent. The Council of Florence in 1439 definitely declared both a sacrament and indissoluable.Ximénez, in apparent reference to the Council's wording, argues for its sacramental nature by comparing it to the marriage of Christ to the Church.

He also speaks to both Jews, *conversos* and Muslims who may have other ideas about marriage, particularly divorce. While he describes the sacrament of marriage in much greater detail with more specific references to Jewish and Islamic practices in chapters 122–124 in the second part of the *Luzero*, he nonetheless finds it convenient to briefly point out the difference when discussing Joseph and Mary's marriage.

Finally Ximénez concludes the chapter by discussing the consummation, or lack thereof, of Mary and Joseph's marriage. He states that they were evidently married in all ways "ſaluo el carnal ayuntamiento q̃ no era neceſſario" (xiiii^{r})℘^{ρνθ} With Jesus' conception, there was no need for them to have relations. Ximénez points out that Augustine's said "no es menos ꝑfecto el

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ρνη. there is no divorce nor division nor separation: only union [...] for life. And from this aspect marriage in the New Testament has its sacramental quality, and not the marriage practiced by infidels because it is dissolvable ρνθ. but for carnal joining which was not necessary

matrimonio: enel q̃l no hay copula carnal: q̃ ɔonɔe la hay" (xiiii^{r})$^{\rho\xi}$; this most likely came from *De bono conjugali* which expresses similar ideas, but the exact citation is unclear. The perpetual virginity that is ascribed to Mary in Catholic dogma is also ascribed to Joseph: "entramos hiȝierõ voto ɔe guarɔar virginiɔaɔ perpetuamẽte" (xiiii^{r})$^{\rho\xi\alpha}$

Finally, Ximénez informs the reader that the holy Family was like any other family. Joseph, as a good husband, did all things that Mary needed, who in turn was obedient to him. Jesus served both of his parents in total humility and obedience. The seemingly out-of-place mention of Jesus' role in its parents marriage is most likely to remind the reader of Christ's human nature that was, as he emphasized in Chapter 5 and 6.

4.3.4. Chapter 11: The Appearance of Mary and Joseph's Marriage

The last question with respect to Joseph and Mary's relationship is one that deals with how the (supposed) sins of Mary would affect Joseph. That is, if Mary had committed adultery, and Joseph subsequently had relations with her, would he not then also be considered adulterous? Since Ximénez established in the previous chapter that consummation was not necessary for the marriage to be real, merely taking her in could be seen in the same light.

Ximénez resolves the question in two ways. In the first, which presumes that Mary had indeed committed adultery, he presents two possible actions that Joseph could take. The first, as already mentioned, would be to take Mary in and face a constant threat of adultery and questions about the father of her child, in addition to the potential alienation he and his family could receive from the community. It is fear of such consequence that causes Joseph to consider his second

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ρξ. marriage in which there is no carnal copula is not less perfect than where there is ρξα. both made promises to maintain their virginity perpetually

option: leaving Mary secretly. While leaving her would allow him to maintain his appearance and not risk ending up in a potentially adulterous relationship, it nonetheless would result in Mary being punished by her parents, or, as Ximénez had pointed out previously, stoned to death.

While both taking her in and leaving her could be seen as sinful —according to Ximénez, "joſeph penſaſſe q̃ ɔonɔe quier q̃ ella eſtuuieſſe erraria" (xiiii^{v})^{ρξβ} — and Joseph necessarily needed to make a choice, Ximénez describes a process of discernment. Without any sinless alternative, Ximénez figures that Joseph took the least sinful action, and was thus justified. Ultimately, Joseph's doubts are alleviated when the angel comes to him in his dreams.

4.4. The Nativity

Chapters 12 through 16 describe the birth and early childhood of Jesus.While Ximénez still treats some deeper theological questions such as he did with Mary and Joseph's marriage, the primary purpose is to narrate. He does not resort to merely recounting the actions taken by Jesus or those around him, however. Instead, there is an attempt to integrate both history and imagery into the narration, which makes the prose more enjoyable for the reader. Both *conversos* and old Christians would have been familiar with the basic story of Jesus' birth. Nativity scenes were growing in popularity in the fifteenth century in Spain, and so it is possible that they may have also been familiar with much of the imagery. Many of the details, while not contradicting Matthew or Luke, were extrabiblical. Their inclusion engages the reader who already who knows the basic premise of the Nativity.

ρξβ. Joseph thought that wherever she were he would be erring

4.4.1. Chapter 12: The Savior's Nativity

Chapter 12 starts with a historical account of events leading up to Jesus' birth. Ximénez begins by citing the peace brought about by Octavian Augustus as evidence of Isaiah's prophecy of nations laying down arms. Thus, he provides a historical context while demonstrating the fulfillment of Jewish prophecy. In order to relate a more convincing account, Ximénez describes the process that a person would supposedly undergo when registering for the census. This process, which I have not been able to find documented in other sources, involved placing a silver coin bearing the image of the emperor, each person "lo puſieſſe encima ꝺe ſu cabeça ꝛ [...] cõfeſſaſſe q̃ era ſubjecto al romano imꝑio" (xv^{v})[ρξγ] Since it appears that Ximénez invented this story, it is likely that the detail was used not just to provide a sense of false historicity, but to also use an image not unlike that of a communicant receiving a host during mass. While the image is not further explained, given Ximénez's later descriptions of Jesus, it is likely that stating that the Roman coin was worth ten regular coins is meant to imply that Jesus could be then be seen as worth ten men, that is, that he was a perfect man, ruling over mankind.

Having established the historical frame for the nativity, Ximénez notes that because of the number of people in Bethlehem, they could not find a place to stay and instead stayed underneath an outcrop. While the Bible has Mary and Joseph staying in a manger (*Nova vulgata* Luke 2:7), the Protoevangelium has a rocky shelter that Ximénez appears to have preferred: "And he found a cave there, and led her into it" (§18). To better coincide with common images, and thus the expected representation during the era, he also cites the *Libro de la sancta tierra* to describe Joseph

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ρξγ. put it upon his head and [...] confessed that they were subject to the Roman Empire

bringing a heifer and a young donkey, that former of which he would need to sell to pay the tribute to the emperor.

The actual process of the birth in the text is abrupt. In a single sentence that followed the description aforementioned heifer, Mary gives birth to Jesus. However, the reader soon realizes that instead, Ximénez's rapid birth narrative serves to emphasize a quality that he will describe in detail: the birth of Jesus was, physically, unlike any other birth. Labor is a lengthy and painful affair for most women (and Ximénez even reminds the reader that many women do, in fact, die in labor). However, because Mary gave birth "ſin ningũ ɗoloꝛ: ni triſteʒa: ni pena: ni alteraciõ alguna" (*Luzero 1495* xv^{v})ꝓ^{ξδ} Christ's divine nature is assured. The logic that Ximénez uses is that labor pangs result from earthly pleasures and man's semen. The lack of a traditional travail indicates that there was no man involved in Jesus' conception, thus implicating the Holy Spirit's "virtuɗ ꝛ operación" (xv^{v})ꝓ^{ξε}

Ximénez then explicates an image from a supposed biblical quote he previously cited. The problem is that the quote does not actually exist as he translates it. His translation, "cõcebira ꝛ parira:como el lilio ꝛ saltara con ĩmenſo goʒo alabanɗo a ɗios" (xv^{v})ꝓ^{ξς} appears to mix Isaiah 7:14 with 35:2, and based on the Latin that he quotes, which matches Isaiah 35:2, we can reasonably assume it to be his translation error. The original Latin, "germinãs germinabit ſicut lilium:ꝛ exultabit letabũɗans" (xv^{v}), does not quite match the Vulgate, which places *sicut lilium* before *germinans*. Such a word order in the Latin translations of the Bible is uncommon, but was used by

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ρξδ. without any pain, sadness, shame, or any change ρξε. virtue and workings ρξς. she will conceive and give birth like the lilac and will leap with great joy praising God

Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theo.* III q.35 a.6 co.). That Ximénez would cite Thomas is hardly surprising, but his mistranslation and its accompanying explanation left its mark in the works of Jorge de Montemayor, who provides an identical mistranslation in his *Diálogo espiritual*:

> sino como Isaías había profetizado adonde dize hablando de la Virgen sacratísima y del bendito Hijo suyo: *"Concebirá y parirá y como el lilio saltará con inmenso gozo alabando a Dios"*. Donde claramente el Espíritu Santo mostró, por el profeta, que el parte de la Virgen había de ser sin dolor ni tristeza, ni alteración, ni pena alguna, sino con inmenso gozo y alegría, no como las que con simiente de varón conciben y paren con gran dolor. (128, emphasis mine)[ρξζ]

A further review of the answer that Dileto's gives to Severo's question of "¿A qué hora nasció?" (126)[ρξη] reveals that Montemayor likely sourced the entire answer from chapter 12 of the *Lucero*, only lightly editing certain parts. While such degrees of copying were common at the time, it nonetheless demonstrates that Ximénez's work influenced some of the more important authors in the Spanish canon. Montemayor, in particular, is from a *converso* family, which would have been exactly Ximénez's intended audience.

At the end of Chapter 12, Ximénez speaks directly to the reader: "O anima ɗuota: recoge

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ρξζ. rather has Isaiah had prophecied where he says speaking of the most holy Virgin and of her blessed Son: *"She shall conceive and shall give birth and like a lilac shall leap with immense joy praising God"*. Where clearly the Holy Spirit showed, by the prophet, that the childbirth of the Virgin would be without pain nor sadness, nor alteration, nor any shame, rather with immense joy and happiness, not like those who, with male semem, conceive and birth with great pain ρξη. When was he born?

te en ti meſma:z cõtempla la ĩmenſa majeſtaꝺ:pieꝺaꝺ z bonꝺaꝺ ꝺel hijo ꝺe ꝺios eterno" (*Luzero 1495* xvi^{r}). In the contemplation, which takes the former of a prayer, the reader is to consider a number of different things, which tend to summarize things that were discussed early in the *Luzero*. These include (1) God humbling himself to be born as man, (2) who God chose to be Jesus' mother, and when and where he chose for His birth, (3) the sight of Mary, a young virgin, cradling the king of all things in swaddling clothes, (4) the ingratitude of some for not recognizing the glory of Jesus' birth, (5) the poverty into which Jesus was born, (6) how damned those are who blaspheme Him, and (7) what Mary felt holding Jesus in her arms First, he invites the reader to think about the Jesus' birth, that is, that God decided to humble himself by being made man. Similarly important is the trust that God placed in Mary, fparticularly the condition of his birth, to a poor mother, in a poor village, in pittiful shelter. As previously mentioned, in describing the Nativity of the Lord, Ximénez initially places particular emphasis on history. While brief, he pinpoints the events in the Roman empire that transpired before and during Christ's birth, giving concrete details. The real purpose, I believe, is not to state historical facts per se, but to ground the narrative on a factual foundation that the reader, such as a skeptical Jew or *converso*, would readily accept, especially one that appears to fulfill Jewish prophecy.

After establishing the basis for the narration, Ximénez then transitions to providing imagery that served a very specific purposes: convincing the reader of the divinity and perfection of Jesus Christ, in part by way of Mary's special nature of Mary. To do this, Ximénez relies heavily on imagery from nature, both by offering general comparisons between things in nature, such as dew or the sun, and Jesus or Mary, and in describing specific reactions in nature to Christ's

coming. I will begin first by analyzing the natural comparisons involving Mary before looking at the two types of imagery used to refer to Christ.

Mary is principally compared to two objects in nature, the sun and the lily. According to Ximénez, the sun is an apt comparison to Mary because, while she is one woman amongst others on earth, as is the sun one light in the sky amongst all the stars, she exceeds them all in grandeur. Additionally, and to ground the image with scripture, Ximénez recalls Psalms 18:6, which he interprets as "puſo ſu moɔaɔa enel sol: es aſaber enla ſanctissima virgẽ" (xvi^{r}).$^{\rho\xi\theta}$ Jesus' birth, then, is compared to the bridegroom in the following verse coming out of his wedding tent.

More poetic (and colorful) is the comparison given to flowers, specifically to lilies, which Ximénez notes may be either red, blue, or white. According to him, lilies do not reproduce sexually, but by the rays of the sun —that is, the Holy Spirit— they are nonetheless able to procreate. The sweet aroma of the lilies are representative of Mary's virtues.

In the first category, XImínez relates images containing comparisons to Jesus or his birth, for example, Jesse's rod. The second category, Ximénez relates scenes of nature reacting to Jesus' birth. These begin in Chapter 12, but are more fully detailed in the aptly titled Chapter 13 ("de las maravillas que aparecieron en la natividad del Salvador").Principally, Ximénez states that the animals in the manger "el heno:el aſna y el buey [...] ɔexaron ɔe comer ɀ ſe hincaron ɔe roɔillas ɀ lo aɔoɔaron" (xvi^{v}). He does not relate this as a hypothetical, but as an actual event, which when combined with previous historical events, gives credence to Christ's divinity.

The last image of note in Chapter 12 is that of Jesus crying. Not present in biblical accounts, Ximénez, having focused so much on Christ's divinity likely felt the need to remind the reader

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ρξθ. took shelter in the son, that is, in the most holy Virgin

that, while divine, Jesus was also human, and had the same experiences as any other human would. Such a focus, even if brief, on Christ's humanity as little different than that of others is similar to the description of Joseph and Mary's marriage in Chapter 11.

4.4.2. Chapter 13: The Marvels of the Nativity

Chapter 13, "De las maravillas que aparecieron en la Natividad del Señor", lists the major events that co-occurred with Jesus' nativity. The list most directly correlates with the unenumerated description of the miraculous events described by Jacobus de Varagine's in "De Nativitate domini nostri Jesu Cristi" from his *Legenda aurea*.

The marvels that coincided with Jesus' birth as recorded by Ximénez are (1) midnight as bright as noon, (2) the death of sodomites, (3) an angel visiting shepherds near bethlehem, (4) a star appeared to the magi and showed them the nativity, (5) a virgin with a child in her arms appeared to the prophetess Sibyl[47] who in turned revealed it to Octavius, (6) a spring of oil in Rome flowing into the Tiber, (7) the fall of the Templum Pacis in Rome[48], and (8) the appearance of three suns over Spain The order that Ximénez employs is different from several editions of the *Legenda Aurea* that I consulted, however, because the *Legenda* was reprinted often with different edits by each publisher, the order in the *Luzero* may not be innovative.

Furthermore, Ximénez relates these while also interspersing some references and names that may be more familiar to his reader. In particular, the three suns over Spain which merge

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47. Ximénez's text references *Seuilda*, which appears to be an older Leonese rendering of the more modern *Sibila*.

48. The text mentions where the Santa Maria Nuova church —today Santa Maria Romana— is built, but those details are not congruent. Additionally, the Templum Pacis was constructed several decades after the birth of Jesus.

into one is explicitly mentioned by Thomas of Aquinas (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36). He also sources the image of the cross on Jesus' head to John Chrysostomus, however I have not been able to identify where Chrysostomus mentions it. When mentioning the appearance of the angel to the shepherds, Ximénez includes the Greater Doxology. Surprisingly, given his general preference for referencing common prayers either only in Latin, or with Latin first, he only includes it in translation.

Although he does not number it, he does include a ninth marvel: that the vineards of Ein Gedi (*en gadi*) grew up overnight. Varagine does not include it amongst his marvels, and – perhaps most interestingly— I have not found any reference to such an occurrence in any work recounting Jesus' nativity. It seems unlikely that Ximénez would invent the detail, but perhaps it makes reference to John 15, in which Christ describes himself as the true vine.

4.4.3. Chapter 14: Christ's Circumcision

In Chapter 14, or "De la circuncisión de Cristo," Ximénez provides Christ's circumcision as an example of how early Christ began to shed his blood for mankind. But because circumcision was seen as a Jewish, and not Christian, practice, Ximénez details eight reasons for which Christ was circumcised. Although he does not state his source, seven of these come directly from the first answer to Aquinas' Question 35 in the *Summa Theologica*, that is, to (1) demonstrate Jesus' humanity, (2) legitimize past circumcisions, (3) prove His Abrahamic lineage, (4) preclude Jews from rejecting Him for being uncircumcised, (5) show obedience to the law, (6) experience the remedies for sin, and (7) free others from needing circumcision

In translating the reasons, he does summarize some of them to for brevity and to stay

focused. For example, in the first reason, to demonstrate Jesus' humanity, Aquinas discusses the controversy within Christianity of the Manicheans, Apollinarius, and Valentine, who all to some extent did now view Christ's body as a human body from earth. But being an internal Christian debate, such information would not be of value to one who may not even yet believe in His divinity. Worse, including heretical details, even merely to refute them, could confuse the reader. Hence, Ximénez has, in effect, tailored his translation of Aquinas specifically towards his specific, primarily Jewish, audience.

Ximénez adds an eighth reason, which looks forward to his passion: "poꝛq̃ nos moſtraſſe como hauiamos ỏ ſer libꝛaꝺos en ſu paſſion ꝺela vegeꝺaꝺ ꝺel pecaꝺo" (*Luzero 1495* xvii^{v})ρ^{o} This is not likely an innovation on the author's part, rather, it seems that in translating Aquinas Ximénez included his answer to the first objection to Question 35, which considered whether Christ birth's fulfilled the covenant with Abraham and thus obviated the need for circumcision.

Perhaps more intriguing, when considering the intended readership who may have maintained certain traditions, is what Ximénez says not just of circumcision, which Christians should not do, but of all old traditions: "en la muerte ꝺe xp̃o ſe cõmpliõ ꝛ ceſſarõ toꝺaſ las figuras :ſacrificios:cerimonias:ꝛ pꝛeceptos ꝺela ley vieja" (xvii^{v})ρ^{oα} In other words, *conversos* need not, and even should not, maintain traditions associated with Judaism. Hernando de Talavera, Isabel's confessor and likely acquaintance of Ximénez's, "ardently defended sincere *converses* [sic] as true Christians and was himself one" (Liss ch. 10).He believed that "the law of Moses was without force since the

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ρo. because he showed us how in his passion we will be freed from oldness of sin ρoα. in Christ's death all of the figures, sacrifices, ceremonies, and precepts of the old law were fulfilled and had ceased

fulfilling of the prophecies through the coming of Christ" (ch. 10). He was also a purist, and considered those who maintained any Jewish traditions as *marranos* and deserving of death.(ch. 10) Ximénez, on the other hand, does not seem to be as harsh (he certainly does not advocate death for anyone in the *Luzero*)At Salamanca, he was close to many conversos, and thus while he evokes Talavera's scorn for Jewish practices, it may be out of desire to not see genuine converts find themselves subject to an *auto de fe*.

The end of the chapter concerns not the circumcision of Jesus, but the name that he was given. Ximénez likely justifies the lack of a new chapter both with the brevity with each treats the topic, and with fact that Jesus' name was formally given to him at his circumcision. Furthermore, the discussion on his name parallels the second article in Question 37.

Interestingly, Ximénez claims that the name Emmanuel means "dios hombre y salvador," which justifies his the name of Jesus. This is to respond to the apparent contradiction between the prophesied name of Jesus in the Old Testament and the name ultimately given him in the New Testament. The incongruity could be a stumbling block in accepting Jesus as a savior if they were expecting him to have a different name. However, Emmanuel does not mean "dios hombre y salvador," and it seems that the error is more a result of confusion resulting from his pruning of his source text. According to Aquinas, all of the names given to Jesus in the Old Testament, such as Emmanuel, Orient, or Wonderful, in some way mean salvation: "Nam in hoc quod dicitur Emmanuel, quod interpretatur, nobiscum Deus, designatur causa salutis, quae est unio divinae et humanae naturae in persona filii Dei, per quam factum est ut Deus esset nobiscum" (*Sum. Theo.*

III q.37 a.2 ad 1)?[ροβ] Rather than enter into the long discussion that Aquinas provides, Ximénez does attempt to succinctly end any doubts: his parents were ordered to give him that name by an angel, which, being a divine order, must be fulfilled.

Chapters 15 through 23, with the exception of Chapter 16, provide a particularly detailed look at the Magi. Although the Magi are only mentioned in Matthew —and only for twelve verses—, Ximénez devotes a relatively large portion of his narration to describing them and their journey, especially when compared to the weight that other authors, from whom he sources much of his text, treated them. However, given that the Magi were gentiles who had sought out and eventually found Christ, and subsequently came to believe in Him and His divinity, it should be no surprise that the they would hold a particular interest to Ximénez. The Magi come to know Jesus through reason and science, but without the Jewish prophecies. That is to say, even if a *converso* was not entirely convinced of some of the fulfillments of Old Testament prophecy, the Magi provide an example of how, even without them, one could prove both the existence and divinity of Jesus.

By the traditional representations of the Magi in western Europe, they also represented the whole of mankind: they were from each of the three known continents and they were of different ages.Also, the Magi would have been figures that all medieval Iberians would likely have known. They featured in liturgical theatrical performances that are still popular today and would have been seen by people of all faiths. In fact, the only medieval dramatic text that exists before

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ροβ. For the name "Emmanuel, which being interpreted is 'God with us' ", designates the cause of salvation, which is the union of the Divine and human natures in the Person of the Son of God, the result of which union was that "God is with us"

the 15th century in Castilian is a short play of the Three Magi from Toledo.Ximénez spent a great deal of time in Toledo: it is not impossible to imagine that he would have either read or even seen that play or one very similar to it.

The order in which Ximénez recounts the events involving the Magi is not chronological. He begins in Chapter 15, entitled "Cómo los tres reyes magos vinieron de oriente al Señor," by providing a general overview of their journey, the reasons for it, and of what they did when the found Jesus. After doing so, Ximénez clarifies several pieces of background information crucial, in his view, to the understanding of the Magi's story, although the order is not strictly chronological.

4.4.4. Chapter 17: The Magi's Homeland

For Ximénez, it was important to clarify exactly who the Magi were. When he first introduces them into the narrative in Chapter 15, he says they come from the east, and that they speak Syriac. But in Chapter 17, "De qué tierra vinieron los reyes magos a adorar a Cristo," he attempts to justify exactly where he believes they came from because, "[es] ɔuɔa ɔe q̃ tierra vinieron" (*Luzero 1495* xviii^{v})[ρογ]

Despite the Bible saying that they came from the East, there are two different ways of interpreting that, absolutely and relatively. The former refers to India —the "p̣mera p̣te ɔla tierra habitable" (xviii^{v})[ροδ] — and the latter merely to anything that is located closer to whence the sun rises. He rejects the possibility that they were from India for a number of reasons, although the most grounded reason is that the time required to travel from India to Jerusalem would have been longer than the journey time specified in the Bible.

ρογ. there is doubt as to what land they came from ροδ. first parte of the habitable world

Instead, the Magi must have been from Mesopotamia and the land of the Ammonites, which were located next to "la tierra ꝺe pꝛomiſſion" (xviii^{v})[ροε] The travel time from there to Israel, he posits, would be easily within the thirteen days established in the Bible and demonstrates the time by comparing several Old Testament characters' travel time between places that link Israel with Mount Vitorial, where he believed the Magi observed the sky. According to unnamed doctors of the church felt that they were descendants of Balaam, one of the seven gentile prophets of Judaism. Balaam prophesied that "[o]ritur stella ex Iacob, et consurgit virga de Israel" (*Nova vulgata* Num. 24:17)[ρος] and accordingly, the belief was that his descendants, that is, the Magi, kept watch for the star. The more intriguing information that Ximénez includes is their number. While throughout the *Luzero* he refers to them as being three, he does recognize the existence of a different number: "ſegũ algunos cõſtituyeron ꝺoʒe personas" (*Luzero 1495* xix^{r})[ροζ]

Once the Magi arrive in Jerusalem, they begin asking for where the newly born king is. But before Ximénez recounts what happens there, he pauses to explain why the Magi would have gone to Jerusalem in the first place, given that Jesus was in Bethlehem. His explanation is a series of reasons mainly based on Jerusalem's status as a royal city: (1) the star led them there and then promptly disappeared, (2) being a royal city, it made sense for a new king to be born there, (3) it was easier for them to find out more information about Jesus as the Jewish scholars and priests resided there, (4) news of Jesus' birth could better reach Jewish society if announced in Jerusalem, (5) the prophecies surrounding Jesus' birth in Isaiah 60:3 and Psalm 71:10 were about Jerusalem, (6) being a point of contact between Jewish and Gentile society, the rest of the world

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ροε. the land of promise ρος. [a] star will rise from Jacob; a scepter will emerge from Israel ροζ. according to some were composed of twelve people

could learn of Jesus, (7) that they would quit the rich city and offer gifts to the honor to which held for Jesus, and (8) by publicly asking for the newly born king of the Jews, they would ensure that Jesus' birth was made known to them (xix^{rv}).

Based on those reasons, it can be said that Jerusalem served, in effect, two primary purposes. The first was to be a symbol of royalty, and so it would seem obvious that the Magi would go there in search of the king. The second was to fulfill the prophecies of the Old Testament. This latter reason would be more important to the *converso* readers who would want to reconcile those prophecies with the events described in the gospels. Furthermore, the specific verse quoted in Isaiah speaks of Gentiles and kings coming to know God. Such a verse is particularly important to explain why Christians, mainly descendants of Gentiles, would be viewed favorably by God.

It is in Jerusalem that Herod first hears about the birth of Jesus. Ximénez finds it opportune to specify *which* Herod he is talking about —because "muchoſ con ignoɔãcia yerrã acerca ɒeſte heroɒes" (xx^{v})^{ρoη} — which he does at the end of Chapter 20. He traces the Herodian lineage and identifies each of the three biblical Herods by their primary acts: Herod Ascalonita who ordered the slaughter of children to attempt to kill Jesus; Herod Antipas, who executed St. John and Jesus; and Herod Agripa, who set fire to St. James.

Ximénez devotes the first half of Chapter 20 to discuss the degree to which the news of his birth distraught Herod. Although he provides, as he often does, a numbered list of those reasons, he does not begin by enumerating it, and consequently the reader only comes to realize that there is a list when they reach the second item. As seen with Jesus' circumcision, Ximénez could be sloppy in borrowing from sources, which may have resulted in this apparent error which is

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ρoη. many in ignorance err about this Herod

present in all of the editions of the book.[49] The reasons given seem to be a compilation of several authors: some come clearly from Aquinas (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.2 ad 3), while others do not have a clear origin.

But in essence, according to Ximénez, Herod was distraught because having seen "la excellẽcia ɒeſtos reyes" (*Luzero 1495* xx^{r})^{ρπ} he realized that, if they were honoring the newborn king, then that king would be far more powerful. As Herod was a foreigner, he would have no claim to the throne were a Jew to inherit it. If the Jews recognized the baby as a king, in order to remain in power, he would need to act swiftly.

Ximénez does not go into much detail on the interactions of Herod with either the Magi or the Jewish priests and scholars, instead very closely mirroring the Biblical account from Matthew 2:3-12, as can be seen in the first five verses, where Matthew records

> Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est et omnis Hierosolyma cum illo; et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt ei "in Bethleem Iudaeae sic enim scriptum est per prophetam: *'et tu Bethleem terra Iudae / nequaquam minima es in principibus Iudae / ex te enim exiet dux / qui reget populum meum Israhel*'". Tunc Herodes, clam vocatis Magis, diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellae quae apparuit eis (*Nova vulgata* Matt

49. I believe that the first item begins with "poɔq̃ era alienigena" (xx^{r})^{ρoθ}

ρπ. the excellence of those kings

2:3-7)[ρπα]

Ximénez writes, very similarly,

> Entõces el rey herodeſ *q̃ poꝛ entonces reynaua en jhrl̃m poꝛ los romanos*:fue turbado ꝛ toda la ciudad de jhrl̃m conel.ꝛ mãdo el dicho rey:q̃ todos los p̄ncipes ỽlos ſacerdotesꝛ los letrados del pueblo fueſſen ayũntados E p̃gũtoles adonde auia de naçer el rey meſſias:*ſegũ era determinado enla ſacra ſcriptura*.ꝛ reſpõdieronle q̃ hauia de naçer enla ciudad de bethleẽ:ſegũ era ſcripto poꝛ vna ꝓfecia del ꝓfeta *micheas enel cap.v.* Entõce el rey herodes aparto a los reyes magos en ſecreto:ꝛ ĩfoꝛmoſe enteremẽte del tiẽpo q̃ndo ꝛ como les apareçio la eſtrella (*Luzero 1495* xv[v])[ρπβ]

ρπα. When King Herod heard this he was disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him. When he had called together all the people's chief priests and teachers of the law, he asked them where the Messiah was to be born. "In Bethlehem in Judea," they replied, "for this is what the prophet has written: "'But you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for out of you will come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel.'" Then Herod called the Magi secretly and found out from them the exact time the star had appeared. ρπβ. Thus King Herod, *who in those times reigned in Jerusalem for the Romans*, was disturbed and all of the city of Jerusalem with him. Said king ordered that all of the principal prieces and wisemen of the city were gathered, and he asked them where the Messiah King was to be born, *according to what was determined in the Holy Scripture*. They answered him that he would be born in the city of Bethlehem, according to what was written in the prophecy of the prophet *Micah in chapter 5.* And so king Herod gathered the Magi in secret, and found out everything about when and how the store appeared to them

In effect, Ximénez translated Matthew's text. As can be seen in the excerpted text, he adds an appositive to give the reader context to who Herod, at that point in Chapter 15 had not yet been mentioned. He does not translate the reference of Micah 5:2, either because he felt his readers would be familiar with the verse already or because, having already mentioned the content of the prophecy and its associated prophet, it added little to the narrative. The most interesting addition, given his intended audience, is the extra words added to Herod's question. Instead of merely asking where the child was to be born, as he does in Matthew, Ximénez has him ask where Jesus was to be born *according to* the scriptures. Herod, thus, wanted to ensure that the king being born was one prophesied by Jewish texts. While that may have been implied given he sought out Jewish priests and scholars, for the reader, the added text gives extra emphasis to Jesus' birth as that of the birth of a savior —their own texts confirmed it.

Elsewhere in his quasi-translation of Matthew, he changes direct quotes to indirect quotes, for instance, or provides similar commentary, but he does not introduce new details. And despite including an entire chapter on why Matthew would say that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, he does not actually reference the source.

In Chapter 21, Ximénez provides a detailed description of the Magi's arrival in Bethlehem. The star continued to guide them up to the house where the Holy Family was staying before resting above the house and disappearing.

Ximénez depicts the baby Jesus in a very pathetic way, although he is careful to point out all babies tend to appear sickly. The intent is clear: the baby that the Magi find when they walk into the house is the last thing anyone would expect to a king or savior. He draws two parallels

with later events, though, comparing the Magi's reaction to that of Simeon and Anna from Jesus' presentation at the temple. Having been inspired by the Holy Spirit, all of them immediately recognized Jesus which did not require knowing or even directly seeing Jesus, rather only being in his presence.

Ximénez portrays this reaction, however, as something more than divine inspiration from the Holy Spirit: "enla cara ɀ ojos ɗel niño jheſu apareſcio alguna gran coſa ɀ ɗigniɗaɗ:q̃ exceɗia el moɗo ɀ virtuɗ humana:poɀ lo qual parecieſſe que aq̃l era el rey meſſias" (xx^{v}–xxi^{r}).^{ρπγ} For Ximénez, Jesus' face was capable of drawing a visceral reaction from people, which could be either one of terror —as in the case of the cleansing of the temple— or one of devotion and changed hearts. The Magi, and, he adds, the Gentiles, fall into the latter category.

Those who met Jesus tended to react in a particular way. Within his description of the typical reaction for people who, like the Magi, came to follow Jesus and give pay him homage, Ximénez mentions something that is certainly directed at his primary audience. For them, "como vieron el niño creyẽɗo que era ɗios ɀ el meſſias ꝑmetiɗo *enla ley ɀ poɀ los pɀofetas* : muy ɗeuotamẽte hincaɗas las roɗillas en tierra: o ꝑſtraɗo toɗo el cuerpo lo aɗoraron" (xxi^{r}, emphasis mine).^{ρπδ} Having just mentioned that the baby was God and the Messiah, it is an opportune moment to remind the reader that Jesus' coming was foretold in the Tanakh and had now come to pass.

ρπγ. in the baby Jesus' face and eyes there appeared a great thing and dignity that exceeded human nature and virtue for which it seem that yonder child was that King Messiah ρπδ. upon seeing the child believing that he was God and the Messiah *promised in the law and by the prophets*, very devotedly taking knees to the ground or prostrating their entire body they adored him

Additionally, the form in which the Magi reacted —kneeling or prostrating themselves— is "aɔoracion ɔivina" (xxiʳ)ꝑπε The divine adoration referred to, when practiced by Catholics, involves prostration or genuflecting in front of the Eucharist, considered to be Jesus. In Chapters 95 to 98, which treat the Eucharist, Ximénez does not talk about adoration, so this is curiously the only to mention of the practice being the appropriate demonstration of respect towards Jesus.

Chapter 21 concludes with an almost curt indication of the Magi's presentation of the gifts which is surprising because it is one of the Magi's most important and recognizable gestures, and one that holds a lot of symbolism to be explained. Instead he offers an explanation of how Mary reacted to the Magi, given that she would have had no idea who they were and most people would not. As is common in the *Luzero*, the chapter begins by acknowledging that it may seem odd: "[al]gũo ɔuɔara aqui [...] si la ſeñora virgẽ ſu maɔꝛe temio poꝛ ſu hijo veyenɔo hõbꝛes no conoçiɔos ꝛ en tã grãɔe aparato" (xxiʳ)ꝑπς As a response, Ximénez offers that Mary, knowing the divine nature of her son, when she saw great things happen while in His presence, she would not fear, although because she was not omniscient, "q̃nɔo veya coſas ɔe nueuo maravillauaſe" (xxiʳ)ꝑπζ Specific examples of her fearlessness include the arrival of the shepherds and the visit to the temple when Anna and Simeon. In both cases, Mary, he says, would instead listen to the words spoken about her son, and carefully consider them. The more she thought, the more she believed. Thus, the more that the reader consider the events surrounding Jesus' birth, the more that they would believe in Christ. For Ximénez, belief becomes an exercise in thought, and if the foundation

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ρπε. divine adoration ρπς. some may doubt here [...] if the Lady Virgin his mother feared for her Son seeing unknown men and with such great entourage ρπζ. when she saw things she was once again amazed

laid out in the Bible is to believed, then the conclusion is mere logic.

While it is common for texts to discuss the humble nature of Jesus' family and the inherent and consequent symbolism of the rich Magi coming to honor him, Chapter 22 does contain an intriguing perspective on how Mary would have perceived the stark difference in class. For as much as fear was not an emotion that Mary experienced, shame was. Ximénez's description shows just how seemingly desperate of a situation she was in: "ella fueſſe tãto humilɒe:pobɾeʒica ɾ fuera ɒe tierra:en caſa angoſta:ɒonɒe no tenia otro biẽ ſino a ſu fijo:ɾ el niño veſtiɒo ɒe pobɾes paño" (xxi^{v})[ρπη] The qualities attributed to her describe her poverty beyond the economic. She is, of course, *pobɾezica*, and thus lacks means, but her humbleness embodies much more. The word *humilde* in Spanish can refer to being of a small size or stature, having commoner's blood, being modest, and being submissive. All of these meanings apply to Mary: a young girl, of no well-known family lineage, and very devoted to God. As a foreigner, she had little link to the society and culture where she was.

While Ximénez clearly uses this to contrast with the ostentatious arrival of the Magi who brought expensive gifts to her son, it also seems to embody a separate message. For as poor as was Mary, she did have one thing: her son, Jesus. Hence, regardless the condition that someone may find themself, if they believe in Jesus, they should consider themselves wealthy, though the world may not recognize it. As well those of means ought to recognize the dignity of a pauper. For when the Magi do arrive, despite the portrayal that Ximénez gives of Mary, "conoſcienɒo ſu ɒigniɒaɒ:la

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ρπη. she was so humble, poor, and of the earth in host anxious, in a small house, where she had nothing else but her son, and the child dressed in poor clothing

honrarian conel mayoꝛ honoꝛ que ellos puɒieſſen:ꝛ la conſolarian cõ my ɒulces palabꝛas" (xxi^{v})ρπθ

It is at this point that Ximénez returns to the gifts that the Magi brought for Jesus. In contrast to traditions of each bringing a different gift, in the *Luzero*, each gives all three gifts. Ximénez provides two reasons for the specific gifts being given. One, from a historical perspective, is that gold, incense, and myrrh were gifts traditionally give by Arabian kings.

The second, however, attempts to provide a meaning to each gift. Such a practice was not uncommon. Aquinas, regularly cited by Ximénez, agrees with Gregory I that gold represents wisdom, incense fervor in prayer, and myrrh mortification of the flesh (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.8 ad.4). In the medieval *Auto de los reyes magos*, the gifts were designed to suss out the nature of the baby Jesus: "ſi fure rei ɒeťra eloꝛo quera. si fure om̃e moꝛtal, lamiratomara. ſi rei celeſtral eſtos ɒoſ ɒexara. tomara el encẽſo: quel ꝑtenecera⁘" ("Canticum Canticorum" 68^{r})

Ximénez offers a view similar to that found in the *Auto* with a key difference. For the Magi in the *Auto* the nature of Jesus would be known by both what he accepted and rejected, that is, if he accepted gold, he could not also be a heavenly king, for the divine has no use for worldly possessions and would reject the gold. In the *Luzero*, those potential natures of Jesus are not contradictory and in fact are complementary. He receives gold, showing that he was the king of kings; myrrh, demonstrating his humanity and foreshadowing his crucifixion; and incense, establishing his divinity.

What happened to the gifts serves as the final question for Chapter 22. There is no Biblical answer, as the gifts are only mentioned once in Matthew 2:12. It does not appear to be a topic

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ρπθ. knowing her dignity, they would honor her with the highest honor that they could, and they would console her with very sweet words

that concerned early church doctors. Nonetheless, Ximénez provides two possible reasons for which the Holy Family would remain poor which he evidences by way of Mary's offering in the temple.[50] The first reason is that, in line with her humility and modesty, Mary only accepted on behalf of Jesus a small amount of each gift. The second, in keeping with her charity, was to keep as much as they needed and give the rest given to the poor. In either case, that Mary only kept a token amount serves to further reconcile his vision of the gifts as primarily holding a symbolic meaning with the literal text.

The conclusion of the both the narrative on the Magi and on the nativity is in Chapter 23.It begins with a small, but significant, extrabiblical detail. In Matthew 2:12, the Magi are warned in a dream to not return to Herod. In the *Luzero*, the warning comes from an angel. This does not seem to be a spurious mistake, either, as it is stated twice: "[a]quella meſma noche *apareçio el angel* alos ɒichos tres magos en sueños ꝛ ɒixoles q̃ no boluieſẽ al rey heroɒes.E aſi enſeãɒos *por el angel* no boluierõ a jhrl̃m" (*Luzero 1495* xxi^{r}, emphasis mine) While one possibility is that Ximénez confused the Magi's warning with that of Joseph's, more likely is that he combined Matthew and James' narratives. In the Protoevangelium, the Magi are warned by the angel, in the Bible, they are warned in a dream; for Ximénez, as the two are not incompatible, it is both.

The title of Chapter 23, "Como los magos alumbrados por el ángel volvieron a su tierra por otro camino, y como los habemos de imitar," suggests to the reader that the Magi serve a greater role than merely identifying Jesus as a divine. While he does eventually reveal is —by

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50. A rich person, he argues, would slaughter a lamb and a dove, but the poor would sacrifice two doves. Since that is what Mary offered, she was still poor only around a fortnight later.

using common exegeses— how the Magi are a model for us. In this light, for instance, the gifts take on another symbolic meaning: "offrecerle hemos cõellos oꝛo:enciẽſo: ꝛ mirra.es aſaber nr̃o entẽꝺimiẽto ꝛ voluntaꝺ q̃ es la mejor ꝑte ꝺe nos" (**pxpluz95**). Each of the three gifts is described as representative of an spiritual offering.

Gold is a distraction, and those who seek it turn from Jesus. A Christian should, instead, offer up their free will, rejecting human desire for worldly riches. To clarify that further, Ximénez turns to Paul's Letter to the Galatians which he translates very literally from the Vulgate.In the Vulgate, Paul writes "Vivo autem, jam non ego: vivit vero in me Christus" (*Nova vulgata* Gal. 2:20)[ρϟ] Ximénez's translation renders the text as "vivo yo. ya no yo mas viue en mi xp̃o" (*Luzero 1495* xx^{r})[ρϟα] Perhaps in part due to the awkwardness of the translation or the lack of context from the rest of the letter, each part of the quoted verse receives an explanation.[51]

That Paul is no longer himself is to say that he is no longer the sinner that he once was. Christ living in Paul means that Christ is evident in his obedience to Christ's message. The verse is particular relevant given the context in which Paul say he is not who he was: he was talking about subservience to Jewish law and practices.

Incense represents holiness and subservience to God. But following God also means also means helping and serving one's neighbor. Incense emanates out from its source, as should the holiness of a Christian should spread to those around them.

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51. For comparison, most modern translations to Spanish now have a more natural translation. Many are the same or similar to the Reina Valera's translation: "y ya no vivo yo, mas vive Cristo en mí".

ρϟ. I live; no longer I, but Christ lives in me ρϟα. I live; no longer I, but Christ lives in me

Finally, myrrh represents the sinful flesh, offered up through mortification and self-denial of mundane pleasures. Because myrrh is used in funeral rites, it becomes symbolic of permanently leaving behind the pleasures of the carnal vice. What remains is, then, the spirit which focuses on Christ.

All three gifts, and the accompanying ways that Christians can make similar offerings, are finally related to the cycle of life, which Ximénez directly parallels to coming by one road and returning by another: "bolueremos a nueſtra tierra y patria:que es el cielo: poꝛ otro camino.ꝛ no poꝛ el que venimosꝛ entramos enel munɗo" (xxiiʳ)ρ⸗β As Ximénez discussed during the birth of Jesus, the very nature of being born is inextricably connected to sin and worldliness. When Ximénez discusses the risks associated with birth, he says that women who "cõciben poꝛ ſimiẽte ɗe varon ꝛ cõ ɗelectaciõ" (xxiiʳ)ρ⸗γ give birth with pain, risk fatigue, illness, sadness, loss of beauty, and even death. But that did not happen for Mary, who did was not impregnated by carnal act, but "poꝛ la virtuɗ y operacion ɗel ſpiritu ſancto" (xxiiʳ)by the virtue and operation of the holy spirit. And thus, everyone, by virtue of birth and beginning from conception, is born into "ſoberbia ɗe viɗa. Coɗicia ɗe ojos. Cõncupiciencia ɗela carne" (xxiiʳ)pride of life, greed of the eyes, lust of the flesh. The three things that he mentions come directly from 1 John 2:16. According to Urban C. von Wahlde, those are to be interpreted as representative of worldly vices, and that ultimately, John "shows that there are really only two choices open to the community: to love God or to love the world" (81). That is the same choice that Ximénez presents the Magi as having had, and

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ρ⸗β. we shall return to our land and country which is Heaven by another path, and by that which we come and enter into the world ρ⸗γ. conceive by the semen of man and with delight

believers having.

Unlike John who rests his advice in loving one's neighbor, Ximénez is happy to dispense of more advice, with suggestions to counteract each of the vices: "humildad, menoſpecio del mũdo ꝛ de todas las coſas que en el ſon.ꝛ crucificando la carne:negãdo nueſtra volũtad ꝛ querer" (*Luzero 1495* xxii^{r})ρϟδ By doing so, a follower of Jesus will be like the Magi and be kings for they will have received the Kingdom of God. Lest he be misinterpreted, Ximénez makes clear he does not mean that anyone will actually possess Heaven or something similar. Rather, for him, the kingdom is the glory in "ver claramẽte la eſſencia ỽ dios" (xxii^{r})ρϟε In this way, he is able to say that each person of goodwill can receive the kingdom as if the sole ruler. In heaven, one will be able to fully see and understand God (thus fully possessing the kingdom), but that state need not be nor is exclusive in nature, and each person can simultaneously fully possess it.

Throughout telling the story of nativity, Ximénez focuses on two main intertwined topics: the divinity of Jesus, and the discovery of Christ. The divinity of Jesus, a topic that had already been discussed at length in other sections goes from being an idea to having concrete, physical manifestations that are subsequently interpreted by Ximénez to demonstrate divinity. For example, in Chapter 13, the reader is told that "en eſpaña ſegun ſanto thomas enla tercera ꝑte:ꝛ ſegũ otros en oꝛiẽte aparecieron tres ſoles los quales ſe llegarõ vno a otro ꝛ ſe hiꝛierõ vn ſol:[52]a ỽmoſtrar en vna perſona ỽ chiſto [sic] trinidad de ſubſtãcias.es aſaber deidad anima ꝛ cuerpo" (*Luzero*

52. Although Thomas does mention it (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.3 ad.3), there is not much written about this manifestation which likely describes the appearance of sundogs.

ρϟδ. humilty, rejection of the world and the things that are in it, and crucifying the flesh, denying our will and desire ρϟε. clearly seeing the essence of God

1495 xix^{r})ρϟς Such a natural, theoretically verifiable phenomenon is interpreted to present Jesus not just as a flesh and blood human, but also God. The use of tangible events to prove Christ's divinity, even if they cannot be verified by a contemporaneous reader, adds credibility.

For a reader with a Jewish background, there is no need to delve into the details of prophecy itself as Ximénez likely presumes that the they would be familiar with Jewish theology. What would be needed, however, is evidence that whatever prophecies he referenced were fulfilled, and then what the significance of that said fulfillment may be. Consequently, the occurrences that Ximénez includes in the narrative recall and respond to specific parts of the Jewish prophecies, while also given an extended interpretation to demonstrate Jesus' divinity. It is telling that while some early chapters do discuss the nature of Jesus and even how knowledge of his incarnation had been passed down through divine inspiration by way of the prophets and their prophecies (especially Chapters 4 and 5), they avoid discussing specifics of the prophecies. Ximénez intends to focus on prophecy only when he can provide specific examples of fulfillment which, from a narrative perspective, are better left to emerge naturally from the story, rather than, for example, listed without context and hence devoid of significance.

The intended reader, someone ignorant of the Catholic faith, but with a desire to learn about Christ, is like the Magi who, whatever their belief system may have been, had reason to search for Him. As such, the Magi serve as a reflection of the reader themself, who knows that a savior is coming and through studies comes to find him. Chapter 4, entitled "Como el artículo de

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ρϟς. in Spain according to Saint Thomas in the third part, and according to tohers in the east, three suns appeared which came one by one and made a single sun

la incarnacion fue siempre divinalmente ordenado," describes the process by which knowledge of the birth of Jesus is passed down from the beginning of time up to His birth. The Magi likewise had had passed down to them a prophecy of Jesus' birth, although outside the Jewish tradition:

> eſtos reyeſ erã [...] ɗel linage ɀ pʀogenie ɗe balaam:q̃ fuera famoſa pʀopheta entre los gẽtiles, el q̃al auia pʀofetiʒaɗo q̃ naçeria vna ſtrella ɗe jacob.ɀ perſuaɗio a los ɗeſcenɗientes ɗel ɀ ɗe ſu linage:q̃ velaſſen cõ grã eſtuɗio el naçimiẽto ɗe aq̃lla eſtrella:poʀq̃ seria ſeñal ɗel naçimiento ɗel ſaluaɗoʀ ɗel munɗo (xix^{r}).ρϟζ

Essentially, the Magi, heirs to Balaam's prophecy of the birth, are no different than a Jew, who inherited a similar prophecy; as a result, the reader can relate to them.

The Magi experienced phenomena that convinced them that the prophecy was taking place. The reader familiar with Jewish prophecy then "experiences" the same process of revelation through Ximénez's text which explicitly links the narrative to the prophecies. The intent, then, is to have the reader see themself in the Magi, realize who Jesus is, and decide to follow Him. It is an effective strategy, more so because many readers undoubtedly would have experienced some of the recreations in Nativity plays. The theatrical experience, even if lacking the details that the *Luzero* has, would have enabled them to see what the Magi saw. And the textual experience would provide the deeper contemplation necessary to process what they saw. That would explain why Ximénez concludes his narration of the Magi in Chapter 23 by calling the reader to

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ρϟζ. these kings were [...] of the lineage and progeny of Balaam who was a famous prophet amongst the gentiles, and who had prophesied that a star would be born of Jacob, and persuaded the descendants of his lineage to keep close watch for the birth of yonder star because it would be the sign of the birth of Savior of the world

follow the example of the Magi and recounting much of what they saw and did in a form that greatly mirrored the structure of his contemplative prayer from Chapter 12.

4.4.5. Chapter 25: The Manifestation at the Nativity

In Chapter 25, simply titled "De la manifestación de la Natividad del Salvador," Ximénez considers to what extent Jesus' birth would be made known to the world, borrowing heavily from Thomas' *questio* 36 on the same topic. Ximénez begins by summarizing his idea: Jesus's birth was neither revealed to all, nor hidden to all. He considers the two ideas as separate, and discusses them accordingly.

According to Ximénez, that Jesus' birth could not be revealed to everyone was grounded in three ideas, all from Thomas: 1. Jesus would not have crucified him, and thus mankind would not have been redeemed, 2. would cheapened the merit of faith, and 3. would cause cause them to doubt Jesus' humanity (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.1 co.) The latter two are included without edit, but the former is given a substantial addition. Following Thomas' original, Ximénez adds that it was fitting that the prophets would have known to some degree in advance, so that when the prophecy was fulfilled people, having seen foretold events transpire, could believe. More interestingly, he specifically adds that as a result, "puɔo ſer manifieſtamẽte conoçiɔo ɔe toɔos: *7 avn ðlos enemigos*" (*Luzero 1495* xxii^{v}, emphasis mine)![ρϛη] Taken with the emphasis he puts later in the chapter on sinners, this can be interpreted to mean that he considers Jews or Muslims to be capable, upon being appropriately taught, of knowing and believing in Jesus.

At the same time, it was fitting that Jesus' birth eventually to be revealed to all. He says

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ρϛη. could be made manifestly known to all, *and even to the enemies*

that this was made evident in the Nativity because of the diversity of people that Jesus was revealed to. Ximénez, however, makes a few small changes. Thomas original text states

> Et ut hoc in ipsa Christi nativitate praefiguraretur, omnibus conditionibus hominum est manifestatus. *Quia, ut Augustinus dicit, in sermone de Epiphania,* pastores erant Israelitae, magi gentiles. Illi prope, isti longe. *Utrique tanquam ad angularem lapidem concurrerunt.* Fuit etiam inter eos alia diversitas, nam magi fuerunt sapientes et potentes, pastores autem simplices et viles. Manifestatus est etiam iustis, Simeoni et Annae, et peccatoribus, scilicet magis; manifestatus est etiam et viris et mulieribus, *scilicet Annae*; ut per hoc ostenderetur nullam conditionem hominum excludi a Christi salute. (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.3 co., emphases are deleted in Ximénez)ρϟθ

Ximénez's, in turn, states

> ca fue manifeſtaꝺa a toꝺas las ꝺiuerſiꝺaꝺes ꝛ cõꝺiciones ꝺe hõbꝛes. fue manifeſtaꝺa alos paſtoꝛes que erã iſraelitas. ꝛ alos reyes magos que eran gentiles: aquellos eſtauan a cerca y eſtos alexos. E fue otra ꝺiuerſiꝺaꝺ entre ellos. ca los magos fuerõ

ρϟθ. And in order that this might be foreshadowed in Christ's birth, He was made known to men of all conditions. *Because, as Augustine says in a sermon on the Epiphany*, the shepherds were Israelites, the Magi were Gentiles. The former were nigh to Him, the latter far from Him. *Both hastened to Him together as to the cornerstone.* There was also another point of contrast: for the Magi were wise and powerful; the shepherds simple and lowly. He was also made known to the righteous as Simeon and Anna; and to sinners, as the Magi. He was made known both to men, and to women —*namely, to Anna*— so as to show no condition of men to be excluded from Christ's redemption

> ſabios ⁊ poɒeroſos ⁊ reyes. los paſtoɼes ſimples ⁊ pobɼes: ⁊ ɒe baxa ſuerte. *⁊ ṕmero fue ɒemoſtraɒo alos ſimples ⁊ ɒeſpues alos ſabios.* Itẽ fue manifeſtaɒa a los juſtoſ como a ſymeon ⁊ anna: ⁊ alos pecaɒoɼes: como alos magos. alos hombɼes y alas mugeres: poɼq̃ poɼ eſto fueſſe ɒemonſtraɒo ⁊ pɼefiguraɒo que ninguna conɒicion ɒe ꝑſonas era excluyɒo ỏla natiuiɒaɒ ɒel ſaluaɒoɼ *⁊ ninguno grãɒe ſe enſoberuecieſſe: ⁊ ningun enfermo ⁊ pecaɒoɼ ɒeſeſperaſſe* (*Luzero 1495* xxiii^{r}, emphases are Ximénez's additions)$^{\sigma}$

Several deletions are unimportant. Ximénez generally disfavors including internal citations when quoting someone, so the reference to Augustine is removed. The other two merely remove information already implied by the text. It is Ximénez's additions that are more interesting. While Thomas does make note of the fact that Jesus was revealed first to the shepherds and later to the magi, he emphasizes that the shepherds "erant primitiae Iudaeorum" and the magi "fuerunt primitiae gentium" (III q.36 a.3 ad 1). Ximénez distinguishes them by their knowledge, comparing the "simples" shepherds to the "sabios" magi. At the end of the chapter, Ximénez consoles —or

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σ. because it was manifested to all of the diversity and condition of men, it was manifested to the pastors who were Israelites, and to the magi who were gentiles, those who were near and those far. And there was another diversity amongst them, for the magi were wise and powerful and kings, the pastors were simple and poor and of low stature. *and it was demonstrated to the simple ones and later to the wise.* As well it was manifested to the just like Simeon and Anna, and to the sinners, such as the magi; to the men and the women, because by this it was demonstrated and prefigured that no condition of person was excluide from the nativity of the savior *and no powerful person would pride themself, and no sick and sinning person would dispair*

advises, depending on condition— the reader that "ninguno grãde ſe enſoberuecieſſe: ꝛ ningun enfermo ꝛ pecadoꝛ deſeſperaſſe" (xxiiᵛ).[σα] Of course, such a statement is standard trope in Christian writing, but for Ximénez, it is a fitting and necessary addition to the contrasts presented by Thomas.

4.5. Jesus' Infancy

I include in this section Chapters 24 through 30, with the exception of Chapter 25. As such, it both begins and ends with Jesus in the temple, first when he is presented along with Mary's purification ritual, and concluding with Jesus conversing with the teachers as an older child. Chapter 25, already discussed in the previous section, rightfully should be grouped with the Nativity and placed between Chapters 23 and 24. At best, the only reason that Ximénez appears to include it after the presentation in the temple was to not mention Simeon and Anna before he had described them in full to his reader, but it could also be a printer's error that was maintained in all subsequent editions.

And thus, having concluded his discussion of the Nativity —we ignore the problematic ordering of chapters— Ximénez turns to talk about Jesus' younger life. Because the Bible itself is scarce on many details, Ximénez appropriates much information from other texts which, while not canonical, were respected by theologians to provide imagery or tell additional stories. The theme of these chapters, as it were, is how people, believers or non-believers, see Jesus' divinity first hand and then become trusted witnesses for others so that they may believe. Thus it is the notoriety of Simeon and Anna, along with the Magi, who eventually convince Herod sufficiently

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σα. no powerful person would pride themself, and no sick and sinning person would despair

enough of Jesus' power that Herod initiates the slaughter of children. Likewise, the people of Nazareth are able to attest to his divinity precisely because they saw him as a child and knew his early life like his later followers could not.

4.5.1. Chapter 24: Jesus at the Temple in Jerusalem

Ximénez uses Chapter 24 to emphasize Jewish recognition of Jesus using Simeon and Anna. Ximénez closely tracks the order of Biblical exposition in describing the visit, although he does not hesitate to indulge in his descriptions or to bring clarity to his reader.

For example, for the reader who may be less knowledgeable, or simply as a reminder, whereas Luke 2:22 merely states that Joseph and Mary took Jesus to the temple when Law of Moses required it, Ximénez makes explicit what that period was: "alos quarẽta ɔias vinierõ a jhrl'm a ofreçerlo enel tẽmplo" (xxii^{r}).[σβ] Interestingly, this is not the standard period of time between birth and the presentation. The פדיון הבן,[σγ] or *pidyon haben*, is dictated to be one month (*Nova vulgata* Num. 18:16) from birth. On the other hand, the purification of a woman after birth, or קרבן ילדת,[σδ] or *qorban yoledet* was indeed forty days. Seth Ward notes that the way that Luke recounts the events leads some to commentaries to assume that Jews combined the two ceremonies (22). Ximénez does not attempt to explain the discrepancy, but he may not have need because, as Ward further notes, the Lucan combination "was not stressed in Christian-Jewish polemic, and not obvious to Jews who were aware of Christian teachings or festivals. Rather, they perceived it as one or the other" (39).

σβ. on the fortieth day they came to Jerusalem to offer him in the temple σγ. redemption of the first born σδ. offering for woman having given birth

In Jerusalem, there was a "homo [...] iustus et timoratus" (*Nova vulgata* Luke 2:25)[σε] named Simeon. Ximénez, recognizing the important symbolic nature of Simeon, describes him in more grandiose words: "vn ſacerɗote muy viejo: ɀ muy hõraɗo: ſanto ɀ muy ɗeuoto: juſto ɀ temeroſo ɗe ɗios" (*Luzero 1495* xxii^{r}).[σς] By making him a priest, rather than just a man, Ximénez elevates him to be a representative of or even a model for the Jewish community. Ximénez also further embellishes the text in that he says that Simeon had prayed devoutly to be able to see the Messiah before his death and that the Holy Spirit responded to his prayers such that "no guſtaria la muerte: faſta que poꝛ ſus ojos vieſſe al meſſias ſaluaɗoꝛ ɗel munɗo" (xxii^{r}).[σζ] Luke notes that the Holy Spirit revealed to him that he would not die without seeing the Messiah, but does not say why he was given such consideration.

Upon reaching the temple, he takes Jesus into his arms and gives praise. Ximénez quotes the Canticle of Simeon in Latin initially, before providing an initial translation to Castilian: "Nũc ɗimittis ſeruũ tuũ ɗomine:q̃ q̇erẽ ɗeʒir: agoꝛa ſeñoꝛ ɗexa a tu ſieruo en paʒ: pues vierõ mis ojos el ſaluaɗoꝛ ɗel munɗo poꝛ ti embiaɗo" (xxii^{rv}).[ση] There are two reasons that this Latin translation is of particular interest. First, Ximénez tends to prefer to quote the Latin initially for important passages, thus we can assume that he felt the Canticle to be on par with other similar Latin-first quotations. Second, knowing Ximénez's interest in music could lead us to identify at least one piece of music that he would have been acquainted with. The Canticle of Simeon is a standard

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σε. just and god-fearing man σς. a very old and very honored, holy, and very devout, just and God-fearing priest σζ. would not taste death until he saw the Messiah, Savior of the World, with his own eyes ση. Now dismiss your servant Lord, which is to say, now Lord leave your servant in peace, for my eyes saw the Savior of the World sent by You

element for the Compile, or evening prayers. His Christian readers may even be Furthermore, in the Dominican antiphonary, there is a version to be song on Feast of the Purification of Mary (which, as mentioned, coincides with that of Jesus' Presentation). As a Dominican, he would thus likely be familiar with the chant seen in Figure 20.

Besides the initial translation to Castilian, Ximénez also includes a second translation — perhaps better described as an interpretation— of Simeon's words: "fasta aqui no podia morir: ni ſalir deſte mundo: faſta q̃ vieneſſe por mis ojos al meſſias ſaluador del mũdo: ꝑmetido enla ley: mas agora que lo he viſto por mis ojos ꝛ es cõmplida tu ꝓmeſa a mi hecha: dexa me ſalir en paz deſte mũdo ꝛc." (xxii^{v}).$^{\sigma\theta}$ Simeon is presented as a most devout Jewish priest who saw Jesus with his eyes —a trustworthy witness. At the same time, by including the text *ꝑrometido enla ley*,$^{\sigma\iota}$ he underscores a point he has made repeatedly in the *Luzero*: the Biblical Jesus is someone who the Jews have known was coming, and the signs have been fulfilled. This is further evidenced when he tells Mary that "eſte niño es pueſto en cayda y en reſurrectiõ de muchos en iſrael" (xxii^{v}),$^{\sigma\iota\alpha}$

σθ. until now I could not die, nor leave this world, until the Messiah Savior of the World, promise in the Law, came by my eyes; but now that I have seen him with my eyes and Your promise is fulfilled and done for me, let me leave this world in peace, etc. σι. promised in the Law σια. this child is will cause the rise and fall of many in Israel

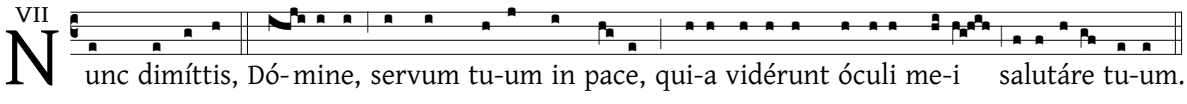


Figure 20: The Dominican rendition of the Canticle of Simeon (Gillet 127)

which implies that either he has been given more knowledge from the Holy Spirit or has received the knowledge through Jewish tradition, as Ximénez discusses in Chapter 4.

Ximénez repeats a similar narrative with Anna. A prophet in Luke, Ximénez describes her as "ſancta hẽbɔa muy ɔeuota" (xxiiᵛ);[σιβ] a widow of many years, and says that she too had prayed constantly for to see the Messiah with her eyes, although he does not include her Jewish pedigree. Ximénez once again embellishes the reaction. The Biblical text says upon seeing Jesus "confitebatur Deo et loquebatur de illo omnibus, qui exspectabant redemptionem Ierusalem" (*Nova vulgata* Luke 2:38).[σιγ] Ximénez says as much, but adds that God directly revealed to her the identity of Jesus and that he was the promised one. Furthermore, he specifies what she actually said, and in doing so has her virtually speak directly to his Jewish or *converso* readers: "cõ grã gozo ɀ heruoɔ ɔe cariɔaɔ magnificaua ɀ alabaua a ɔios: ɔiʒiẽnɔo publicamẽte *alos juɔios*: como era veniɔo el meſſiaas: y ella lo auia viſto enel templo con ſus pɔopɔios ojos" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiᵛ, emphasis mine).[σιδ]

To conclude the chapter, Ximénez recalls Proverbs 10:24, noting that God answers the prayers of the just, presuming they devotedly ask and wait for it with Anna and Simeon as clear examples of it. In truth, he is referring to the Jewish people in general, who had waited so patiently for their Messiah. Ximénez wants to acknowledge the devote nature of their waiting, but also to say that their wait is over, and the Messiah has already come. He also makes mention

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σιβ. very devote holy woman σιγ. she gave thanks to God and spoke of him to everyone who was awaiting the redemption of Jerusalem σιδ. with great joy and fervor of charity, she was amazed and praised God, saying publicly *to the Jews* that the Messiah had come and that she had seen Him in the temple with her own eyes

of the other half of the verse from Proverbs, saying that "lo que temen los malos: viene ſobꝛe ellos" (xxiiᵛ, emphasis mine);[σιε] although it is not clear who he intends to be interpreted as the wicked.

4.5.2. Chapter 26: Flight to Egypt

Ximénez returns to Matthew for the flight to Egypt in Chapter 26, "Cómo la señora y José vinieron a Nazareth, y dende amonestados por el ángel, huyeron a Egipto con el niño Jesús, y de las cosas y maravillas de Egipto," after returning to the manifestations at the nativity in Chapter 25. He begins the narration with Mary and Joseph still in Nazareth and admits that "[n]o ſabemos q̃nto tp̃o eſtuuierõ enꝺe antes q̃ ꝑtieſſen ꝑa egipto [...] poꝛq̃ no eſta exp̃ſſo enla ſcã ſcṗtura pero no puꝺo ſer largo tp̃o" (xxiiiʳ).[σις] As in Matthew, Ximénez tells his reader that Joseph was told by an angel in a dream to take his family to Egypt to avoid having his son killed. Unlike Matthew, Ximénez says that they left in the evening and that along the way to Egypt "paꝺeſcio muy grãꝺes trabajos eñl camino:poꝛq̃ es tierra ꝺespobla ꝺa ꝺiſierta ꝛ seca" (xxiiiʳ).[σιζ]

However, Matthew does not recount anything that occurred while in Egypt, other than to say that the trip fulfilled the prophecy of Hosea 11:1. Consequently, the rest the chapter is extrabiblical. Ximénez himself notes that he obtained his information from the *libꝛo dela tierra ſancta*. In 1486, shortly before the authoring of the *Luzero*, an extremely popular book on the Holy

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σιε. what the wicked fear comes upon them σις. we don't know how much time they were there before parting for Egypt [...] because it is not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures but it could not have been a long time σιζ. suffered many great problems along the way because it is an unpopulated desert and dry land

Land called *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*[53] was published. Although it is possible, even likely, that Ximénez read this work —its Spanish translation was published in Zaragoza by Pablo Horus who published the 1494 edition of the *Luzero* and the 1495 edition of the *Vita christi* that included Ximénez's poetry and it includes one of the stories that Ximénez recounts— he does not use it as a direct source of knowledge. Instead, the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, a well-known thirteenth-century book written by fellow Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion, was the more likely direct source. I am unaware of any contemporaneous translation of the text into Castilian; it is reasonable to presume all the text is Ximénez's own Castilian interpretation. While it appears that he translates directly, it is difficult to distinguish his words from Burchards' because the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* had many different manuscript versions with various additions and omissions. The differences are sufficient enough that it is not clear which manuscript(s) were used in preparing even the early printed editions of that book (Bartlett 61).[54]

Ximénez first outlines the trip to give his reader an overview before detailing the three cities. The Holy Family went from Nazareth to Heliopolis, to Babylon, and finally to Cairo. Heliopolis, he says, is the city mentioned in Isaiah —the City of the Sun (*Nova vulgata* Is. 19:18)— and very rich. He also clarifies that the Babylon to which he refers is not "eſta babilonia ꝺe que ſe haʒe menciõ enla ſãcta ſcriptura. ca aquella es en calꝺea: ꝺ la qual era nabuchoꝺonoſoꝛ" (*Luzero*

53. Also often called *Sanctae Peregrinationes*, its full name is *Sanctarum peregrinationum in montent Syon ad venerandum Christi Sepulcrum in Jerusalem atque in montent Sinai ad divam Virginem et martirem Katharinam*.

54. This section is perhaps Ximénez longest direct translation, being almost two pages long. It deserves study as an example of his translation style, but that would require first identifying the manuscript or incunable from which he worked —a daunting task.

1495 xxiii^{r})[σιη] but a different one in Egypt, that today is known to as the Babylon Fortress. Both Heliopolis and the Babylon Fortress are located in present day Cairo.

In Heliopolis, Ximénez explains what happened when the Holy Family first arrived. The events as described come directly from Burchard's text. Because the family was poor and had no one waiting to receive them, they went to the temple —Heliopolis being a well-off city according to Ximénez— in which they found an idol for each day of the year. But upon entering, "todos los dichos ydolos cayeron en tierra: ꝛ adorarõ a jħu ſegũ era ſcripto poꝛ el ꝓpheta yſayas" (xxiiii^{v}).[σιθ] Ximénez does not include Isaiah's text, leaving only the reference, while Burchard includes the verse itself (*Nova vulgata* Is. 19:1). Aphrodisius, who Ximénez describes as the head priest, declares that if the Jesus' were not divine, then their idols would not have shown him respect. As a result of their subsequent conversion, Egypt was healed of its plagues. Ximénez appears to add on additional piece information to Burchard's account: "en egipto deſpues floꝛeçio marauilloſamente la fe de jheſu chrſito.ꝛ fueron ende mõges de vida ſanctiſſima ꝛ muy excellẽte" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}).[σκ] The addition implies that once someone or a region accepts Christ, they will not do so tepidly, but rather fully embrace it —as he hopes his reader will.

He then describes a balsam garden, its flowers, and two ways by which it is collected, which leads to a discussion of the fount that waters the garden. According to Burchard, the waters were used by Mary to wash Jesus and his clothes. Ximénez adds that the fount and balsam are

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σιη. this Babylonia which is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures where Nebuchadnezzar is from σιθ. all said idols fell to the ground and worshipped Jesus according to what was written by the prophet Isaiah σκ. afterwards in Egypt faith in Jesus Christ flourished marvelously, and there were monks with most holy and very excellent lives

held " en gran veneracion:aſſi ꝺelos xp̃ianos que viuẽ en la tierra:como ꝺlos moꝛos" (xxiiiiᵛ).[σκα] The water is venerated sufficiently so by the Moors that, he says, they deepened the well to provide for the whole balsam forest. While Burchard is a sympathetic author with respect to non-Christians (Stewart v), Ximénez's desire to include mention of the Muslims' veneration of Mary as a way of buttressing Christian truth. Similarly, the mention of oxen that refuse to work on the weekend even when threatened with death are meant to show nature itself marveling at Jesus.

Perhaps the most intriguing addition that Ximénez has is in the Epiphany bathing done by Christians and Moors alike. Burchard was, according to Stewart, "sincerely free from bigotry" and "his charity to other sects [was] remarkable" (v). As a result we can be reasonable certain that when Ximénez writes that the Moors go there "ca tienẽ vn heꝺoꝛ muy malo: y no lo pueꝺen ꝗtar ꝺe ſi: ſino lauãꝺoſe mucho: *7 en aq̃lla fuẽte quitaſe les marauilloſamẽte*. E poꝛ enꝺe lauã a ſi ꝛ a ſus fijos muchas veces en aquella fuente" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiiᵛ–xxiiiiʳ).[σκβ] Despite the questionable taste in imagery, Ximénez surely intends the passage to be interpreted symbolically: the odor is sin, and Jesus cleanses them of their sin. Christians need not work as hard to be cleansed, but non-Christians find it difficult or impossible with a belief in Jesus. Ximénez could perhaps have included or substituted the Jews, but then his message may have been clouded by offense. By using Moors, his Jewish or *converso* reader may have more readily understood the symbolic nature of his statement.

σκα. in great veneration just as much by the Christians that live in the land as by the Moors σκβ. because they have a very bad smell and cannot get rid of it except by washing a lot *and in that fount it can be washed from them wonderfully*. And so they clean themselves and their children often in that fount

According to Burchard and Ximénez, near Cairo there's a large, ancient date palm tree from which Mary used to eat. The non-believers cut it done one night, but it grew back over night. The only difference of note between their two versions is that Ximénez includes the story after describing the washing on Epiphany, and Burchard includes it after describing the incident at the temple in Heliopolis with Aphrodisius. There does not appear to be any reason for it, but it is possible that the edition that Ximénez translated from had a slightly different order.

Ximénez mentions an additional item that is not directly related with the life of Jesus. Also taken from Burchard, it tells of a regular festival that takes place at a church in Babylon. In it, Christians and Muslims gather to celebrate the feast of St. John the Baptist whose relics are held in a chest in a monastery.[55] The chest is left to float *up* the Nile until it lands on the shore which dictates where —in the monastery or in another church also along the river— the relics will be held for the following year.

Ximénez's version appears to mix content from both the shorter and longer versions of the text and future study could be made to determine from which manuscript it was originally produced. While the presence of the detail is interesting, it is not actually related to Christ's life. The rationale for its inclusion is more than a zealous over-translation (the story comes immediately after that of the fount). Muslims, despite being seen as heretics, did recognize Jesus as a prophet. Although they are not mentioned as taking part in the feast of St. John the Baptist in all versions of the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, Ximénez was keen to include it to show his readers

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55. Today these are held in the Monastery of St. Macarius, located in Scetis, but Burchard says that the monastery was named after John. Either the relics were later moved or the monastery changed name).

that the truth of Christianity is so great that its followers are revered even by those who do not profess the same faith. It reveals a miraculous event testified to by followers of both creeds —that a chest of relics would float up the forceful Nile river— and thus adds weight to Ximénez's push to prove the veracity of Christianity to Jews.

Ximénez is forthcoming with his reader in stating that "no poɔemos claramente colegir quãto tiempo eſtuuo el ſaluaɔoꝛ en egipto" (xxv^{r}).$^{\sigma\kappa\gamma}$ Nonetheless, to not leave his reader completely without any idea of the time, Ximénez notes that the the *maeſtro dela hiſtoꝛia ſcolaſtica*$^{\sigma\kappa\delta}$ says he was there 7 years,[56] a period that he finds to be "aſaȝ veroſimile" (*Luzero 1495* xxv^{r}),$^{\sigma\kappa\varsigma}$ no doubt because of the symbolic nature of the number within Christianity.

Ximénez concludes his chapter by discussing how Joseph earned income for the family which he says would have been the same as what they did in Nazareth; in other words, he worked as carpenter (Matt. 13:55). As mentioned in Chapter 2 in discussion Ximénez's own family, his apparent anger with which some might disparage the poor is clear, and may be related to his own family origins, which remain unknown. By using Joseph as a model for modern day Christians as someone who does not wait for God but acts of his own volition in accordance with God's will to protect Jesus from Herod, he furthermore warns that "auemos ɔe haȝer toɔo lo a nos poſſibles ſegunlas fuerças ꝛ pꝛuɔẽcia humana. ca ɔexarlo a ɔios toɔo: ꝛ no haȝer lo que puɔieſſemos: ſeria

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56. Although unnamed, the referenced author is almost certainly Petrus Comestor (literally "Peter the Devourer"), also commonly referred to by his French name Pierre la Mangeur. His *Historia Scholastica* was common reading in medieval universities. Basing his time period on the start of the reign of Archelaus, he claims that "[rediit] ab Aegypto post annos septem" (Hist. Ev. "De reditu Jesu..."). $^{\sigma\kappa\varepsilon}$

σκγ. we cannot clearly determine how much time the Savior was in Egypt σκδ. teacher of scholastic history σκε. [they returned] to Egypt after seven years σκς. very plausible

tẽptar a ɒios" (xxiiii^{r}).$^{\sigma\kappa\zeta}$ Perhaps he intends to encourage his poorer readers to do what they can to escape poverty, but it could apply equally to the more wealthy who reject charitable donations, figuring God will step in.

4.5.3. Chapter 27: Herod Slaughters the Firstborns

Before discussing the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth, Ximénez details the reason for which they stayed away from Israel in Chapter 27, "De cómo Herodes mató los inocentes pensando matar al niño Jesús entre ellos". Ximénez greatly expands on the biblical narrative (*Nova vulgata* Matt. 2:16) in describing the Slaughter of the Holy Innocents. He begins by reminding his readers that the Magi had informed Herod of Jesus' birth and, more importantly, that this birth was confirmed to Herod by the chief priests to take place, according to prophecy, in Bethlehem.

Herod, realizing that the Magi had not returned and feeling deceived, was irate and ordered that the children "fueſſẽ pueſtoſ a cuchillos ꝛ muertos" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}).$^{\sigma\kappa\eta}$ Ximénez words the next sentence in a way to make it appear that Herod actually believed him to be the prophesied Messiah, as he says that Herod believed that "entre eſtos niños topariã conel rey meſſias nueuamente naçiɒo:q̃ auia ɒe ſer ɒelos juɒios" (xxiiii^{v}).$^{\sigma\kappa\theta}$ Besides following a tradition of making Herod seem as evil as possible —in this case, knowingly trying to kill the savior of the world—, Ximénez intends to say that the divinity of Jesus ought to be evident even to those who have strayed far from God.

σκζ. we must do what it is possible for us to do based on our abilities and human prudence, because leaving it all to God and not doing what we can would be tempting God σκη. be given the blade and killed σκθ. amongst these children they would find the recently born King Messiah, who would be the [king] of the Jews

The order was for all children under two years of age to be killed because, Ximénez says, Herod waited two years before he made the order. Ximénez, borrowing from Thomas, provides two separate reasons for the two year lag between when Jesus was born and when Herod ordered the Slaughter of Innocents: (1) Herod was away in Rome on business during the intervening years, and (2) he was too busy with the *affaires d'état* (*Sum. Theo.* III q.36 a.6 ad 3). Said by Ximénez to be "la mas comũ" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}),$^{\sigma\lambda}$ it would match the character of Herod. Josephus, who was the king's primary chronicler, does not record any such trip of that duration to Rome, although he does acknowledge Herod's two children as fighting over the throne in that period, which is probably why the idea became the preeminent one.

The second reason originates with Augustine, who Ximénez quotes at the end of the chapter, although Ximénez adds additional divine explanations for it. Augustine mocks the idea that Herod would be concerned with such matters as Jesus' birth, saying of Jesus's presentation in the temple "Quis enim non videat etiam illum unum diem regem multis occupatum latere potuisse?" (II c.11$_{(24)}$)$^{\sigma\lambda\alpha}$ and that furthermore, even if he had been paying attention he would not have been so worried: "posteaquam nihil Herodi Magi renuntiaverunt, eum credere potuisse illos fallacis stellae visione deceptos, posteaquam non invenerunt quem natum putaverant, erubuisse ad se redire atque ita eum timore depulso ab inquirendo ac persequendo puero

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σλ. the most common σλα. For who can fail to perceive that this solitary day might very easily have escaped the notice of a king, whose attention was engaged with a multitude of affairs?

quievisse" (II c.11$_{(24)}$).[σλβ] To this Ximénez agrees, except that where Augustine envisions a Herod busy with more important affairs, Ximénez says that "herodes a principio fue negligẽte en ſaber [...] porque dioſ en aquello lo cego ꝛ quito eſtos penſamientos de ſu corꝛaçõ" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}).[σλγ] In other words, the two year delay was divinely ordained, in order to give, he says, the Magi time to return home and Jesus time to reach Egypt where he would be safe —presumably, had Herod initiated the slaughter sooner, Joseph would not have had time to bring the family out of Israel.

Ximénez also describes in greater detail the process by which Herod would have come to find out about Jesus: the infant would be known to him by what Simeon and Anna publicly professed after his presentation. Suddenly recalling the Magi, he assumes that they did not return out of some conspiracy, hence was afraid that "el dicho niño auia de ſer rey. ꝛ porꝛ cõſiguiẽte el q̃ era alienigena ſeria priuado del reyno: fue muy turbado ꝛ muy yrado" (xxiiii^{v}),[σλδ] thus leading to him calling for the slaughter two years after the birth of Jesus. It is important that Ximénez notes the form of transmission. The degree to which Simeon and Anna were known, or had influence, is not mentioned in the Bible. However, if their preaching were to reach as far as Herod while

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σλβ. when the wise men failed to bring back any report to him, Herod may have believed that they had been misled by a deceptive vision of a star, and that, after their want of success in discovering Him whom they had supposed to have been born, they had been ashamed to return to him; and that in this way the king, having his fears allayed, had given up the idea of asking after and persecuting the child σλγ. Herod was initially negligent in knowing [...] because God blinded him in this and removed away such thoughts from his heart σλδ. said child would become king and consequently he who was a foreigner would lose the kingdom

in Rome, it becomes evident that either they were quite influential or many people began to believe in Jesus, or both. As such, Herod came to believe in Jesus —albeit maliciously— through the witness of two people.

With respect to the actual slaughter, Ximénez takes a different view from that of the other authors, and instead follows that of his advisor, El Tostado (Alfonſus de Madrigal and Ximeni de Prexano I c.2 q.45). Jacobus mentions that around the time of Jesus' birth, Herod wanted to slaughter the infants to protect himself, but due to the conflicts he had with his sons over the throne, he did not want to appear overly cruel in front of Augustus, who would ultimately decide who would be in control of Judea, but upon return with the throne secured, he acted without inhibition. Ximénez extends the initial cautiousness of Herod to his return as well. Rather than order a public slaughter, common in visual arts, Ximénez represents Herod as more calculating:

> para haʒer [la matanʒa] mas a ſu ſaluo:ʒ quitar inconuenientes:que ɗeſto ſe poɗian ſeguir : haria ſaber muy ſecretamente q̃ niños auia en bethleẽ ʒ en ſus comarcas ɗe aquella eɗaɗ. y embiaria muchoſ miniſtroſ infoʒmaɗos ɗelas caſas ʒ niños: los quales quaſi juntamente haria la ɗicha cruelɗaɗ antes que fueſſe publicaɗa poʒ la ciuɗaɗ (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v})$^{\sigma\lambda\varepsilon}$

The disconnect results in contradictory illustrations in the later editions of the *Luzero*. Seen in

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σλε. for to do [the slaughter] and stay safe, and avoid inconveniences, we can say the following: he would be informed very secretly about the children in Bethlehem and in the regions around yonder city. and he would send many ministers with knowledge of the houses and children; they would just about do said cruelty before it was known to the city



Figure 21: Xylographs at actual size from the 1943 (xvii^{r}) and 1555 (xvii^{r}) editions of the *Luzero* depicting the Slaughter of Holy Innocents.

figure 21, both show the slaughter occurring in public. In one, Herod witnesses it as a spectacle, and in the other, it occurs in the streets. In neither case does it take place in the clandestine manner described by Ximénez.

At the same time, Ximénez strongly implies that there would not have been so many children slaughtered as popularly believed. In medieval times, the number of infants killed was said

to be in the thousands, reaching as high as 144,000.[57]. However, such a number would be woefully incongruent to the secretive operation that Ximénez attributes to Herod: even a king as a notoriously conniving as Herod would not be able to kill thousands of children in Bethlehem before the city found out. Thus in the *Luzero*, the number of children killed is greatly reduced by having Herod leaving the youngest alive and only targeting those around two years old: "ꝺe creer es q̃ no matariã alos q̃ fueſſen ꝺe poco tiẽpo naciꝺos" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}).$^{\sigma\lambda\zeta}$ By applying a reasoned logic Ximénez makes the slaughter more believable to his skeptical readers who would reject a number that was greater than the population of major cities such as Toledo or Seville, symbolic as it may have been intended. A smaller number "is judged to increase the likelihood" (205) of establishing the event's historicity.

To conclude the chapter, Ximénez cites Augustine in saying that "no ſe turbaua tanto heroꝺes enſi meſmo : quãto el ꝺiablo ſe turbaua enel" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii^{v}).$^{\sigma\lambda\eta}$ The quote, likely taken from Thomas (*Sum. Theo.* III. q.36 a.2 ad.3) who attributes it to Leo's fifth sermon, is actu-

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57. Raymond E. Brown states that "the tendence in later writing [is] to exaggerate the number" (205), and includes numbers such as 14,000; 64,000; and 144,000. The latter number, derived from Rev. 14:1–5, was known in medieval time, appearing in in Caxlon's *Golden Legend* and a French liturgical drama cited by Mariam Anne Skey: "sy vou dis et command / que vou alleis querant / par toute la terre de Judee / et de Bethleem la cité / tous le petis enfans, / qui sont desous l'eage de III an, / jusque a la some de cent XLIIII mille / matteis toute à fin" (Skey 336-337)$^{\sigma\lambda\varsigma}$

$\sigma\lambda\varsigma$. I speak and command you / To go and seek / Through the entire land of Judea / And in the city of Bethlehem / All the young children / Who are under the age of three years / Up to a total of 144,000, / Make an end to them $\sigma\lambda\zeta$. it is believable that he would not kill those that were recently born $\sigma\lambda\eta$. Herod was not so much troubled in himself as the devil was troubled in him

ally from Pseudo-Chrysostomus, but is used to show Jesus' dual nature: "Puto quod non tantum Herodes a semetipso turbabatur, quantum diabolus in Herode. [...] Herodes hominem aestimabat, diabolus Deum cognoscebat" (Hom. 2).[σλθ] Ximénez changes the intent of the quotation when he instead follows it with "ꝛ esto es general en todos los malos" (*Luzero 1495* xxiiii[v]).[σμ] The difference, especially in light of Ximénez constant reminding of Jesus' divine and human nature, is inexplicable, as given its placement at the end of the chapter seems to partially absolve Herod of the slaughter. Perhaps he intended it to explain why Aurelius and other later figures would be equally eager to seek out Jesus and kill him, but as it is, the quote seems disconnected from the rest of Ximénez narrative.

4.5.4. Chapter 28: Return to Nazareth from Egypt

After the death of Herod, the Holy Family returns to Israel which Ximénez details in the very chapter 28, "De cómo la Señora y José se partieron de Egipto y volvieron a Nazareth su tierra". This text begins with the final verses of Matthew before the appearance of John the Baptist (*Nova vulgata* Matt. 2:19-23), and concludes by setting the stage for Jesus' ministry. Ximénez quotes the angel in Castilian, although he modifies the threat to Jesus from "qui quaerebant animam pueri" (Matt. 2:20)[σμα] to the more specific "el rey herodes: q̃ deſſeaua matar el niño" (*Luzero 1495* xxv[r]).[σμβ]

Along the way, the family comes to find out that Archelaus has taken control of Judea.

σλθ. I think that Herod was not so much troubled in himself as the Devil was in Herod. [...] Herod considered him to be a man, the Devil knew he was God σμ. and this general with all evil [men] σμα. those who sought the boy's life σμβ. the king Herod who desired to kill the boy

Because the Bible does not explain why Archelaus would seem to be a threat, Ximénez explains that that they feared that "eſte hijo ꝺe heroꝺes ſeria cruel como ſu paꝺꝛe: y trabajaria poꝛ matar el niño" (xxvʳ).[σμγ] Ximénez in the previous chapter hints about Archelaus' desire for the crown, but does not mention how unpopular he was, though he undoubtedly knew. As Josephus notes in his *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*,[σμδ] "οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι μὴ φέροντες τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος" (*Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* β.ιζ κ.ιθ 342),[σμε] which eventually resulted in him being banished, so Joseph was not unwarranted in his fear.

Joseph receives a second visit from an angel, who tells him to go to his land, that is, "a galilea y a naʒaret" (*Luzero 1495* xxvʳ).[σμς] In this way, Ximénez harmonizes the Matthean and Lucan texts, as Matthew does not mention that Joseph is from Nazareth, and in Luke there is no such visit from an angel. Because both Mary and Joseph are from Nazareth, there they "biuierõ entres ſus parientes ꝛ conoſciꝺos" (xxvʳ),[σμζ] until Jesus was thirty years old at which point he began to preach and have followers. Just as Ximénez said in Chapter XX that Jesus was in his human nature just like any other man, he says that living in Nazareth Jesus was "ſubjeto ꝛ obeꝺiente a joſeph ꝛ a ſu maꝺꝛe en toꝺas las coſas: *como ſõ los otros niñoſ hũmilꝺeſ ȝ biẽ criaꝺoſ*" (xxvʳ, emphasis mine),[σμη] until Jesus was thirty years old at which point he began to preach and have followers.

σμγ. this son of Herod's would be as cruel as his father and would try to kill the boy σμδ. Jewish Antiquities σμε. both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria; not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them; accused him before Cesar σμς. to Galilee and Nazareth σμζ. to Galilee and Nazareth σμη. subject and obedient to Joseph and to his mother in all things, *as are other humble and well-raised children*

4.5.5. Chapter 29: Homecoming in Judea

Ximénez treats both the topic of Jesus' preaching and his life in the Holy Family in Chapter 29, titled somewhat misleadingly "Por qué muerto Herodes mandó el ángel a José que se volviese a tierra de Judea con el niño y con su madre."The source for this chapter is a *quaestio* from Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal' commentaries on Matthew that Ximénez published (I c.2 q.46). Alfonso de Madrigal, better known as El Tostado, was Ximénez's professor in Salamanca. While both purport to answer why the angel would send the Holy Family to Judea, the content of Ximénez's chapter and El Tostado's *quaestio* answer the question rather quickly —stating that Jesus needed to grow up in Nazareth— and then instead analyzing why he needed to spend his childhood there.

As does his former advisor, Ximénez separates out the reasons in a list, however he combines multiple ones into a single item. The relationship between his reasons and El Tostado's can be seen in figure 22. Ximénez combines several of them into a single, extensive reason which he says is the primary one. In effect, he argues that were Jesus to have been raised in Egypt, then the Jewish people would not take his knowledge to be divine, rather learned in from others for "aſi moyſen fue enſeñaɔo en egypto en toɔa la ɔoctrina ꝛ ſapiencia ɔelos egipcianos" (*Luzero 1495* xxv^{v}).$^{\sigma\mu\theta}$ Worse, his miracles may have been interpreted not as divinely wrought, but of "artes nepharias" (xxv^{v}).$^{\sigma\nu}$ For his professor, this would result in Jesus being seen as an agent of the devil, rather than of God: while El Tostado originally thought witches could fly by their own volition or drugs, but ultimately concludes that it was demons aiding them (Pavlac 150).

Ximénez does mention the potential for Jesus' miracles to be perceived as necromancy,

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σμθ. thus in Egypt Moses was instructed in all of the doctrine and wisdom of the Egyptians
σν. nepharious arts

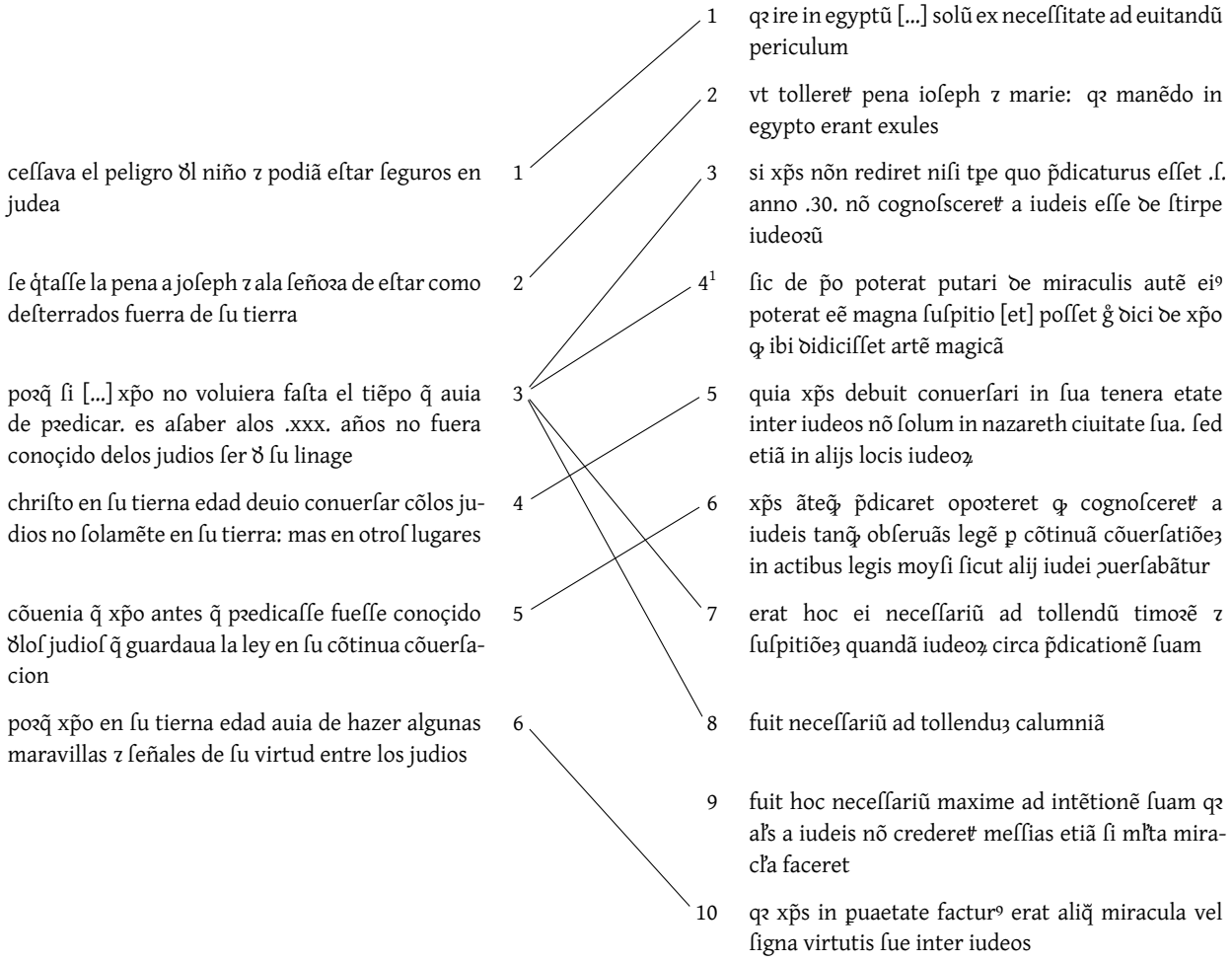


Figure 22: A relation of the rationales given by Ximénez and El Tostado

but the more important focus for him is not on what Jesus may have learned in Egypt, but on the fact that he did not learn anything —in Egypt or Judea— as a child: "nunca ꝺepꝛenꝺio letras algunaſ: ni tuuo cõuerſacion con algunos hõbꝛes ſabios" (*Luzero 1495* xxv^{v}),$^{\sigma\nu\alpha}$ thus following more closely with Augustine ((I c.9)). While the same could have been true in Egypt, there the Jews

σνα. was never school in any way, nor did he converse with any wise men

would be unable to verify that he was never given instruction. Living in Nazareth, they would know him and his lack of schooling, but also his devotion to the Law, so when he did demonstrate his knowledge and performed miracles, they would know that it was divine in origen. Also implicit is the idea of Jewish witnesses. Ximénez continually reminds the reader that Jesus needed to be in Nazareth to be known by the Jews —hence he "yua con ſus paꝺres a jhrl̃m caꝺa vn año: ꝛ poꝺia ſer conoçiꝺo ꝺe muchos juꝺios" (*Luzero 1495* xxv^{v})[σνβ] The witness that those Jews could bear serves to influence the modern day Jew or *converso*. All such factors —divine knowledge, witness by Jews, respect for the Law— converge in the the final reason that Ximénez and El Tostado provides for Jesus needing to be in Nazareth: Jesus needed perform what Ximénez termed "maravillas ꝛ ſeñales ꝺe ſu virtuꝺ" (xxvi^{r})[σνγ] amongst and in view of his fellow Jews. Ximénez clarifies that he refers to when Jesus "ꝺiſputaua conlos ꝺoctoꝛes enel tẽplo: ꝛ toꝺos ſe marauillauã ꝺ ſu pꝛuꝺencia ꝛ reſpuestas" (xxvi^{r}),[σνδ] the topic of the following chapter.

4.5.6. Chapter 30: Jesus Left in Jerusalem

Ximénez treats the final episode of Jesus' childhood for the *Luzero* in Chapter 30, "De cómo José y la Señora olvidaron al niño Jesús en Jerusalén," picking up where he had left the Lucan narrative in Chapter 24. In it, he says that Jesus' family went each year to the temple "ſegun erã obligaꝺos los juꝺios ciertas veʒes enel año" (xxvi^{r}),[σνε] although Luke specifies it being Passover. There does not seem to be a reason for the difference, as the Vulgate clearly indicates they went

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σνβ. would go to Jerusalem with his parents each year and could be known by Jews σνγ. marvels and signs of virtue σνδ. argued with the doctors in the temple, and all marveled at his prudence and answers σνε. according to what Jews were required [to do at] certain times of the year

in die festo Paschae;[σνς] and Ximénez describes the holiday in detail in Chapter 47. It is possible, however, that he wanted Mary and Joseph to appear as particular devout and observant Jews, beyond what Luke explicitly describes. For as Raymond E. Brown notes, there were three pilgrimage feasts that a reader with knowledge of Jewish feasts would know about, but "[it] is difficult to know how widely the law of the three feasts was observed in Jesus' time" (472), and consequently, it is not clear if mentioning all three feasts actually would make the family appear more observant to medieval Jews who furthermore would not have such a pilgrimage tradition .

Once at the temple, the biblical narrative is simple: Jesus remained behind while Mary and Joseph traveled for a day; realizing he was gone, they looked for him, and returned to Jerusalem (Luke 2:43–45). A curious reader would no doubt question how a mother might lose her only child, and Ximénez provides a ready explanation. To him, it was merely a consequence of miscommunication due to the men and women traveling separately: "los hõbꝛes yuan poꝛ ſi enel camino: ꝛ las mugeres poꝛ ſi a otra parte. ꝛ assi la ſeñoꝛa creya que el niño yua en cõpañia ɔelos hõbꝛes. ꝛ joſeph creya q̃ yua cõla ſeñoꝛa en cõpañia ɔelas mugeres" (*Luzero 1495* xxvi[r]).[σνζ] Consequently, they did not realize he was not with them until they returned to their house a day later. He similarly adds detail to their search for Jesus. While Luke implies that they had already arrived home, as he says Mary and Joseph searched for Jesus amongst friends and family, Ximénez definitively places them in Nazareth. The way that Ximénez describes the action is one of extremely heightened emotion,

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σνς. on the Paschal feast day σνζ. the men went on the road and the women went to another part, and thus the Lady believed that the boy was in the company of the men, and Joseph believed that he was traveling with the Lady in the company of the women

[58] with the parents searching desperately through the city. They even worried that he may have been "p̃ſo o muerto" (*Luzero 1495* xxvi[r]).[σνη] The three days that they take to eventually find Jesus in Jerusalem parallels the three days before his resurrection. By giving the family "grãꝺiſſimo ꝺoloꝛ ꝛ pena" (xxvi[r], cf. Luke 23:28 and John 20:11),[σνθ] and having them worry that he was dead, Ximénez makes the foreshadowing more obvious for his Christian readers. Such a reading is made more evident by what Mary and Joseph witness when they finally find Jesus. The Lucan version does not disclose the content of his discussions with the priests at the temple, only that he asked and answered questions and that they were amazed at him. According to Ximénez, however, it was "ſegun ſe cree: ꝺela veniꝺa ꝺl meſſias" (xxvi[r]),[σξ] just as the resurrected Jesus would talk to his disciples answer their questions.

After he finishes talking with the priests, Mary asks him where he has been. One peculiar aspect of Jesus' response to his parents is that it includes commentary from Ximénez, but that commentary does not revert to the third person, and thus the contextual information that Ximénez wishes to remind his readers of comes directly the mouth of Jesus: "no ſabiaꝺes q̃ enlas coſas q̃ ſon ꝺe mi paꝺꝛe : es aſaber ꝺ ꝺios eterno: que es mi paꝺꝛe: me conuiene eſtar y entenꝺer" (xxvi[r]).[σξα] The incongruity of the clarifying phrase *es a saber* is a result of Ximénez wanting to

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58. In truth, given how it is written, one can imagine that there may have been a liturgical drama based on this scene. While not as common as enactments of the Nativity or Via Crucis, there is evidence of Jesus at the temple have been performed in medieval times as part of the Nativity cycle (Kretzmann 73–75).

σνη. imprisoned or dead σνθ. extreme pain and sorrow σξ. according to belief, about the coming of the Messiah σξα. y'all did not know that it behooves to be [here] and understand the things that are from my father, that is, from God eternal, who is my father

clarify who is referred to in saying *father*, but placing it in the mouth of Jesus himself. Immediately thereafter, Ximénez empasizes in his own voice to say that what Jesus said clearly demonstrated that he was not the son of Joseph or of mankind, but of God. Nonetheless, Luke records the interaction slightly differently: "Et ait ad illos: ' Quid est quod me quaerebatis? Nesciebatis quia in his, quae Patris mei sunt, oportet me esse? '. Et ipsi non intellexerunt verbum, quod locutus est ad illos" (*Nova vulgata* Luke 2:49-50).[σξβ] Ximénez likely considered that the potential for the reader to interpret it as saying that Mary and Joseph did not understand to whom Jesus was referring with the word *father* outweighed any deeper understanding it could provide and omitted it. This is understandable as the passage even in modern times has generated extensive debate for its exact meaning (Brown 475–477, 490–491). Ximénez wants to emphasize that Jesus is the Son of God, and that he is doing God's will.

Having concluded his discussion on the incident at the Temple, Ximénez delves into Jesus' life at in Nazareth and in the Holy Family. Luke only records that the family returned to Nazareth and was obedient to them; Ximénez adds an additional description of their life in Nazareth that is not very different than the one he gives in previous chapters when discussing the relationship with his parents: "era les [a ſus paɔres] muy ſubjecto ꝛ muy obeɔiente en toɔas las coſas" (*Luzero 1495* xxvi^{r})[σξγ] and he would live with them until he was thirty years of age. Jesus continued the work of his father as a carpenter; Ximénez's attitude towards Jesus's job is the same that he had towards Joseph's when in Egypt.

σξβ. He said to them, "Why were you searching for me? Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?" But they did not understand what he said to them σξγ. he was subject to and very obedient towards them [his parents] in all things

However, the focus he places on the physicality of Jesus' job in this instance additionally serves to reinforce one of the reasons for which Jesus needed to be in Nazareth. Jesus was well known to the people there and they, in turn, knew that he was not "ꝺaꝺo [...] a letras: ni a otras ſpeculacioneſ ni cõtẽplaciones: ni ocupaciones occultas en que ſe puꝺieſſe ꝺel ſoſpechar que tenia alguna cõuersacion cõlos ꝺemonios: ꝛ ocupaciõ oculta enlas artes magicas ꝛ pꝛohibiꝺas" (xxvi^{r}).[σξδ] Ximénez says that the Jews who knew him as a child and young adult who later saw him perform miracles would be marveled and in turn respond in surprise: "Donꝺe le viene a eſte eſta ſapiencia como no ha ya ꝺepꝛenꝺiꝺo letras" (xxvi^{r}).[σξε] Ximénez does not say where the Jews might think that Jesus' knowledge actually comes from, only that they would definitely not interpret it to be evil in nature.Ximénez ends the chapter without an answer, but he eventually provides an answer when in Chapter 30 he continues the narration of Jesus' life, explaining that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist "poꝛq̃ el ſaluaꝺoꝛ fueſſe manifeſtaꝺo a toꝺo el pueblo" (xxvi^{r}).[σξς]

4.6. Scriptural Interlude

Between his description of Jesus' infancy and the beginning of his life and its works, Ximénez includes five extensive chapters that appear somewhat out of place in the midst of his narration of Christ's life. Were the chapters removed from the collection, their absence would likely not be noted. The final chapter in the Scriptural Interlude, about John the Baptist, is a logical precursor

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σξδ. versed in letters, nor in other endeavors or thoughts, nor in occult occupations in which one could suspect that he frequented with demons and occult occupations in the magical and prohibited arts σξε. Where did this knowledge come to this [man] who has not yet learned letters? σξς. so that the Savior would be made manifest to all the people

to the first chapter in the next section on Jesus' baptism. It is possible that the chapters are a late addition, inserted to clarify things ideas that Ximénez felt may cause confusion by jumping directly from Jesus' childhood to his baptism.

In particular, the stated purpose of them is to explain several ideas about the scriptural inspiration and intent in order to better understand St. John the Baptist who figures more prominently in Jesus' public life than Mary who is hardly seen after Jesus' first miracle.

In this way, the chapters serve two functions. On the one hand, they fulfill their stated function of explaining the structure and contents of the Bible. On the other, they also serve to remind the reader of the most important events and ideas in the life of Jesus, which, as he argues throughout the chapters, is what the Bible is: an book about God, and not anyone else.

The style of these five chapters is notably different. Four of them are either copied virtually in whole or pieced together from the work of Ximénez's professor in Salamanca, Alfonso de Madrigal, popularly known as El Tostado. The earliest edition of the copied work that I was able to locate was, Luys de Ortiz's compilation of several of El Tostado's *questiones.* The two texts coincide almost perfectly, save for several editorial deletions on Ximénez's part. Since more often Ximénez lacks text that it is in Ortiz's, and Ortiz himself claims that "me ɔetermine a hazerla ympɾimir lo q̃l he hecho cõ tãta fidelidad que ni oɾden ni eſtilo ni bocablos he conſentido mudar ſino a la letɾa como eſtaua enla ympɾeſſion oɾeginal" (Aiii)[σξζ] — a claim not made by Ximénez — it is reasonable to assume that most differences are intentional changes by Ximénez from his advisor's original

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σξζ. I was determined to print it, which I have done with such fidelity that neither the order nor the style nor the words I have allowed to be changed but for the font as it was in the original printing



Figure 23: Visualization of text copied from El Tostado, Chapters 31 and 33.
The top folios are from Ortiz's edition of Alfonso de Madrigal, and the bottom ones are Ximénez's 1495 edition. Color coding indicates matching sections.

rather than changes by Ortiz's. The similarities between the two texts for Chapters 31 and 33 can be seen in Figure 23, which shows the degree to which Ximénez broke apart and reduced El Tostado's text.

4.6.1. Chapter 31: The Old and New Testament

Ximénez begins with the second chapter in Tostado's original collection and includes it because of the concise manner by which it established four precepts about the Bible: (1) all of the books in both the Old and New Testaments are about God alone, (2) the mention of other people in the Bible is only in order to talk about God, (3) the fact that someone is mentioned has no bearing on whether they are a good or bad person, and (4) unlike many other books about great people, it does not include other contemporaneous events that are not actually related (q.1 c.2). The following two chapters in El Tostado's work respond to the original *question*, in two parts, proposed by the first chapter: "como los euãgeliſtas tan largo ayan ɔeclarado los hechos ɔe ſan Juan baptiſta [... y ...] como ſã Lucas tã ꝑticularmente y poꝛ extẽſo relatado aya los hechos

apoſtolicos enel libꝛo llamado ꝺelos actos ꝺelos apoſtoles" (q.1 c.1).[σξη] The Tostado was singularly concerned with why Mary, who is a more important figure, would have far less written about her in the Bible than John the Baptist. While Ximénez would eventually address that more directly in Chapter 34, having concluded his discussion of Jesus' early life, and about to begin Jesus' public life, will now discuss John much more than Mary. Having devoted much text to extolling the virtues and importance of Mary, it could seem odd to a reader.

Ximénez reduces Tostado's response to the first part of the *question* —nearly a page long in the original— to a single biblical quote from the beginning of Acts of the Apostles:[59] "Primũ quiꝺẽ ſermonem feci ꝺe oĩbus o theophile q̃ cepit jh̃s facere ꝛ ꝺocere ꝛc.q̇ere ꝺeʒir o theophilo yo eſcriui pꝛimeramẽte vn libꝛo ꝺelos eũagelios:ꝺlas coſas q̃ jh̃u xp̃o comẽçe haʒer y enſeñar:faſta el ꝺia q̃ el fue enel cielo leuãtaꝺo." (*Luzero 1495* xxvi[v])[σο] Ximénez leaves it as an exercise to the reader to understand that the same principal ought to be applied across all of scripture. His former professor explains the extra details, stating categorically that "enlos euangelios otroſi ꝺelos otros no ſe haze hyſtoꝛia ſaluo ꝺ chꝛiſto" (q.1 c.3),[σοα] before quoting Augustine's *De consensu*

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59. Between the Latin and Castilian text, Ortiz states, "quiere ꝺezir : para los vulgares" (q.1 c.3).[σξθ] Ortiz, unlike Ximénez, does not mince words.

σξη. how the Evangelists declared so much about the works of St. John the Baptist [... and ...] how St. Luke so particularly and extensively related the apostolic works in the book called of the Acts of the Apostles σξθ. that is to say, for the uneducated σο. [Latin] In my first book I wrote about all, oh Theophilus, that Jesus began to do and teach, &c. [Castilian] which is to say oh Theophilus I wrote firstly a book of the gospels, of the things that Jesus Christ began to do and teach, until the day that he was raised into Heaven σοα. that is to say, for the uneducated

evangeliorum to remove any doubt.

But it is the explanation of the second precept, which begins in El Tostado's fourth chapter, that Ximénez is more interested in. All authors of the Bible —including Luke— are described as non-authors. That is, while they physically wrote the books, it was actually composed by a single author, the Holy Spirit. Tostado mentions this for his own purpose, but for Ximénez's text, it may have been included to say that the writings of the New Testament are not so different from those of the Old Testament. In effect, he is nudging the reader to place New Testament authors on the same pedastal as Torahic authors.

Ximénez interrupts the text from El Tostado to transition to discussing Jesus' lineage, returning to the *question* again at the start of Chapter 33. The style does not change substantially, and may in fact still be text from his former professor, but is not from the *questiones*, but it considering the following chapter that was also not sourced on El Tostado's text, it is likely Ximénez's own work. In a similar way to how Luke 3:21–38 traces Jesus' human lineage back to Adam and ultimately God, Ximénez traces it from Adam forward.

Ximénez repeats his previous claim, likely sourced in Bonaventure, that Adam knew of Christ's coming (but not that it was to redeem his sin) passed that information to his descendents throughout the first age of man. That information was lost in the idolatry of the second age of man, but Abraham received it again.

4.6.2. Chapter 32: Jews No Longer God's Chosen People

The full title of Chapter 32, "Como el pueblo judayco ceſſo de ſer pueblo de dioſ enla muerte de xp̃o ꝛ ꝑſecuciõ ꝺ ſus apoſtolos:ꝛ es ſinagoga de ſatanas," σοβ is unusually direct. It is also the only chapter of the interlude that does not appear to be sourced at all from El Tostado and is likely written entirely by Ximénez himself. In the previous chapter, Ximénez lauded the Jewish people, and repeats his praise, but he reminds the reader that that is in the past. The abruptness of the title, and of his description of what should come of the Jewish people[60] — "ꝺeſtruyꝺo ꝛ ꝺeſamparaꝺo ꝛ apartaꝺo ꝺe ꝺios ꝛ puniꝺo: ꝛ miſerablemente ꝺerramaꝺo poꝛ toꝺo el munꝺo:ꝛ ꝺaꝺo en apꝛobꝛio ſempiterno" (*Luzero 1495* xxviii^{r})σογ — is a stylistic device to shock the reader, who has likely developed a more favorable view of Jews from the previous chapter.

The sudden shift demands an explanation, which Ximénez provides, beginning with by citing Torahic prophets. Specifically he quotes the following:

(1) Amos 2: the destruction of Judah and Israel for their transgressions

(2) Daniel 9(:4–19): the people have been scattered and punished for their sins against God, and pray for forgiveness

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60. For the English reader, it should be noted that the Spanish word *pueblo*, here translated as *people*, perhaps better means *populace* or *nation*. As is evident from the whole of his writings, he is refering here to a larger construct, rather than its constituent members. I intentionally avoid the term *nation* in my translation because of its present-day association with the modern state of Israel, to which Ximénez does not refer.

σοβ. How in the death of Christ and the persecution of his apostles the Jewish people ceased being the people of God and is a synagogue of Satan σογ. destroyed and abandoned and separated from God and punished and miserably scattered across the whole world and disgraced for ever and ever

(3) Isaiah 53: one of the servant songs, viewed by Jews as a reference to the Jewish people, and Christians as one to Jesus

(4) Isaiah 65: God's call is ignored by his people, and he smites most of them to begin a new world. Ximénez perhaps intends vv. 15 and 17 in particular.

(5) Isaiah 28: the people of Jerusalem enter into a covenant with death, and hide in lies

(6) Isaiah 29: perhaps vv. 13–15 which speak of worship based on rules without understanding

(7) Isaiah 5: likely v. 24–25, in which the rejection of the law results in in God smiting his people

The pattern in these prophecies is that at some point, God's chosen people would forsake him, and cease to be the people of God, while another select group (the Christians, in Ximénez's mind), would become the new people of God.

Having explained the prophecy, Ximénez switches to the fulfillment thereof. He attributes a single action as to when Jews ceased being the people of God: "quãꝺo los juꝺios negaron a xp̃o ꝺelãte ꝺe pilato ꝺizi̇ẽꝺo :no tenemos otro rey ſino a ceſar" (xxviii^{v}).[σοδ] The denial of God in that scene may presuppose a belief in Christ as Messiah, but Ximénez places the emphasis on the categorical statement of "no tenemos otro rey ſino a ceſar" (xxviii^{v}),[σοε] which would be, even in the absence of Jesus, a violation of the first commandment.

Ximénez's most brazen claim —that Jews are the synagogue of Satan— comes from the

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σοδ. when the Jews denied Christ saying in front of Pilate: we have no king other than Caesar σοε. we have no king other than Caesar

Bible,[61] but he conditions it, in effect, on a semantic question. The true Jews, he argues, became Christians. For those that denied Jesus by —he repeats again— stating that they have no king besides Caesar, "no queꝺo ẽllos la ſignificacion ꝺſte nõbꝛe" (*Luzero 1495* xxviii^{v}).σοζ Rather, the "significance" of it befell the Christians, who could rightfully claim the name since Jesus descended from the tribe of Judea.

Ximénez then references the destruction of the temple and the death of over a million jews with the remaining ones sold into slavery as retribution for their rejection of God. The specific number — "cuẽto ꝛ cient mill" (xxviii^{v}),σοη allows us to determine that he refers to a specific event. Josephus Flavius recounts that "[τ]ῶν μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτων πάντων, ὅσα καθ' ὅλον ἐλήφθη τὸν πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸς ἐννέα μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχίλιοι συνήχθη, τῶν δὲ ἀπολομένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα." (*Ιου. Πόλ.* Ϛ′:υκ′).σοθ The detail that the slaves were sold for thirty coins does not occur in Flavius. It may be a personal addition of Ximénez's, but more likely represents either a popular belief of the time or from another text that I have not been able to locate. The reframing in the past is perhaps an attempt to soften the

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61. "Ecce dabo de synagoga Satanae, qui dicunt se Iudaeos esse et non sunt, sed mentiuntur; ecce faciam illos, ut veniant et adorent ante pedes tuos et scient quia ego dilexi te." (*Nova vulgata* Rev. 3:9)σος

σος. I will make those who are of the synagogue of Satan, who claim to be Jews though they are not, but are liars—I will make them come and fall down at your feet and acknowledge that I have loved you. σοζ. the meaning of this name did not remain in them σοη. one million and one hundred thousand σοθ. [t]he whole number of prisoners taken during the entire course of the war was calculated at ninet-seven thousand; while those who perished in the siege, from its commencement till its close, amounted to one million hundred thousand

previous statements, and represent the harsh statements as something of the past, particularly since the present tense statements do not refer to any individual like those in the past. He concludes the chapter by once again referencing the Torahic prophets. He cites the destruction in Jeremiah's references to false prophets and to Hosea's punishment for Israel first, but once again cites Isaias 65's renewed earth to say that, just as the Jewish people were the chosen people of God, having been destroyed and rebuilt, the new chosen people of God are the Christians. Hope is not lost, however, as Ximénez in the following chapter details how all people are drawn to good, and how they can attain salvation.

4.6.3. Chapter 33: God as Governor

Chapter 33 begins by noting that "LA tercera manera en q̃ ɗios se cõsiɗera:es gobernaɗoꝛ.z avn eſta cõpꝛehenɗe mas q̃ las otras ɗos" (*Luzero 1495* xviii^{v}).[σπ] The other two are seemingly not, and represents a careless division. The majority of this chapter comes from the same chapter in El Tostado's *Quæstiones*, one section of which begins with the same wording following a calderon, and is placed immediately after his discussion of God as redeemer Figure 23 shows how El Tostado's text was configured in Ximénez's, splitting it with an entire chapter in between. Ximénez discussed the previous two (God as creator and God redeemer) in the first half of Chapter 31 before he paused to focus on Jews.

El Tostado's initial argument revolves around a concept developed by Aristotle, that is, "καλῶς ἀπεφήναντο τἀγαθόν, οὗ πάντ' ἐφίεται" (*Ἠθ. Νικ.* β.1 κ.2).[σπα] In the context of Ximénez's

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σπ. THE third way in which God is considered is governor. And this covers more than the other two

σπα. the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim

writing, this is to say that all people have a natural inclination towards God, and thus Jews will have a natural inclination towards God —in other words, based on his previous chapter, Christanity.

El Tostado also considers the role of faith and good works, which Ximénez includes. But for Ximénez, the concern is not the role that either play in salvation per se. Rather, he includes the text for its discussion on how the miracles recorded in the scriptures —as a manifestation of faith— are necessarily about God. Similarly, scripture that "inꝺuʒe a bien haʒer" (*Luzero 1495* xxixᵛ),[σπβ] which by its nature brings believers to salvation, are similarly about God. In this way, books such as the Song of Songs, in which there is no immediately apparent connection with God.[62] Both Ximénez concludes his chapter midway through El Tostado's fourth, stating that "pareſce como toꝺos los libꝛos ꝺelas hiſtoꝛias ꝺela ſancta eſcriptura:ʒ ꝺe toꝺas las partes ꝺlos que continen hiſoꝛias: ſon hiſoꝛiaſ ꝺe ſolo ꝺios:ʒ no ꝺe alguna perſon : poꝛque las hiſoꝛias que enellos ſe cõꝉtiꝫenen:ſon hiſoꝛias ꝺe ꝺios ſolo aſſi como criaꝺoꝛ:reꝺẽptoꝛ ʒ gouernaꝺoꝛ" (*Luzero 1495* xxixᵛ).[σπγ] In this way, he neatly brings together his —partially interrupted— discussion on the three qualities God and the general nature of scripture before discussing two Biblical characters in particular.

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62. Nonetheless, "[a]ncient Jews and Christians interpreted Song of Songs as a statement of divine love between God and Israel or Jesus and his followers respectively" (Kaplan $43_{(1)}$), for which this book in particular might not have been seen so tangentially.

σπβ. induces one to do good σπγ. it seems as all of the books of the stories of the holy scripture, & all of the parts of them that contain stories are stories about God alone, and not any person, because the stories that are in them are stories of God only as creator, redeemer, and governor



Figure 24: Visualization of text copied from El Tostado, Chapters 34.
The top folios are from Ortiz's edition of Alfonso de Madrigal, and the bottom ones are Ximénez's 1495 edition. Color coding indicates matching sections.

4.6.4. Chapter 34: What Scripture Says about Mary

Chapter 34, taken almost entirely from the response to the first part of the first *question* in El Tostado's work, describes the role of Mary in the Bible. The first section is pieced together from several excerpts of El Tostado as seen in Figure 24 and plants the question of why Mary would not be as present in the Bible, with the rationale being that most of her life did not revolve around the story of Christ. The reader is reminded that "algũas coſas ꝺlos hechos ꝺla ſeñoꝛa ſe eſcriuierõ enel ſanto euãgelio:ꝛ otras ꝺelos hechos ꝺe ſan juã baptiſta. E no ſe eſcriuierõ toꝺos los hechos ꝺe alguno ꝺellos" (xxx^{r}).[σπδ]

The original text by El Tostado then continues explaining why John would show up more, but Ximénez skips directly to the list of Biblical appearances by Mary, which is shown in Table

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σπδ. some of the events of the Lady were written in the holy gospel, and others of the events of St. John the Baptist. And not everything was written about all the events of either of them

Table 5: Appearances of Mary and Reasons Thereof, according to El Tostado

N.º	Bible	Appearance	Relevance
1	Luke 1:26–38	Gabriel greats Mary in Nazareth	Demonstrates Christ's divinity and dignity, which requires knowing about his mother
2	Luke 1:39–45	Mary visits pregnant Elizabeth	Shows the dignity of Christ throw Elizabeth and John's reaction
3	Luke 2:1–7	Mary goes to Bethlehem per Roman orders	Explains why the birth would be in Bethlehem, and fulfills prophecy
4	Luke 1:22–40	Mary brings Jesus to the temple	Demonstrates how Mary and Joseph follow the law with Jesus
5	Luke 1:41–52	Mary loses Jesus, and returns to Nazareth	Allows them to find Jesus marvelling the high priests
6	Matt 2:13–23	Mary travels to Egypt with the family	Needed to explain the Holy Innocents, and give credence to his status as king of the Jews
7	John 2:1–1	Mary was present for Jesus' first miracle	Gives us a model for intercessions, gives Jesus his humanity
8	John 2:12	Mary takes family to Capernaum	Shows the form of his preaching
9	Mark 3:31–35	Mary went to Jesus' preaching at times	Allowed Jesus to call those who follow God's will his family
10	John 19:25–29	Mary charged to be John's mother	Gives us Mary as our mother

5. Curiously, two of the appearances (at Jesus' first miracle and the trip to Capernaum) are not included in Ortiz's edition, which indicates that his edition was not as perfect as he thought. Lest the reader think that Mary did not do much else in her life, El Tostado concludes the chapter mentioning many other events in Mary's life, such as her birth and rearing, her conversion, her other virtues and life, and her time after Christ's death and resurrection.[63] But, as El Tostado notes, despite the goodness in the events, they did not relate directly to Christ, and thus were not mentioned.

63. One particularly interesting extrabiblical detail that Ximénez conserves from El Tostado's mention that the Bible did not mention "el ſalvaɒoꝛ apareciefſe ala ſeñoꝛa: avn q̃ es cierto q̃ a ella apareçeria mas ayna q̃ a otra ꝑſona:ca aſſi era ɒigna" (xxxiᵛ)$^{\sigma\pi\varepsilon}$

4.6.5. Chapter 35: What Scripture Says about John the Baptist

Chapter 35 is one of the longest chapters in the *Luzero*, and is a direct copy of the section on John the Baptist from the response to the first quæstio in El Tostado's work. Having described why Mary is not seen with as much detail as one might expect given her holiness, El Tostado switches focus to John the Baptist and why he *is* seen with more detail. For Ximénez, there is not as much of a reason to focus on why John is discussed so much more, but text of his professor does answer some questions that a converso might have.

For instance, it may be that, upon learning of John's works, that they might begin to see him as holding the qualities of the Messiah. John 1:19–21 says that Jews of the time asked him if he was the Messiah. Josephus Flavius, a Jew himself, confirms that John was well regarded, so such a concern may not be entirely unfounded.

The scant changes made by Ximénez improve readability. The *Luzero*, after all, was not designed for an academic or ecclesiast. El Tostado routinely provides citations from the Bible, even when not quoting, within the text body.[64] Ximénez, in contrast, eschews most scriptural indications as it would be distracting to readers who may not be as interested in locating biblical verses for commonly known references.

El Tostado's text fits well in the *Luzero*. In particular, while discussing John's life, he mentions three things are particularly important for Ximénez's goal with the larger text. Ultimately, "muchos ꝺelos juꝺios creyerõ en jeſu criſto:veyenꝺo lo que ꝺel ꝺeʒia ſant juan" (xxxii^{v}):^{σπς} Al-

64. The interlineal citing may be an minor artifice of Ortiz's edition as such information was more commonly presented as margin notes.

σπς. many of the Jews believed in Jesus Christ, seeing what St. John said about him

though the typical converso may not know what Josephus Flavius said about the John, El Tostado's text makes it clear that Jews found John to be a holy and honest man. And as a result, "no puɒieſſe alguno ɒuɒar ɒe ɋen hablaua : moſtro conel ɒeɒo a jh̄u xp̃o: ⁊ no poɒia ſer algũ teſtimonio mas abierto. ⁊ era mucho ɒe creer" (xxxiiii^{r}).[σπζ] For El Tostado, John's life, from birth until death, "pertenecçi[a] ala hiſtoꝛia ɒe xp̃o: pꝛouanɒole ſer meſſias" (xxxiiii^{v}).[σπη] The reader was now fully prepared for the most important proof —when God spoke to the crowd at Jesus' baptism— which Ximénez would narrate in the subsequent chapter.

σπζ. because none could doubt who was speaking: he pointed his finger at Christ Jesus and it could not be a more open testimony, and it was very believable σπη. pertained to the story of Christ, proving him to be the Messiah

La negra nuite ben serena
Tapando l sol altaneiro
La naturaleza queda amena
I l cuco canta ne l spineiro

Pula manhana la fresca rosa
Beisa l ourbalho ternurenta
Sues pétalas an carinos amerosa
Lhieban-lo al cielo an termienta

Rosa Maria Fernandes Martins

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The *Luzero* is a book that was innovative when it was published at the end of the fiteenth century and today deserves an edition worthy of the twenty-first century. As I have discussed throughout the present work, its content is one that should not be and cannot be overlooked in the study the religion and history of Spain in the late medieval and early modern time period. Being published on the cusp of several important linguistic changes, particularly as the language was beginning to be standardized thanks to the efforts of Antonio de Nebrija, its various editions hold a wealth of information of linguistics.

Finally, for researchers working with old texts, the work for making an digital transcription, whether it be transcribed with a standard format or for larger works a customized format, is

worth it for future researchers. The format —whatever it may be— should be open and documented. As much information as possible should be included. One way to approach the problem is for each person working on a transcription to work as if they are the last person who will ever see the original works. Books like the the Catalonian translation of the *Luzero* may be lost, damaged, or destroyed unexpectedly. Imaging such as scans or photography —particularly if three dimensional to account for page curl or better show page damage— should, whenever possible, be included. Some elements, such as images, can only be preserved with scans. In all cases, it should be noted that as work scales linearly with the amount to be transcribed, time spent engineering solutions to save time —such as collaborative editors, simplified transcription formats, or automation—

Beyond transcriptions, researchers should strive to ensure that any editions created are as accessible as possible. They should be accessible in the sense that they available and usable by people who use various accessibility devices because of impairments, but also that they have the features best needed to browse, read, and study the work. Furthermore, to the extent that rights and funds enable it, they should be accessible in licensing and distribution.

The *Luzero* served as a good taste case for the creation of a modern edition from multiple editions. While not all desired features were able to be implemented due to licensing and technological limitations, with time and as standards develop additional features should be added. Future efforts will go to creating an integrated backend system handling the transcription, processing, and display of the *Luzero*. As the system was designed to be modular, improvements will be made, such as implementing and tuning a diff algorithm with weighted paths or using different

alignment algorithms. All code will be published for other investigators who may wish to build off of it.

Far beyond the technological and editorial side of the present work, there is still much that can be done while studying the *Luzero* from a textual standpoint. As it stands, in only the first thirty-five chapters of the first part, there is evidence of both Ximénez liberally borrowing and copying ideas from others, but also evidence that others —such as influential writer Jorge de Montemayor— similarly borrowed from Ximénez. Ximénez is a part of a community of authors who have been well studied, yet his influence on and from that community has not. What other authors did he quote? Which ones did he agree or disagree with? Which books did he have access to? There is abundant work to be done with respect to the connections between Ximénez and other authors.

The *Luzero* is an early Castilian text written before the language had begun to standardize, not just orthographically, but also lexically and grammatically. Though there are many documents preserved from the period, the *Luzero* provides additional information about linguistic processes that occurred in the late medieval period. One element that deserves further study is the translations from Latin to Castilian: what Castilian structures or words were used to convey the same ideas in Latin? to what extent was the Castilian Latinized out of deference to the source language? or were the least Latin words prefered to aid comprehension? Of course, for translation studies scholars, the Dutch edition provides substantial fodder, as would the Catalonian edition, were it to be located in the future.

For those interested in art or the history of the press, the woodblock prints will surely

provide the basis for, at the very least, cataloguing to better reveal the trade of such resources in the printing world in which, both through his work in Toledo and with Juan de Ávila, Ximénez was involved in the early stages in Spain. I do not yet know of a xylographic catalog for Spain like that which exists for other countries, nor if any of those in the *Luzero* were original to Spain or imported from Germany. Future study may reveal the artists behind the prints, or shed light on why each one was chosen.

For rhetoric and stylistics researchers, the presence of a lengthy text with a clear audience —conversos and others with lesser knowledge of doctrine— in a language that was only beginning to supplant Latin is a fertile ground for future work. That research would not be confined merely to the nascent period of Castilian writings, but also to situations that minority or minoritized languages face. Ironically, the insults hurled at Castilian by Ximénez and others of his time are virtually identical to those used today by Castilian-speakers when speaking of other languages of Spain. What lessons may be learned from the early development of a Castilian writing style may be applied to languages that today find themselves in a similar situation?

For theologians and historians, the *Luzero* represents a singular compendium of the religious thought of late medieval Spain. Relying heavily on scholastic interpretation, Ximénez was trained in the growing humanist school, and both through his arguments and the theologians and philosophers he cites, he is an example of transitional figure in the theology of Spain. Having been personally appointed by Pope Sixtus IV, Ximénez was a thoroughly vetted church figure, trained by the renowned Alfonso de Madrigal and well respected by monarchy and church alike. For researching the religious views in Spain, the *Luzero* is an all-encompassing glimpse into the

late fifteenth century when ideas similar to those that would happen in Germany are emerging, although ultimately better supressed.

In my analysis of the beginning of the *Luzero*, I have generally focused on the connections with other writers and the interplay between Ximénez and his reader. In the future, I will continue to do such research to complete an initial analysis that can be used as a basis for future investigations. It is hoped that in the future, a complete critical and annotated version can be created for general readers and researchers in multiple fields. In the future, other work may look at his work in the *Confutatorium* or the "Resurrección de Nuestro Señor," either in isolation or in tandem with the *Luzero*. Ultimately, I trust that my work and future work by myself and others will bring the to Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo the same attention today that it enjoyed in the decades following its publication.

Como todos los hombres de la Biblioteca, he viajado en mi juventud; he peregrinado en busca de un libro, acaso del catálogo de catálogos; ahora que mis ojos casi no pueden descifrar lo que escribo

Jorge Luis Borges

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רבי משה בן מימון. הִלְכוֹת מלכים ומלחמותיהם.

El canciu espárdase pel aire pegañoso
a la gueta d'un paixase conocíu
atopando nel camín la nueche máxica
per onde caleya la esperanza esllariegada

Xulio Vixil Castañon

Appendix A

List of works by Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo

In the follow appendix, I attempt to create the most complete index of Ximénez's work possible. Many previous indices have included works that were later determined to not actually exist due to overzealous copying by previous cataloguers. For a detailed discussion on which editions were included and excluded from this list, see Chapter 1.

There exists, of course, the possibility that additional copies will be catalogued, or other previous unknown works found. While unlikely at this point in time, the prospect of finding even a short poem or musical piece by Ximénez would be marvelous, for he no doubt write much more than the extant record. For those wishing to consult the original versions, I include the location(s) where each may be found, including the cataloguing information if available. The minor

differences in spelling and abbreviations tend to complicate searches within library catalogues. The abbreviations for the holding institutions are listed below.

Library and Archive Abbreviations

Abbr.	Name	Location
ACH	Archivo capitular de Huesca	Huesca, Spain
BL	British Library	London, England
BUA	Biblioteca universitaria Alessandrina	Rome, Italy
BUP	Biblioteca universitaria di Pavia	Pavia, Italy
HU	Harvard University	Houghton, United States
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	Lisbon, Portugal
ÖB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Vienna, Austria
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek	Amsterdam, Netherlands
SMU	Southern Methodist University	Dallas, United States

List of works by Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo

Title	Year	Place of Publication	Publisher	Known Copies
Cofutatorium errorum contra claues ecclesie	1486	Toledo	Juan Vazquez	*(many)*
Floretum Sancti Matthaei	1491	Madrid	Paulum of Cologne & Johanne of Nurenberg	BNE: Inc/217-218 BNE: Inc/1033-34
Luzero dela vida christiana?	1493	Salamanca	?	BL: IB.52818, BUA: ?[65]
Luzero dela vida ⸢christ⸣iana	1494	Zaragoza	Pablo Horus	ACH: INC.2
Resurrección de Nuestro Salvador Jesucristo in *Coplas de vita christi*	1495	Burgos	Paulo Hurus	BUA: Incun. 382
Luzero dela vida christiana	1495	Burgos	Fadriq̃ Aleman de Baſilea	BNE: Inc. 2083
Luzero dela vida christiana	1495	Salamanca	—	—[66]
Llum de la vida christiana	1496	Barcelona	Pere Posa	*(no known copies)*
Lucero de la vida christiana	1496	Seville	Meinardo Ungut, Estanisla Polono	BUP: ?[67]
Luzero dela vida christiana	1497	Salamanca	?	BL: ?[68]

65. I have not been able to personally account for this work, listed in Wilkinson

66. Likely a mistake originating by Hain. See discussion in Chapter 2.

67. I have not been able to personally account for this work, listed in Wilkinson.

68. I have not been able to personally account for this work, listed in Wilkinson.

List of works by Pedro Ximénez de Préxamo, continued

Title	Year	Place of Publication	Publisher	Known Copies
Luzero dela vida christiana	1498	Salamanca	Pablo Hurus	—[69]
Luzero dela vida christiana	1499	Salamanca	?	SMU: 06721
Luzero dela vida christiana	1501	Salamanca	Juan de Porras	ÖB: 42.S.7
Luzero dela vida christiana	1515	Seville	Juan Varela de Salamanca	BNP: 842v
Luzero dela vida christiana	1516	Toledo	Juan de Villaquirán	*(no known copies)*[70]
Dat licht der kerſtɩenej	1518	Brussels Amsterdam	Thom. van der Noot Doen Pietersz	KB: KW 228 A 22, BL: 469.b.13.
Luzero dela vida christiana	1524	Seville	Jacobo Crõberger	HU: Typ 560.24.466
Luzero dela vida christiana	1528	Seville	Jacobo Crõberger	BL C.20.e.10
Luzero dela vida christiana	1543	Seville	Juã Cromberger	BNP: 939a
Luzero dela vida christiana	1555	Salamanca	Juã Ferer	BL: DRT.690.g.6.

69. Likely a mistake originated by González Días y Díaz. See discussion in Chapter 2.

70. Per Abad, the only known copy is heavily damaged, and nearly identical to the 1515 edition.

יִשׁוּ פָּחׁ מַיַּינְכִיחׁה טוֹן מִיסְטִים יַיסְמַיחַחׁוֹ
קִי אָה חֲוִיוִיכ מוֹן יִיחָה וָיִיכ כָּיחִי שָׂיכָחׁם מוֹנְ כַמוֹ
מַי חַטוּ מַיסְקַחְסִיחַיַה טוֹחַיגוֹ שַׂיכַחׁם טוּכְנַמוֹ

אַנוֹנִימוֹ (פוֹאֵימַה דֵי יוֹסֶף)

Appendix B

List of Chapter Titles

Although in the primary work, only the first chapters were analyzed, it is useful to see the global structure employed to Ximénez in the *Luzero*. Here I include a list of the chapters contained in the *Luzero* (with modernized spelling) and their accompanying translations into English.

List of chapters in the *Luzero de la vida christiana*

N.º	Título	Title
	Primera parte	*First parte*
1	De la incarnación del hijo de Dios y de su conveniencia y necesidad	On the Incarnation of the Son of God and on its Convenience and Necessity
2	De la concepción e incarnación del hijo de Dios	On the Conception and Incarnation of the Son of God
3	De la Anunciación hecha a la Virgen por el ángel	On the Annunciation made to the Virgin by the angel
4	Como el artículo de la Incarnación fue siempre y divinalmente ordenado	How the article of the Incarnation was always and divinely ordained
5	De la inefable excelencia e inmensos privilegios de la materia y orden de la concepción de Nuestro Salvador	On the ineffable excellence and immense privileges of the material and nature of the conception of Our Savior
6	Qué enfermedades y defectos nuestros recibió el Salvador	Which of our diseases and defects the Savior received
7	De los inmensos beneficios que hizo Dios en su incarnación al linaje humano	On the immense benefits that God made in his incarnation into the human lineage
8	Como la Señora fue a visitar la santa Elisabeth, su prima, y de la sospecha y turbación que hubo José cuando vio a la Señora preñada	How the Lady went to visit Saint Elizabeth, her cousin, and on the suspicion and troubles that Joseph had when he saw the Lady pregnant
9	Si fue conveniente que la Virgen Nuestra Señora fuese desposada, pues había de fincar siempre virgen	If it was fitting that the Virgin Our Lady were married, since she was to remain forever virgin
10	Si fuera verdadero matrimonio entre la Virgin, Nuestra Señora, y Joseph	If the marriage between the Virgin, our Lady, and Joseph was real
11	Si pecara José trayendo la Virgen, su esposa, a su casa, creyendo que hubiese cometido adulterio	If Joseph sinned in bringing the Virgin, his wife, to his home, believing that she had committed adultery
12	De la Natividad del Señor	On the Nativity of the Lord
13	De las maravillas que aparecieron en la natividad del Salvador	On the marvels that appeared at the Nativity of the Savior

List of chapters in the *Luzero de la vida christiana*, continued

N.º	Título	Title
14	De la circuncisión de Cristo	On the circumcision of Christ
15	Como los tres reyes magos vinieron de oriente a adorar el Señor	How the three Magi came from the East to give adoration to the Lord
16	Por qué San Mateo dice que el Salvador era nacido en Belén	Why Saint Matthew says that the Savior was born in Bethlehem
17	De qué tierra vinieron los reyes magos a adorar a Cristo	From which land the Magi came to give adoration to Christ
18	Por qué los reyes magos entraron en Jerusalén como Jesucristo estuviese nacido en Belén	Why the Magi entered in Jerusalem as Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem
19	Qué estrella fue la que guiaba los magos y cómo se movía y quién la podía ver	What star was the the one that guided the Magi and how it moved and who could see it
20	De la turbación de herodes y de Jerusalén cuando los magos entraron en la ciudad y cómo fueron tres Herodes	On Herod and Jerusalem's troubling when the Magi entered into the city and how there were three Herods
21	Cómo los reyes llegaron a Belém y conocieron y adoraron a Jesús, y qué se hizo de la estrella	How the Magi arrived in Bethlehem and met and gave adoration to Jesus, and what happened to the star
22	Qué sintió la Señora cuando entraron a adorar el Niño los reyes, y de los dones que ofrecieron y cómo se expendieron	What the Lady felt when the Magi entered to give adoration to the Baby and on the gifts that they offered and how they were used
23	Cómo los magos alumbrados por el angel volvieron a su tierra por otro camino y cómo los habemos de imitar	How the Magi, informed by the Angel, returned to their land by another way and how we should imitate them
24	Cómo la Señora y José fueron a Jerusalén y ofrecieron el Niño en el templo y de las cosas que ende acaecieron	How the Lady and Joseph went to Jerusalem and offered the Baby in the temple and on the things that thence happened
25	De la manifestación de la Natividad del Señor	On the manifestation of the Nativity of the Lord

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N.º	Título	Title
26	Cómo la Señora y José vinieron a Nazareth, y dende amonestados por el angel huyeron a Egipto con el niño Jesús, y de las cosas y maravillas de Egipto	How the Lady and Joseph came to Nazareth, and thence warned by the angel fled to Egypt with the baby Jesus and of the things and marvels of Egypt
27	De cómo Herodes mató los inocentes pensando matar al niño Jesús	On how Herod killed the innocents intending to kill the baby Jesus
28	De cómo la Señora y José se partieron de Egipto y volvieron a Nazaret su tierra	On how the Lady and Joseph left Egypt and returned to Nazareth, their land
29	Por qué muerto Herodes mandó el ángel a José que volviese a tierra de Judea con el Niño y con su madre	Why, with Herod having died, the angel instructed Joseph to return to the the land of Judeah with the Baby and his mother
30	De cómo José y la Señora olvidaron al niño Jesús en Jerusalén	On how Joseph and the Lady left the child Jesus in Jerusalem
31	Cómo toda la Santa Escritura del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento es historia de solo Dios y no de alguna otra persona en todo ni en parte, y cómo Dios se considera en tres maneras y de la excelencia del pueblo judaico	How all of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is only about God and not any other person in whole or in part, and how God is seen in three natures and on the excellence of the Jewish people
32	Cómo el pueblo judaico cesó de ser pueblo de Dios en la muerte de Cristo y persecución de sus apóstoles y es sinagoga de Satanás	How in the death of Christ and persecution of his apostles the Jewish people ceased to be the people of God and is the sinagogue of Satan
33	Que Dios es considerado en la Santa Escritura como gobernador	That God is considered as governor in the Holy Scripture
34	De las cosas que se recuentan en los evangelios de la Virgen Nuestra Señora	On the things that are told in the gospels about the Virgen Our Lady

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N.º	Título	Title
35	De la excelencia y dignidad y oficio de san Juan Bautista y por qué los evangelistas recuentan tanto sus hechos más que de ninguna otra persona	On the excellence and dignity and office of Saint John the Baptist and why the evangelists recount so much of his works, more than any other person
36	Del bautismo de Cristo y cómo fue bautizado por san Juan en el río Jordán	On Christ's baptism and how he was baptized by Saint John
37	De las cosas que acaecieron en el río Jordán en el bautismo de Cristo	On the things that happened in the Jordan River during Christ's baptism
38	Del ayuno de Cristo en el desierto	On Christ's fast in the desert
39	Cómo Cristo podía orar como fuese Dios y cómo podía estar tan luengo tiempo en la oración	How Christ could pray like God and how he could be in prayer for so long
40	De la tentación que el Diablo hizo a Cristo en el desierto después del ayuno	On the tempting of Christ by the Devil in the desert after the fast
41	De la orden de la narración evangélica después del ayuno y tentación de Cristo y de las cosas que profetizaron los profetas del Mesías	On the order of the gospel narration after the fast and tempting of Crist and the things that the prophets prophecized about the Messiah
42	Como nuestro Salvador de su propia y deliberada voluntad vino a Jerusalén a ofrecerse a la muerte de cruz y derramar su sangre por redempción del mundo	How our Savior of his own and deliberate will came to Jerusalem to offer himself to death on a cross and to spill his blood for the redemption of the world
43	De la cena del Señor en Betania y de las cosas que acacieron en ella	On the Lord's supper in Bethany and on the things that happened during it
44	De la venida del Señor en Jerusalén del día de ramos	On the Lord's arrival in Jerusalem on the day of palms
45	Cómo el Señor, viendo la ciudad de Jerusalén, lloró sobre ella	How the Lord, siending the city of Jerusalem, cried over her

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N.º	Título	Title
46	Cómo el Señor derribó las catedras y mesas de los cambiadores que estaban en el templo y echó de él los negociantes y animalias que ende se vendían	How the Lord tore down the tables and chairs of the money changers that were in the templo and how he tossed out from it the businessmen and animals that were sold there
47	Qué año y qué día cenó el señor la última cena en Jerusalén con sus discípulos y padeció y murió	In what year and day the Lord ate the last supper in Jerusalem with his disciples, suffered, and died
48	De la cena del Señor con sus discípulos en Jerusalén	On the Lord's supper with his disciples in Jerusalem
49	Como el Señor lavó los pies a sus discípulos	How the Lord washed the feet of his disciples
50	De la fraterna correción de Judas hecha por Cristo y cómo fue principio de la pasión de Cristo cuanto al efecto de ella	On Christ's fraternal correction of Judas and how it was the beginning of the passion of Christ with respect to its effect
51	De la institución del sacramento de la Eucaristía hecha en fin de la cena y de los cinco efectos del amor	On the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist made at the end of the supper on the five effects of love
52	Del sermón que el Señor hizo a sus discípulos después de la cena	On the sermon that the Lord gave to his disciples after the supper
53	De la passión del Señor	On the passion of the Lord
54	De la primera estación que comienza en el cenáculo y se termina en el monte Olivete	On the first station which begins in the cenacle and ends on the Mount of Olives
55	De la segunda estación que comienza del monte Olivete y se termina en la casa de Anás y Caifás	On the second station that begins on the Mount of Olives and ends at the house of Annas and Caiphas
56	De la tercera estación que comienza de la dicha casa y se termina en el concilio de los judíos	On the third station that begins in said house and ends in the Jewish Council
57	De la cuarta estación que comienza del concilio de los judías y se termina al preterio de Pilato	On the fourth station that begins at the Jewish Council and ends in Pilate's praetorium

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58	De la quinta estación que comienza del pretorio del Pilato y se termina en el palacio de Herodes	On the fifth station that begins at Pilate's praetorium and ends in Herod's palace
59	De la sexta estación que comienza del palacio de Herodes y se termina en el tribunal del Pilato	On the sixth station that begins in Herod's palace and ends in Pilate's court
60	De la séptima estación que comienza del pretorio de Pilato y se termina en el monte Calvario	On the seventh station that begins in Pilate's praetorium and ends on Mount Calvary
61	De la octava estación que comienza en el monte Calvario y se termina en la cruz	On the eighth station that begins on Mount Calvary and ends on the cross
62	De las siete palabras que dijo el Señor estando en la cruz	On the seven words that the Lord said while on the cross
63	De las cosas y maravillas que aparecieron cuando el Señor expiró en la cruz	On the things and marvels that appeared when the Lord expired on the cross
64	Cómo la Señora con San Juan y sus devotas quedó con el Señor después que expiró en la cruz y cómo Longinos con una lanza le abrió el costado después de muerto	How the Lady with Saint John and his faithful stayed with the Lord until after he expired on the cross and how Longinus opened his side with a lance after he head died
65	De la nona estación que comienza de encima de la cruz y se termina al pie de ella	On the ninth station that begins on top of the cross and ends at the foot of it
66	De la décima estación que comienza del pie de la cruz y se termina a la puerta del monumento	On the tenth station that begins at the foot of the cross and ends at the door of the monument
67	De la oncena estación que comienza de la puerta del monumento y se termina en el mismo monumento	On the eleventh station that begins at the door of the monument and ends in the same monument
68	De la docena estación que comienza del monumento y se termina a la morada de Nuestra Señora	On the twelfth station that begins at the monument and ends at the house of Our Lady

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N.º	Título	Title
69	De la resurección del Señor y de la orden de la resurreción	On the Lord's resurrection and on the order of the resurrection
70	De las cuatro dotes que serán en los cuerpos gloriosos y fueron en el cuerpo de Cristo en muy mayor excelencia y perfección, y de la primera dote	On the four qualities that will be in the glorious bodies and were in Christ's body in great excellent and perfection, and on the first quality
71	De la segunda dote	On the second quality
72	De la tercera dote	On the third quality
73	De la cuarta dote	On the fourth quality
74	Si el ojo no glorificado podrá ver la luz del cuerpo glorioso sin corrupción y fatiga	If the unglorified eye can see the light of the glorious body without corruption or fatigue
75	Cómo salió el cuerpo de Jesucristo del monumento cerrado y sellado y del vientre de la Virgen y cómo el cuerpo glorioso se puede penetrar y pasar cualesquier otros cuerpos no gloriosos y cómo pueden quedar las cosas sin sus propios efectos y cómo Dios ciega y endurece algunos y de otros efectos mirables	How the body of Christ Jesus left the closed and sealed monument and on the Virgen's womb and how the glorious body can penetrate and pass through other non-glorious bodies and how things can remain without their natural effects and how God blinds and hardens some and on other visible effects
76	Cómo el Señor apreció a la Magdalena y a las otras Marías	How the Lord felt about Mary Magdalene and the other Marys
77	Cómo el Señor apareció a San Pedro y a los otros discípulos que iban a Emaús	How the Lord appeared to Saint Peter and to the other disciples who were going to Emmaus
78	Cómo los gloriosos se pueden demostrar u ocultar a los no gloriosos	How the glorious things can be demonstrated or hidden to the non-glorious
79	Cómo la resurección del Señor fue probada por probaciones necesarias	How the Lord's resurrection was proven through necessary proofs

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N.º	Título	Title
80	Cómo apareció el Señor a todos los discípulos al octavo día de su resurección y a Santo Tomás con ellos	How the Lord appeared to all the disciples on the eight day after his resurrection and to Saint Thomas with them
81	De la Ascensión del Señor	On the Ascension of the Lord
82	De la missión del Espíritu Santo	On the mission of the Holy Spirit
83	Cómo el Evangelio y fe católica por tan pocos y en tan poco tiempo pudo ser predicada y recebida por todo el mundo	How the Gospel and Catholic faith were, in such short time and numbers, able to be preached and received throughout the world
84	De los impedimientos y ayudas que tuvieron los apóstoles cuando predicaron la fe y evangelio por todo el mundo	On the On the impediments and assistance that the apostoles had when preaching the faith and gospel throughout the world
85	De cuatro examinaciones y persecuciones de nuestra santa fe católica	On the four examinations and persecutions of our holy Catholic faith
86	Por qué todos los que venían a Jesucristo y oían su predicación no creían en el, y por qué todos los que oían la predicación de los apóstoles no creían y se convertían	Why all who came to Christ and heard his words did not believe in him, and why all who heard the preaching of the apostles did not believe and convert
87	Cómo por la passión y muerte de Jesucristo fuimos redemidos y liberados del pecado y del Diablo y del Infierno	How by the passion and death of Christ Jesus we were redeemed and liberated from sin and from the Devil and from Hell
	Segunda parte	*Second part*
88	Del fundamento de la Iglesia Católica y de los artículos de la fe	On the foundation of the Catholic Church and on the articles of faith
89	Qué cosa es sacramento y de su institución y virtud y dónde proviene y por qué son diversos sacramentos	What a sacrament is and on its institution and virtue and where it comes from and why the sacraments are diverse

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N.º	Título	Title
90	Para qué fueron instruidos los sacramentos de la ley de gracia y la virtud y causa de ellos	Wherefore the sacraments of the law of grace were institution and their cause
91	De la perfección, efecto, número y orden de los sacramentos de la ley de gracia	On the perfection, effect, number, and order of the sacraments of the law of grace
92	Del sacramento del bautismo y de las cosas que se requieren a él	On the sacrament of baptism and on the things that require it
93	Del efecto del sacramento del baptismo y cómo quita todas las culpas y penas por ellas debidas	On the effect of the sacrament of baptism and how it removes guilt and pain due for it [the guilt]
94	Del sacramento de la confirmación	On the sacrament of confirmation
95	Del sacramento de la eucaristía y de sus nombres y figuras y de la materia, forma y ministro	On the sacrament of the Eucharist and on its names and figures and on the nature, form, and ministry
96	En qué manera están en este sacramento el cuerpo y sangre de Cristo y los accidentes sin sujeto	In what way the body and blood of Christ and the subjectless accidentals are in this sacrament
97	Del efecto del sacramento de la eucaristía	On the effect of the sacrament of the Eucharist
98	Cuándo y cómo se ha de recebir este sacramento	When and how one is to receive this sacrament
99	Del sacramento de la penitencia y de la contrición	On the sacrament of penance and contrition
100	De la confesión vocal y por qué se hace	On vocal confession and why it is done
101	De las condiciones que ha de tener la confesión y de la declaración de ellas	On the condiciones that one must have confession and on the declaration of them
102	Del efecto, fruto y excelencia y institución del sacramento de la penitencia	On the effect, fruit, and excellence, and the instution of the sacrament of penance

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N.º	Título	Title
103	Por qué la ley de gracia obliga a la confesión vocal que es tan penosa, y si por esto es más grave y más onerosa que la ley de natura y de Moisés que no obligaban a esto y de la excelencia de los sacramentos de la ley de gracia	Why the law of grace obliges vocal confesion that is so painful, and if because of this it is more serious and onerous than the law of natura and of Moses that did not require this, and on the excellence of the sacraments of the law of grace
104	Por qué el hombre ha menester otra ayuda exterior para venir a su propio fin como las otras cosas puedan venir a sus fines por su propia virtud	Why man has need of an other outside help to come to his own end like other things can come to their ends by their own virtue
105	Cómo absuelve el sacerdote al penitente de los pecados	How the priest absolves the penitent of his sins
106	De la pulsación interior y cómo el que está en pecado mortal se levanta y sale de él por virtud del sacramento de la penitencia y de la absolución sacerdotal	On the inner pulsation and how he who is in mortal sin rises up and leaves it by virtue of the sacrament of penance and priestly absolution
107	De los impedimientos de la confesión y remedios contra ellos	On the impediments to confession and remedies against them
108	De la satisfacción, efecto y fruto de ella, y cómo hay dos foros, divino y humano, y qué pertenece a cada uno de ellos y del modo de satisfacer	On the satisfaction, effect and fruit of it, and how there are two fora, divine and human, and what pertains to each one of them and the way to satisfy them
109	Cómo es remetida la pena temporal y purgatoria	How temporal and purgatorial punishment is remedied
110	Cómo la pena temporal y purgatoria se remite y quita por las indulgencias que la Iglesia concede	How temporal and purgatorial punishment is remedied and removed by the indulgences that the Church grants
111	Cuál ha de ser el confesor y del sello de la confesión y de la forma de la absolución	Who must be the confessor and on the seal of the confession and on the form of absolution

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N.º	Título	Title
113	De la confesión y remisión de los veniales	On confession and the remission of venial [sins]
114	Del sacramento de la extrema unción y virtud y efecto de él	On the sacrament of extreme unction and virtue and effect of it
115	Del sacramento de la orden sacra y de su institución	On the sacrament of the holy order and on its institution
116	Qué cosa es carácter y claves y cómo se distinguen	What character and keys are and how they are distinguished
117	De la institución, condición y excelencia de la orden clerical	On the institution, condition, and excellence of the clerical order
118	De la regla apostólica de los prelados y clérigos y de la declaración de ella	On the apostolic rules of the prelates and clerics and on the declaration of it
119	Qué cosas convienen al oficio del sacerdote, y cómo es medianero entre Dios y los hombres	What things are proper to the office of the priest, and how it is mediator between God and men
120	Para qué fue instituido el estado y orden de los ministros eclesiásticos y de su condición y oficio	Wherefore the status and order of the ecclesiastic ministers were institution and on their condition and office
121	De la vida, oficio, excelencia y nombres de las personas exclesiásticas	On the life, office, excellence, and names of exclessiastic people
122	Del sacramento del matrimonio, cómo y para qué fue ordenado y del fin y bienes de él	On the sacrament of marriage, how and wherefore it was ordained and on the end and goods of it
123	Cómo el matrimonio es indivisible entre un varón y una hembra y por qué crio Dios un hombre solo y del amor y fidelidad que ha de ser entre el marido y la mujer	How marriage is indivisible between a man and a woman and why God created a single man and on the love and fidelity that must be between a husband and wife
124	Qué cosa es el matrimonio y de los impedimientos de él, y cuándo pecan los casados en el acto matrimonial	What matrimony is and the impediments to it, and when married people sin in the marrital act

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	Tercera parte	*Third part*
125	De la ley dada por Dios a Moisés y de las cosas que contenía	On the law given by God to Moses and on the things that it contained
126	De los preceptos de la ley de Moisés y diversidad de ellos	On the precepts of the law of Moses and the diversity of them
127	Por qué la ley de Moisés como fuese buena y dada por dios fue quitado y cesó	Why the law of Moses being good and given by God was removed and ended
128	Si la ley de Moisés fue soluta y quitada y por quién y cómo	If the law of Moses was ended and removed and by whom and how
129	Cómo Cristo cumplió y no evacuó la ley de Moisés	How Christ fulfilled and did not empty the law of Moses
130	Cómo cesó la ley vieja dada por Moisés y subcedió y comenzó la ley nueva y gracia dada por Cristo nuestro salvador	How the old law given by Moses ended and subseded and a new law and grace given by Christ our savior began
131	Qué diferencia es entre la ley humana y la divina y entre el foro humano y foro divino, y por qué la ley humana permite algunos vicios y la divina ninguno	What difference there is between human and divine law and between the human forum and the divine forum, and why human law allows some vices and the divine none
132	De las quince señales no verdaderas que dicen que precederán el juicio final	On the fifteen untrue signs that are said to precede the final judgement
133	De las señales verdaderas que precederán el juicio	On the true signs that will precede the judgement
134	Cómo las señales que precederán el juicio determinan el tiempo del juicio y cómo podrá ser seguridad en los hombres	How the signs that will precede the judgement determine the time of judgement and how there can be surity in men
135	Cómo y por qué será juicio general y vendrán a él todos los que fueron engendrados	How and why there will be general judgement and all who were conceived will come to him

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N.º	Título	Title
136	Cómo vendrá todos al juicio general	How all will come to the final judgement
137	Del lugar donde será el juicio	On the place that will be the judgement
138	Del tiempo en que será el juicio	On the time in which the judgement will be
139	Si resucitarán todos los miembros humores y de la edad y sexo de los resurgentes	If all the humorous parts will be resurrected and on the age and sex of the risen
140	Si habrá varones y hembras en la resurección según que fueron primero	If there will be men and women in the resurrection according to what they were first
141	Si habrán vergüenza los hombres y las mujeres después de la resurección de sus miembros vergonzosos según la habían aquí	If men and women will have shame for their shameful members after the resurrection as they had here
142	De la orden y división que será entre los buenos y los malos en el jucio	On the order and division that will be between the good and evil in the judgement
143	Cómo vendrá el juez soberano a juzgar	How the sovereign judge will come to judge
144	De las cosas que se dirán en el juicio; si se dirán mental o vocalménte	On the things that will be said in the judgement; if they will be said mentally or vocally
145	Qué libros estarán en el juicio	On the books that will be at the judgement
146	De la sentencia y execución del juicio final	On the sentence and execution of the final judgement
147	Del lugar, disposición y penas del Infiero	On the place, disposition and pains of Hell
148	De las penas espirituales y miseria de los dañados	On the spiritual pains and misery of the damned

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N.º	Título	Title
149	Cómo el fuego del Infierno como sea corporea puede afligir y quemar los demonios y las animas dañadas; qué son espíritus afligidos	How the fires of Hell being corporeal can afflict and burn demons and damned souls; what are afflicted spirits
150	Si el dañado puede padecer justamente contrarias penas así como calor y frío	If the damned can suffer rightly contrarian pains such as heat and cold
151	Como el fuego del Infierno quemará los cuerpos de los dañados y no los consumirá ni resolverá en ceniza como a los otros cuerpos	How the fires of Hell will burn the bodies of the damned and will not consume them nor turn them into ashes like other bodies
152	Por qué se da pena eterna por el pecado mortal que es momentáneo y pasa presto	Why eternal punishment is given for mortal sin which is momentay and passes quickly
153	Del Purgatorio y cómo van las almas a él y dónde es y por qué se llama así	On Purgatory and how the souls go to it and where it is and why it is so called
154	De las penas del Purgatorio: acerbidad y duración de ellas	On the punishments of Purgatory: harshness and duration of them
155	De la gloria final de los buenos y cómo recebirán doce gozos inefables	On the final glory of the good and how they will receive twelve ineffable joys
156	De la invocación del mundo y de la disposición que quedará después del juicio para siempre en los cuerpos celiastes y elementos	On the invocation of the world and on the disposition that will remain forever on the celestial bodies and elements after the judgement

Vita

Matthew Stephen Stuckwisch was born in Auburn, Alabama, to the parents of Frances Antoñita and Stephen Ebert Stuckwisch. He attended high school at Auburn High School. For university, he went to the University of Alabama for his Bachelor of Arts in Spanish and Digital Media while working at the Gorgas Library Samford Media Center and graduated in 2005. Afterwards, he returned home for his Masters of Arts in Spanish at Auburn University while working at the Ralph B. Draughon Media and Digital Resource Laboratory and working as a graduate teaching assistant. His master's thesis, "María de Zayas y Sotomayor: Egalitarian Poetic Justice in the Spanish Golden Age", was directed by Dr. Ted E. McVay, Jr., and completed in 2008. He taught at CEIP Rayuela (Villanueva del Pardillo, Spain), CEIP San Ignacio de Loyola (Madrid, Spain), Booker T. Washington High School (Tuskegee, Alabama), and Notasulga High School (Notasulga, Alabama) before coming to the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, in 2011 as a lecturer of Spanish and director of the language laboratory. While completing his doctorate at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, he took courses at the Universidade de Coimbra and the Universidá d'Uviéu.