

## **A SERMON FOR THE FEAST OF SAINT JULIAN THE MARTYR**

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The sermon analysed in this discussion forms part of a manuscript sequence known as Compilation B of the *Flos sanctorum* or *Estoria de los santos*, a sizeable hagiographic collection reworked into Castilian during the mid- to late-fourteenth century from the *Legenda aurea* composed by Jacobus de Voragine in the 1260s. The content of the collection corresponds only superficially to that of Compilation A, a more extensive and carefully crafted anthology, intended in all likelihood for oral delivery (perhaps to monks as they ate in the refectory, or more broadly, within the context of a sermon), which was reworked into the vernacular at about the same time. Its texts, which have not yet been either satisfactorily catalogued or analysed, include a series of Castilian adaptations of the works of the Franciscan preacher, Francesc Eiximenis, which despite occupying a sizeable portion of the five extant manuscripts (BNM 780, BNM 12688, BNM 12689, Escorial h-II-18, and Escorial h-III-22), have not yet received the attention that they deserve<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The inventory published by Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh («Old Spanish Manuscripts of Prose Lives of the Saints and their Affiliations», in *La Corónica*, 15 (1986–87), pp. 17–28) is limited to saints and requires revision and expansion. For further information on the scope and styling of the Compilation, see Julián Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 3 vols., Madrid, Imprenta Helénica, 1924–29; «*La vida de Santa María Egipciaca*»: *A Fourteenth-Century Translation of a Work by Paul the Deacon*, ed. by Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh, Exeter, University of Exeter

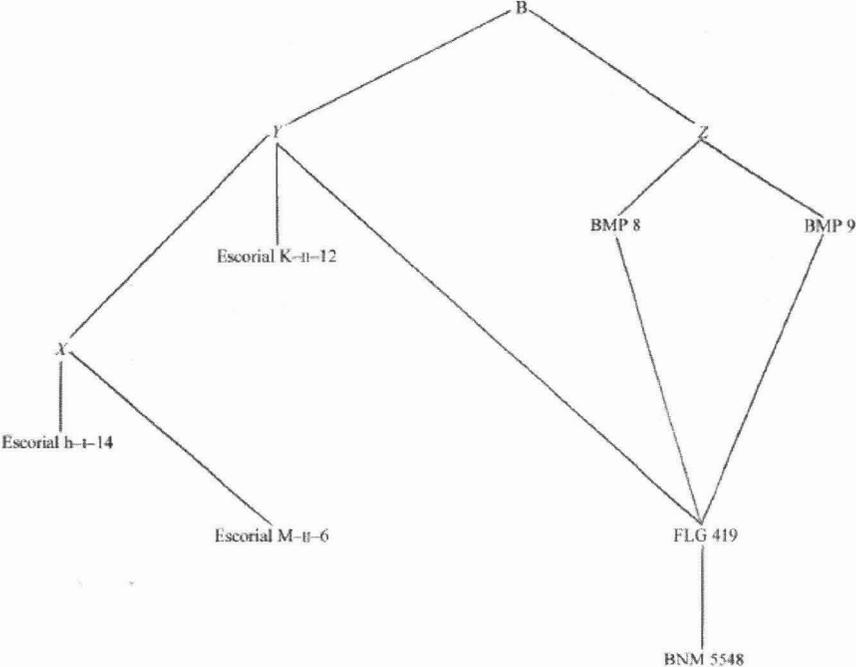
In comparison, Compilation B is a more impoverished collection: its treatment of Voragine's original is sketchy and arbitrary, fewer supplementary texts—such as those of Eiximenis—are included, while its content is frequently compromised by stylistic and conceptual idiosyncrasies produced by a tendency towards ellipsis and linguistic compression. The result is a certain degree of lexical bluntness and a lack of rhythmic and syntactic elegance, the effect of which suggests that it may have functioned more as a means to an end—possibly as an anthology of digests for sermon material to be honed and adapted by novices in delivery from lectern or pulpit—than as a repository of polished literary creations worthy of being read in its own right. The most conspicuous evidence of its deficiency can be seen in its most prominent feature: the extent to which its readings were progressively modified and rewritten, either by meddling scribes or by copyists acting on the instructions of commissioning editors eager to embellish or clarify its literary, aesthetic, or theological qualities. With later recensions this produces texts that, as we shall see in relation to the sermon on Saint Julian, depart significantly from the earliest extant versions, making it difficult in some ways to build them effectively into critical editions<sup>2</sup>.

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Press, 1977; Billy Bussell Thompson, «'Plumbei cordis, oris ferrei': la recepción de la teología de Jacobus a Voragine y su *Legenda aurea* en la Península», in *Saints and their Authors: Studies in Medieval Hispanic Hagiography in Honor of John K. Walsh*, ed. by Jane E. Connolly, Alan Deyermond, and Brian Dutton, Madison, WI, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990, pp. 97–106; Alan Deyermond, «Lost Hagiography in Medieval Spanish: A Tentative Catalogue», in *ibid.*, pp. 139–48; *La leyenda de los santos: «flos sanctorum» del ms. 8 de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, ed. by Fernando Baños Vallejo and Isabel Uría Maqua, Santander, Año Jubilar Lebaniego and Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 2000; Fernando Baños Vallejo, *Las vidas de santos en la literatura medieval española*, Madrid, Laberinto, 2003; Andrew M. Beresford, *The Legend of Saint Agnes in Medieval Castilian Literature*, London, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2007, and *The Legends of the Holy Harlots: Thaïs and Pelagia in Medieval Spanish Literature*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2007; Vanesa Hernández Amez, *Descripción y filiación de los «Flores Sanctorum» medievales castellanos*, Oviedo, Universidad de Oviedo, 2008; Andrew M. Beresford, *The Severed Breast: The Legends of Saints Agatha and Lucy in Medieval Castilian Literature*, Newark, DE, Juan de la Cuesta, 2010, and «From Virgin Martyr to Holy Harlot: Female Saints in the Middle Ages and the Problem of Classification», in *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*, ed. by Xon de Ros and Geraldine Coates, Woodbridge, Tamesis, in press.

<sup>2</sup> For editorial dilemmas, see «*La vida de San Alejo*»: *versiones castellanas*, ed. by Carlos Alberto Vega, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, pp. 83–85, Beresford, *Agnes*, pp. 34–39, and, *The Severed Breast*, pp. 15–30 and 59–84. The edition

A tentative overview of manuscript filiations was published in 1986–87 by Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh in a groundbreaking discussion of the formation and dissemination of Compilation A. Their reading of Compilation B, which is recorded fleetingly in a footnote, postulates links between five medieval manuscripts (Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 8, Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14) which can be supplemented by Biblioteca Nacional 5548, an eighteenth-century copy of FLG 419, and a sixth medieval codex, Escorial M-II-6, which they overlooked<sup>3</sup>. Recent textual studies have built on this foundation, and the result has been the confection of a stemma in which the complex web of textual relationships can be represented graphically:



included as an appendix is based on BMP 9 (A) and lists variants from FLG 419 (B) and BNM 5548 (C). The random distribution of *i/j* and *u/v* has been regularized, while word-initial *ff-*, *rr-*, and *ss-* are transcribed as *f-*, *r-*, and *s-*. The consonant *ç* is retained before *a*, *o*, and *u*, but is otherwise transcribed as *c*. Accentuation, punctuation, and word division follow modern practice.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson and Walsh, *art. cit.*, p. 17 n1.

The stemma shows that as the archetype of the Compilation has been lost, it cannot be dated, or its original content determined, with any degree of certainty. The same is true of the first phase of copying, which includes the production of Z, the ancestor of BMP 8 and BMP 9 (which are linked by common errors that are unlikely to have been present in the archetype), and Y, which produced an all but separate line of textual descent, leading ultimately to Escorial K-II-12, Escorial h-I-14, and Escorial M-II-6. A complication, establishing a bridge between the two otherwise independent portions of the stema, can be seen in the fact that the second part of FLG 419 was copied from Y, the ancestor of Escorial K-II-12. FLG 419 was then copied in the eighteenth century into BNM 5548, which contains an identical sequence of texts<sup>4</sup>.

A distinctive feature of the Compilation is its treatment of Saint Julian. In Voragine's original, which broadly observes the liturgical-sanctoral cycle, Julian's feast is placed immediately after that of Paula (26 January) as the last of those that fall in the time of pilgrimage. A fresh portion of the calendar then begins with five pre-Easter feasts (Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Quadragesima, and the Ember Day Fasts), which are followed sequentially by John Chrysostom (27 January) and Ignatius (1 February). In this way the reading for Julian falls awkwardly at the start of a digression as the first of two to be held on 27 January, the traditional date of the feast of Julian of Le Mans.

The question of identification, however, is complicated by the unique configuration of Voragine's narrative, which discusses four other men of the same name: Julian of Auvergne (or of Briaude), Julian the Hospitaller, Julian, brother of Saint Julius, and Julian the Apostate. Of this group, it is noticeable that the feasts of Julian the Hospitaller (29 January) and Julian, brother of Saint Julius (31 January) fall at the end of January, and so it becomes tempting to assume that the rationale for composition can be explained partly in relation to the proximity of their feasts. This, one must assume, led Voragine initially to link them to Julian of Le Mans (27 January) in the interests of convenience, and then, for safe measure, to factor in discussion of two further men of the

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<sup>4</sup> For a fuller and more detailed explanation of the various stages involved in the formation of the stemma, see Beresford, *The Severed Breast*, and for a different view, Hernández Amez, *ob. cit.*

same name: a second French saint, Julian of Auvergne, and rather more daringly, Julian the Apostate, the antithesis of saintly humility<sup>5</sup>.

The manuscripts of Compilation B add a series of further complications, as it is here that Julian's feast becomes subject to chronological and sequential development. An important modification can be seen in the omission throughout the Compilation of the reading for John Chrysostom and the five Lenten celebrations, as this establishes a more significant interval between Julian and Ignatius, making the period between 27 and 31 January a potentially moveable feast capable of catering for the three Julians traditionally celebrated at this time.

In one branch of the stemma, as can be seen, for instance, in Escorial h-I-14 (fols 54<sup>ra</sup>-55<sup>vb</sup>), a manuscript that takes a proactive approach towards matters of structure, styling, and expression, the reading is positioned between the Conversion of Saint Paul (25 January) and Ignatius (1 February). Its multiple function is reflected by its rubric, which comments uniquely on inclusivity with the curious formulation «De las vidas de los *sanctos* Julianes» (fol. 54<sup>ra</sup>). A related development takes place in Escorial M-II-6, where the chapter is subdivided into individual sections for reasons that have not yet been fully understood: its initial (incomplete) portion offering the concluding stages of a treatment of Julian the Hospitaller (fol. 19<sup>r</sup>), and the second dealing with Julian of Le Mans, Julian of Auvergne, and Julian, brother of Saint Julius (fol. 55<sup>r-v</sup>). Confirmation of its potential for use in the interval between 27 and 31 January can be seen in the fact that while the former

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<sup>5</sup> For studies of identification and contextualization, see: Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints Compiled from Original Monuments and Other Authentic Records, Illustrated with the Remarks of Judicious Modern Critics and Historians*, 12 vols. in 4, New York, P. J. Kennedy, 1903, I: pp. 116-17, 275, 281-82, 425-26, 455-58, 480-81, 597-98; III: pp. 37-38, 550-51, 713-14; IV: p. 234; Baudouin de Gaiffier, «Le légende de Sainte Julien l'Hospitalier», in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 63 (1945), pp. 144-219; George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 25, 127, and 181; J. C. J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1983, p. 152; The Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church* [1921], 6th ed., London, A. C. Black, 1989, pp. 324-27; and David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* [1984], 4th ed., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 279-80.

is followed by Ignatius, the latter is followed by an interpolated reading for Bridget, whose feast also falls on 1 February.

Elsewhere in the Compilation the situation is different. In Escorial K-II-12, which offers an all but complete rendition of the cycle before its premature conclusion with Matthew (21 September), the reading for Julian is omitted for reasons unknown along with those of Thomas of Canterbury and Paul, texts that must have been present in the source from it was copied. In the oldest extant manuscripts, BMP 8 (fols 34<sup>rb</sup>–35<sup>va</sup>) and BMP 9 (fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>–<sup>vb</sup>), which are, with some exception, relatively orthodox in their treatment of the liturgical-sanctoral calendar, there is an equally significant development, as the reading for Julian is offered between those of Gervasius and Protasius on 19 June and the Nativity of John the Baptist on 24 June<sup>6</sup>. This, as one might expect, is duplicated by FLG 419 (fols 67<sup>rb</sup>–69<sup>ra</sup>), which is more unconventional, running twice through the calendar so as to offer a more comprehensive treatment, and BNM 5548, which is a later copy.

An explanation for this development is not easy to find: of the remaining Julians covered by Voragine, Julian the Apostate falls outside the calendar for obvious reasons, while Julian of Auvergne is traditionally celebrated on 28 August, more than a month after the window offered by the manuscripts to adopt this sequence. In view of this, it becomes logical to assume that the reading for Julian, located by Voragine on 27 January, has been either confused or associated deliberately with that of a sixth Julian, and has advanced correspondingly forward through the cycle to occupy 21 June, a date assigned to Julian of Tarsus (known also as Julian of Anazarbus or Julian of Cilicia), a Christian of senatorial rank martyred under Diocletian in the early fourth century. The problem, however, is that 21 June corresponds to Julian's position in the Eastern calendar, with its Western equivalent celebrating his martyrdom on 16 March.

The modification is thus somewhat enigmatic, and in view of this, it may not be possible to understand its significance until such time as further manuscripts come to light. In the interim, what can be seen is that the reading for Julian assumes special status in the Compilation, appearing in four manuscripts (BMP 8, BMP 9, FLG 419, and BNM

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<sup>6</sup> For the text of BMP 8, see Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua, *ob. cit.*, pp. 175–78. The remaining Compilation B recensions have not been edited.

5548) in an unorthodox position, cut mysteriously in a fifth (Escorial K-II-12), subdivided idiosyncratically in a sixth (Escorial M-II-6), and renamed in a seventh (Escorial h-I-14). No other Compilation B reading conforms to such a complex and unusual pattern<sup>7</sup>.

The most significant anomaly to affect Julian, however, is that in addition to a specific reading, he is also the subject of a short hagiographic sermon. This text makes him all but unique within the Compilation, and it may be that the unusual treatment of his feast is somehow related to its inclusion<sup>8</sup>. The earliest extant version of the text appears in BMP 9 (fol. 62<sup>ra-vb</sup>) in a sequence of works inserted into the fi-

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<sup>7</sup> Despite adding a number of national saints, Compilation B makes no reference to Julian of Cuenca, whose feast (January 28) is celebrated at the same time, or Julian of Toledo, who is mentioned in the *Estoria de España (Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2 vols., Madrid, Gredos, 1958) notably in chapter 541, which offers an account of his life (*ob. cit.*, I: p. 301ab), chapter 543, which discusses the defense of his book on the Trinity (*ob. cit.*, I: p. 302a), and chapter 551, which gives his name in a list (*ob. cit.*, I: p. 305b). He is also mentioned in passing in the *Vida de San Alifonso por metros («La vida de san Alifonso por metros» (ca. 1302)*, in *Romance Philology* (special supplement), 46.1, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, p. 130 (stanza 266), but see also Butler, *ob. art. cit.*, I: p. 207 and 548–49) and was later celebrated in painting by none other than Eugenio Cajés (1575–1634). A third Spaniard, Julian of Saint Augustine (8 April), died in 1606 and was beatified in 1825.

<sup>8</sup> Three other Compilation B sermons are «Aquí comienza el sermón ‘De invencio Sancti Stephani’, que quier dezir ‘Del fallamiento del cuerpo de Sant Esteban» (BMP 9, fols. 62<sup>vb</sup>–63<sup>ra</sup>), «De la nascencia de Nuestro Señor Jhesu Christo segund cuenta Sant Matheo apóstol e evangelista» (BMP 9, fols. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, but see also FLG 419 fols. 153<sup>va</sup>–54<sup>va</sup>), and «El sermón de la Pasión de Jhesu Christo que predicó frey Vicente en Murcia e tomó por tema ‘Secundum legem debet mori, legitur verbum istud originaliter et recitative est in passione odierna» (Escorial M-II-6, fols. 103<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>). The latter is glossed by a supplementary incipit that clarifies the attribution to Saint Vincent Ferrer and reiterates the reference to Murcia, where he is reputed to have preached in 1411: «Otra muy devota pasión del Nuestro Señor Jhesu Christo, la qual predicó en Murcia el Santo Frey Vicente». For further information, see Julián Zarco Cuevas, «Sermón de Pasión predicado en Murcia por S. Vicente Ferrer», in *La Ciudad de Dios*, 148 (1927), pp. 122–47. A related text in BMP 9 (fols. 16<sup>r</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>), offered in place of Voragine’s reading for the Holy Spirit, assumes a very different form but is classified nonetheless by Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez («Vernacular Preaching in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan», in *The Sermon*, ed. by Beverley Mayne Kienzle, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000, pp. 759–858) as a sermon (see pp. 790–71).

nal portion of the manuscript in order to expand its otherwise limited chronological frame of reference. Its position in the calendar is in this respect difficult to determine, for after the conclusion of the main cycle with the feast of Catherine of Alexandria (25 November), the copyist returns to the earlier portion of the year by offering chronologically sequential accounts of Longinus (15 March), Ambrose (4 April), George (23 April), the Seven Sleepers (27 July), and Jerome (30 September), followed by the sermon on Saint Julian and a (now fragmentary) homiletic treatment of the protomartyr Stephen (26 December).

The text in this way falls not on 21 June, as is the case with the main reading, but between 1 October and 25 December. This, of course, could be nothing more than an error of judgement, particularly as the sequential ordering of the manuscript is prone elsewhere to inversion. It may be, however, that the reading and the sermon were designed to celebrate different saints, and the two most plausible candidates in this respect are Julian, Eunus, Macarius, and Companions (30 October), who were martyrs of Alexandria under Decius, and Julian and Caesarius (1 November), who were martyred at Terracina. These saints seem plausible in purely sequential terms, but as references to their cults or legacy have not been preserved elsewhere in the Compilation (or, indeed, in related medieval Castilian works), it becomes difficult to be entirely certain. Further confusion is created by the content of the sermon, which deals specifically with a single individual, and by its rubric, which affirms that it could be delivered either on the date of Julian's feast, or more flexibly, on those of other martyrs and confessors: «Este sermón se deve dezir en el día de Sant Julián o de otros mártires qualesquier o de confesores quien sea uno o más nonbrados» (fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>).

The text of BMP 9 was copied and adapted by the scribes who collaborated on the assembly of FLG 419 during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The sermon on Saint Julian appears as the penultimate text of the initial sequence (effectively, as an addendum to an amalgamation of the extant content of BMP 8 and BMP 9) before the manuscript continues with material drawn from the lost manuscript, *Y*. Its position in the calendar is in this way modified, as it becomes sandwiched between a reading for the Nativity (25 December) – a text overlooked during the initial process of selection but subsequently reinserted into the next available place – and the feast of John the Almsgiver (23 January), the first of a fresh chronologically orthodox sequence of texts.

In the hands of the scribes of FLG 419, however, this seemingly fortuitous juxtaposition is subjected to an additional level of complication, for in contrast to the wording of the BMP 9 rubric, the text now becomes conjoined with the two surrounding readings. The result is a degree of contamination not merely with the Gospel account of the Nativity, but the feast of John the Almsgiver: «Declaración deste Evangelio en la fiesta de Sant Jullían e dízelo Sant Juan Limosnero» (fol. 155<sup>rb</sup>). This reading, which is copied verbatim by BNM 5548, is somewhat convoluted, and presents the text not as a sermon for the feast of Saint Julian, but a pronouncement on the Gospel to be read by John the Almsgiver for the feast of Saint Julian.

The question that arises, of course, is that of identification, and in view of the relatively narrow chronological window between 26 December and 22 January, the only plausible candidate is the Julian who was martyred alongside his wife, Basilissa, a figure traditionally celebrated on 9 January. This development returns readers to the problem of identification created by Voragine's original, as the legend of Julian and Basilissa is commonly regarded as the literary prototype of that of Julian the Hospitaller, patron saint of travellers. The most striking evidence of a relationship between the two can be seen in the fact that in addition to undertaking acts of charity in relation to the sick and the poor, in some versions Julian the Hospitaller's wife is also called Basilissa. The extent of the parallel, however, is weakened by the fact that while Julian and Basilissa were martyred, Julian the Hospitaller died of natural causes. The sermon, therefore, is applicable to the former but not the latter, unless, of course, their identities have somehow been conflated<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Julian the Hospitaller is mentioned in his capacity as patron of travellers in a *Cántica de serrana* included in the *Libro de buen amor* (Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. by Manuel Criado de Val and Eric W. Naylor, 2 vols., Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972, p. 274, stanza 963) and in Santillana's *Serranilla VI*, which is a product of the same tradition (Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, *Obras completas*, ed. by Ángel Gómez Moreno and Maximilian P. A. M. Kerkhof, Barcelona, Planeta, 1988, p. 9). A more detailed analogue is offered by the *Espéculo de los legos*, which develops a tale (also recorded by Voragine) in which the saint saves a man from the cold of winter but later discovers that he is an angel («*El espéculo de los legos*»: *texto inédito del siglo XV*, ed. by José María Mohedano Hernández, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951, p. 210, no. 303). A second reference, to «San Julián mártir», summarizes an episode from the legend of Julian of Auvergne in which the saint cures a peasant who had been crippled because he had worked on the Sabbath (*ob. cit.*, p. 184, no. 274).

The importance of the process of manuscript transmission and its impact on problems of interpretation and contextualization becomes clearer when the wording of FLG 419 is compared to that of its original. In certain cases, as can be seen, for instance, in the transition from «*demuestra*» (fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>) to «*muestra*» (fol. 155<sup>rb</sup>), «*suetos*» (fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>) to «*absuetos*» (155<sup>va</sup>), and «*almas*» (fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>) to «*ánimas*» (fol. 156<sup>ra</sup>) it adopts lexical formulations that differ only very slightly from those of BMP 9. Other developments, however, are more significant, and while some assume the form of omissions that simplify the content and styling of its original, on one occasion the scribe fails to copy an entire sentence («*en esse tienpo serán pestilencias e fanbre en la iglesia quando los fieles se tornaren a los hereges*», fol. 62<sup>va</sup>), possibly as a result of eye-skip, but also potentially in the interests of economy. This stands alongside a tendency towards lexical inversion, with «*venga que es dicho desuso*» (fol. 62<sup>va</sup>) reworked as «*que desuso es dicho venga*» (fol. 155<sup>vb</sup>), and a number of developments in temporal structure, some of which imbue the text with a greater degree of directness and precision. These include the rendering of «*amonéstanos e confuértanos*» (fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>) as «*amonestándonoslo*» (fol. 155<sup>rb</sup>), «*martiriavan*» (fol. 62<sup>va</sup>) as «*martirizaren*» (fol. 155<sup>vb</sup>), and «*levades*» (fol. 62<sup>va</sup>) as «*levaredes*» (fol. 155<sup>va</sup>). Interpolation, in contrast, is rare and its contextual effect is limited, suggesting that the process of adaptation is essentially one of clarification and simplification.

The relationship between the manuscripts, although in many ways typical of broader patterns of textual dissemination within the Compilation, becomes more significant when we bear in mind that while FLG 419 and BNM 5548 are unproblematic, BMP 9 has suffered extreme deterioration. The sermon on Saint Julian, which appears as its penultimate extant section, has not survived intact. The weathering of the manuscript's outer margins has ensured that in addition to a number of minor sections, which may have been lost as a result of the process of reading, there are several major lacunae.

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In the longest of the three medieval versions of the legend of Saint Pelagia, *La vida e conversión de Santa Pelagia*, the narrative begins with a chance encounter outside «*la yglesia de Julliano mártir*» (see Beresford, *Holy Harlots*, p. 141). This may be a reference to Julian of Auvergne, but it could also perhaps draw ironically—in view of Pelagia's status as a holy harlot—on the reputation and posthumous significance of the married virgins, Julian and Basilissa.





Piecing together the content of these sections with reference to the two later manuscripts is by no means straightforward, for in addition to the problem of textual development, the scribal hand employed in BMP 9 is poorly formed and at times difficult to decipher. A further problem is that the text is by no means free from error, suggesting that it is a copy of an earlier original. This could to some extent be used to explain the proactive approach to copying in FLG 419, but it is noticeable, by the same token, that various developments take place in relation to portions of the text that are relatively well formed. This, of course, creates something of a dilemma, with the requirements of a coherent and philologically accurate critical edition on the one hand, counterbalanced on the other by an awareness of the fact that the validity of material incorporated from the two later versions remains open to question<sup>10</sup>.

A striking example of textual development, serving as an illustration of the severity of this problem, can be seen in the central portion of the *divisio thematis*, which follows the discussion of Christ's disciples with reference to a figure of special understanding: «entre los *quales* fue *Sant Paulo* especialmente entendiendo» (fol. 62<sup>v</sup><sup>b</sup>). The abbreviation for Saint Paul, which could have been more carefully formed, leads to confusion in FLG 419, with the scribe opting for an all inclusive formulation that, as is the case with his idiosyncratic treatment of the rubric,

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<sup>10</sup> One suspects, notably in the light of the modification to the main reading for Julian, that the original was included in the now lost manuscript, Z. From there, it would have been copied into BMP 9, and probably also into a now lost section of BMP 8. We cannot, of course, be certain that the sermon was ever performed, or indeed, that in its written form it represents an authentic transcript of an attempt on the part of the clergy to convey a positive and constructive lesson on the meaning of martyrdom to a lay audience. We do, however, need to appreciate the existence of a certain degree of tension between the analysis of a written text on the one hand, and the question of performativity on the other. This, to a large extent, could account for the relative blandness of the written version, as the *reportator*—who may, of course, have intended to offer a digest of the sermon rather than an accurate rendition of it—would not have had any real way of recording its performative dimension. This means in effect that in the written version the preacher is artificially extracted from his composition, and that his gestures, emotions, and modulations in stress, pitch, and tone have been lost. The same, of course, is true of the audience, whose engagement with the preacher (or lack thereof) is not recorded. For further information, see Sánchez Sánchez, *art. cit.*, pp. 829–31.

succeeds in modifying the emphasis of the narrative: «Entre los *quales* fue Sant Julián o Fulán especialmente entendiendo» (fol. 155<sup>vb</sup>). This reading passes verbatim into BNM 5548 (fol. 424<sup>r</sup>), making the version of the text preserved in the two later manuscripts somewhat different.

In structural and thematic terms, the most noticeable consequence is a partial diminution of the sermon's explicit frame of reference, with Christ's address to his disciples – a context signalled at the start of the sermon with the formula «*In illo tempore dixit Jesus discipulis suis*» (fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>) – now effectively replaced by a chronologically unorthodox address to Julian and other saints. The effect of this development on the context of the reading – a musing on the signs of the end of age drawn from Luke 21:9–19 (but related also to Matthew 24:6–14 and Mark 13:7–13) – is that it becomes detached not only from Paul but his teachings, many of which are related to the context of the sermon and the passage on which it is based. Amongst the most significant are his observations on the Parousia (I Thessalonians 4:16–17 and II Thessalonians 1:7–10), the general apostasy, the appearance of Antichrist, and the descent into lawlessness (II Thessalonians 2:4–12). It also becomes distanced from the account of his conversion (offered by Voragine on 25 January, two days before that of Julian), a text that reflects analeptically on his past as a persecutor of believers, as well as proleptically on his arrest, persecution, and eventual martyrdom<sup>11</sup>.

Palaeographic and codicological problems aside, the content of the sermon is comparatively straightforward, and although it is relatively brief, its formal structure corresponds to many of the characteristics outlined by Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez in his study and edition of a slightly later collection of medieval Castilian sermons<sup>12</sup>. Its *thema*, identified as Matthew (24:6), is in fact closer to the wording of

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<sup>11</sup> The extent to which this transformation would have been noticed or even understood by ordinary believers, who would not – in the context of oral delivery – have had either the time or the ability to pause in order to consider its wider ramifications, is, of course, an interesting question. It does, however, provide a timely and convenient reminder of the dangers of attempting to read and understand an oral performance text cast artificially in written form and then copied and adapted in a later recension.

<sup>12</sup> *Un sermulario castellano medieval: el ms. 1854 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca*, ed. by Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez, 2 vols., Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1999.

Luke 21:9, and although this could be nothing more than a scribal error, the fact that it occurs in such a prominent position provides cause for concern<sup>13</sup>. In place of a *prothema*, a formal characteristic often omitted in Castilian works of the period, the preacher proceeds directly to the *introductio thematis*. His technique in this respect is traditional, for having indicated the provenance of the *thema*, he resumes the argument, repeats the *thema*, and offers a translation into Castilian before launching into a detailed and substantial portion of explanation and exegesis. This section, which displays a fondness for structural patterns and subdivisions, develops the central metaphor of spiritual warfare that is fundamental to Christ's words to his disciples in the Gospel account. Three evils, he relates, are the world, the devil, and the flesh; and so, in order to combat their strength, believers are encouraged to take up arms and defend themselves as if they were «cava[lleros] de Dios» (fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>). This initial ternary structure is soon matched by a second, as the nature of battle becomes medievalized and based on a familiar image of martial power, with the seat of the devil represented as an earthly castle. It is from here, the audience is told, that he is able to deploy his most powerful weapons: avarice, covetousness, and vaingloriousness<sup>14</sup>.

This section is arguably the most imaginative, as references to the three sins are enlivened by the deployment of traditional rhetorical techniques drawn from the preacher's arsenal. For avarice, rhetorical development comes in the form of *similitudo*, with a comparison drawn

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<sup>13</sup> Compare, for instance, «audituri autem estis proelia et opiniones proeliorum videte ne turbemini» (Matthew 24:6) and «cum autem audieritis proelia et seditiones nolite terreri» (Luke 21:9). See also Mark 13:7.

<sup>14</sup> The content and orientation of this section is deeply traditional and could potentially be taken as an indication of mendicant, or possibly even Franciscan, origin. In terms of its structural position as a starting point for the elaboration of material, Pedro Cátedra offers a number of illuminating comments, noting that: «Esta imagería militar es una de los resultados de la técnica que se ha dado en llamar dramatización alegórica mental y que vemos utilizada en predicadores de toda Europa, como Bernardino de Siena. Su uso como recurso a la *similitudo* se documenta bien en la predicación apocalíptica de Vicente Ferrer. Pero es llamativo el hecho de que, fuera de sermones y dentro de tratados teóricos, deja de ser en la España de la segunda mitad del XV una *similitudo* o una imagen para prestar sustancia a la caracterización absoluta del predicador, como una idea de donde partir» («La modificación del discurso religioso con fines de invectiva: el sermón», in *Atalaya*, 5 (1994), pp. 101–21, p. 105).

between the miser, who is too afraid to spend money, and the toad, which despite feeding on earth and sand (which are readily available), always remains lean and hungry as it is fearful that it should one day want for earth<sup>15</sup>. For covetousness, in contrast, the preacher relies on *auctoritas*, reproducing verbatim the words of Augustine's *Epistola* CLIII.VI.20 in relation to the question of forgiveness: «Non remittetur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum» (fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>). The last of the three, vaingloriousness, on the other hand, is sustained in relation to a borrowing from *Elena y María*, a poetic debate that could have been familiar to members of the congregation. The correspondence is not exact, and is too fleeting to be identified with certainty; we also need to bear in mind the possibility that the texts were influenced by formulaic construction. The correspondence, however, between «mulas e cauallos; / ha dineros e paños / e otros aueres tantos», on the one hand, and «en querer aver caval[los] e mulas e aun paños preciados» (fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>) on the other, cannot by the same token be easily dismissed<sup>16</sup>.

The conclusion to the *introductio thematis* is marked by the repetition of the *thema*, which is once again translated into Castilian. The central portion of the sermon, the *divisio thematis*, offers a straightforward progression of ideas, and as such, can be classified as a *divisio extra* or popular sermon designed for the benefit of ordinary believers. The *divisio* itself is divided into five brief and unequal parts, none of which are subdivided or contain instances of *dilatatio*. The result is the establishment of a free-flowing structure, which appears contrived only in that each of its constituent sections is constructed in relation to an example of *auctoritas*.

The first of the five is taken from Luke 21:10–11 («Surget gens [contra gentem] et regnum adversus regnum et terremotus mag[ni erunt] per loca», fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>) and is accompanied by an affirmation of a belief that the signs of the end of the world are already being experienced by the congregation. This observation, which can be taken as a reference to the turbulent and violent nature of life in the fourteenth century, no-

<sup>15</sup> A notable visual analogue is Pieter Bruegel's *Avarice* (ca. 1525–30), which depicts a female figure with a toad in the sand and earth at her feet.

<sup>16</sup> See *Los debates literarios en la Edad Media*, ed. by Enzo Franchini, Madrid, Laberinto, 2001, p. 230, lines 42–44. A slightly differing version of the formula is repeated in the final lines of the poem: «gana mulas e cauallos / e otros aueres tantos», *op. cit.*, lines 399–400.

tably in relation to questions of war and dynastic conflict («yrá [gente contra gente e r]ey[es] contra rey[es]», fol. 62<sup>rb-v</sup>), is followed by a parallel consideration of the threat to the Catholic Church posed by gentiles, Jews, and heretics. It is here, perhaps, that we can see a link to Voragine's discussion of Julian the Apostate, who functions subliminally at this point as a negative *exemplum* or archetype of those who stray from faith. The threat, we are told, leads to the martyrdom of Christ's servants and is related to pestilence and famine, events discussed in the Gospel account. These are used in the sermon partly in a figurative sense in relation to the wellbeing of the soul («fanbre será en la elesia [...] quando la palabra de Dios, que es comer del alma, no ay quien [la predi]que», fol. 62<sup>va</sup>), but one wonders also whether the discussion of war, dynastic conflict, plague, famine, and anti-Semitism can be taken as topical references – locating the text potentially in the third quarter of the fourteenth century at some point after the spread of the Black Death and the beginning of the Trastamaran conflict<sup>17</sup>.

The second instance of *auctoritas* is drawn from Luke 21:12 («Set ante hec [omnia], incient vobis manus suas et persequentur vos, trahentes vos in sinagogas, ducentes a reges et presides, propter nomen meum», fol. 62<sup>va</sup>) and is accompanied by the first of several fleeting references to Julian, who is praised on account of the fact that he suffered torture and martyrdom in the name of Christ. The central section of the *divisio* offers reassurance in relation to Luke 21:18 («Et capillus capite vestro non peribit», fol. 62<sup>va</sup>), while its fourth authority, taken from the following verse, focuses on the value of patience in times of adversity and its benefit to the soul: «In paciencia [vestra possid]ebitis an[im]as vestras» (fol. 62<sup>va</sup>). This leads to a loose definition of martyrdom, which is appraised as the ability to suffer with patience rather than resort to acts of vengeance, and a supporting quotation from Gregory

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<sup>17</sup> For different views on dating, see Sánchez Sánchez, art. *art. cit.*, p. 790, which places the text in the fifteenth century, and Baños and Uría, *ob. art. cit.*, 60–61, which places the manuscript as a whole in the latter portion of the fourteenth. The fact that the text of the sermon makes explicit reference to the society of the time («P[u]es est[o] todo [lo ve]jemos e lo oýmos cada día», fol. 62<sup>va</sup>) makes it tempting to locate it in a specific historical context, but it is worth bearing in mind, as Sánchez Sánchez notes, that «extant peninsular sermons are characterized by their tendency to abstraction» and are in this respect remarkably difficult to date with any real degree of certainty (*art. cit.*, 850–51).

the Great's *Homilia XXXV.vii*, a text that takes Luke 21:9–19 as its point of departure and is in this sense clearly related to the sermon on Saint Julian: «Sine ferro et sine flamis martires esse posumus, si pacientiam in animo verasciter custodimus» (fol. 62<sup>vb</sup>). This is followed by a concluding section in which the congregation is addressed directly and urged to pray to Julian and celebrate his feast, and thereafter, to all other saints, so as to solicit their intercession in the remission of sin. The preacher then urges believers to share the patience, love, charity, and other virtues displayed by the saints in the hope of gaining eternal life<sup>18</sup>.

The end of the sermon is marked by a standard Latin benediction, but what is most noticeable is that almost nothing is said about Julian, who is presented to the congregation as a figure with no discernable characteristic other than the fact that he was subjected to torture and martyrdom at some point in the past. We should, of course, bear in mind that, unlike hagiography, sermons are driven by questions of form rather than content, and as such, they offer little in the way of genuinely instructive or educational material. The audience, which would have been expected to listen patiently, is essentially subjected to a form of indoctrinatory glossing in which familiar concepts and ideas would have been explored in a rigid and predictable manner. This produces a certain degree of blandness marked by a lack of engagement either with the specificity of the subject under discussion or the significance of its historical context.

The extent to which Julian's identity has been eroded, however, is truly breathtaking: in place of a distinctive and informative encomium of his life and achievements we are presented with a discussion in which we learn nothing of his background, motivation, or even the manner of his torture and death. The text in this respect compounds problems of identification, suggesting ultimately that, were it not for the specific timing of the sermon, his name could effectively be exchanged for that of any other martyr, or indeed, any other saint. His identity is in this way sublimated into a broad and colourless ethos

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<sup>18</sup> As Sánchez Sánchez notes: «the basic subject matter of [...] peninsular preaching in general, is penitence. The sermons keep on reminding parishioners that there is one way to salvation –to the glory of paradise, which is usually the final reference in the sermon– and another one to eternal damnation. The path to salvation goes through contrition, confession and penance» (*art. cit.*, p. 767).

that becomes applicable not simply to the various Julians celebrated in the Middle Ages, but the pantheon of saints as a whole.

This, of course, raises an important generic consideration with regard to the formulation of the sermon's subject matter and the ease with which a skilled preacher could potentially have adapted it and put it to different use. More fundamentally, it behoves critics to assess and appreciate its impact in traditional theological terms, notably in relation to the concept of *imitatio Christi*, with all saints becoming one in their imitation of Christ. After all, in this sense the distinction between the Julians is effectively meaningless, as each –whether martyr or ascetic– merely reiterates the spirit of Christ's sacrifice by assimilating and reliving his pain. This, by extension, is a process that continues into the mind of the congregation, as saintly virtue is collectivized and presented as being worthy of emulation.

It also goes a good way towards explaining the curious wording of the BMP 9 rubric (which affirms that the text could be read as a celebration of other martyrs and confessors), and the logic of the transformations undertaken in FLG 419, which present the sermon in a conspicuously different light. The extent to which this development is related to transformations undertaken elsewhere in the Compilation –notably in relation to Julian's seemingly moveable and malleable feast– is an interesting question. What becomes clear above all else, however, is that until such time as the mysteries of the Compilation have been unravelled and we are able to arrive at a fuller understanding of its purpose and development, individual manuscript recensions –regardless of how idiosyncratic or unreliable they might at first appear to be– must be taken seriously and understood not only in themselves, but in relation to one another.

## APPENDIX

### [BMP 9 fol. 62<sup>ra</sup>]

Este *sermón* se deve dezir en el día de Sant Julián o de otros mártires *qualesquier* o de *confessores* *quien* sea uno o más nonbrados<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Este *sermón* se deve dezir en el día de Sant Julián o de otros mártires *qualesquier* o de *confessores* *quien* sea uno o más nonbrados : Este *sermón* se deve dezir

In illo tempore dixit Jesus discipulis suis: «Cum audieritis prelia et sediciones, nolite terri» (*secundum*<sup>20</sup> Matheum).

El *Nuestro Señor* nos demuestra<sup>21</sup> en este Evangelio los signos de los males que an de venir en el mundo ante de la fin. Et<sup>22</sup> por que sepamos ante lo que es por venir, amonéstanos e confuértanos<sup>23</sup> quando dize: «Cum audieritis prelia et sediciones, nolite terri.» Dízenos el *Nuestro Señor* que quando oyéremos o viéremos<sup>24</sup> batallas e discordias que non ayamos miedo nin temor, ca<sup>25</sup> tres enemigos a cada *christiano*: primeramente a por ene[m]igo el mundo et lo<sup>26</sup> segundo al diablo et<sup>27</sup> lo tercero la<sup>28</sup> [s]u carne misma. Pues avemos mester<sup>29</sup> que nos [gu]ardemos e catemos<sup>30</sup> armas con que nos deffen[da]mos, ca ciertamente batalla avemos a<sup>31</sup> aver [e]n el mundo. Pues si queremos seer buenos cava[lleros] de Dios e que ayamos gualardón por ello, mester<sup>32</sup> [fol. 62<sup>rb</sup>] [nos es que v]enzamos<sup>33</sup>. Ca<sup>34</sup> lid ave[mos en tres maneras]<sup>35</sup>, ca el diablo a muchos castiellos para [aver batalla c]on<sup>36</sup> los *christianos* e especialmente a un castiell[o]<sup>37</sup> grande<sup>38</sup> que es el mundo. Et en este castiello nos [con]bate<sup>39</sup> por tres maneras. La primera por avaricia, [ca]<sup>40</sup> siempre

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en el día de Sant Julián o de otros mártires qualesquier o de confessores quien sea uno o más nonbrado los *A* ; Declaración deste Evangelio en la fiesta de Sant Jullían e díze lo Sant Juan Limosnero *BC*

<sup>20</sup> *secundum AB : om. C*

<sup>21</sup> *demuestra A : muestra BC*

<sup>22</sup> *Et A : om. BC*

<sup>23</sup> *amonéstanos e confuértanos A : amonestándonoslo BC*

<sup>24</sup> *o viéremos A : om. BC*

<sup>25</sup> *ca AB : e ha C*

<sup>26</sup> *lo A : el BC*

<sup>27</sup> *et A : om. BC*

<sup>28</sup> *la A : a BC*

<sup>29</sup> *mester A : menester BC*

<sup>30</sup> *e catemos A : ca temonios B ; ca tenemos C*

<sup>31</sup> *a A : de BC*

<sup>32</sup> *mester A : menester BC*

<sup>33</sup> *[...]enzamos A : nos es que vençamos BC*

<sup>34</sup> *ca AB : e a C*

<sup>35</sup> *ave[...] A : avemos en tres maneras BC*

<sup>36</sup> *[...]on A : aver batalla con BC*

<sup>37</sup> *castiell[...] A : castillo BC*

<sup>38</sup> *grande A : om. BC*

<sup>39</sup> *[...]bate A : conbate BC*

<sup>40</sup> *[...] A : ca BC*

el avariento<sup>41</sup> será<sup>42</sup> mendigo e escaso porque<sup>43</sup> a miedo *quel* fa[l]lescrá<sup>44</sup> el pan o el vino o los dineros. Et el *que*<sup>45</sup> esto f[a]ze<sup>46</sup> a figura del<sup>47</sup> sapo *que* se non osa fartar de tierra po[rque] a miedo *quel* fallescrá<sup>48</sup>. Et así los avarientos non quier[en]<sup>49</sup> fazer bien a los pobres porque an miedo *que* les fallescrán a ellos<sup>50</sup> las riquezas. Et en otra manera nos guerrea el mundo *que* es castiello del diablo: es a saber por co[b]dicia<sup>51</sup>. E aqueste es pecado con *que* regna el diablo mucho<sup>52</sup>: cobdiciar el omne lo *que* no es suyo. E si puede engañar a su *christiano*<sup>53</sup> por sotileza o por otras artes muchas<sup>54</sup> por tollerle<sup>55</sup> lo suyo, non se tiene<sup>56</sup> ende por pecador<sup>57</sup>. E cuedan éstos tales *que* por confesarse son sueltos<sup>58</sup>. Non lo son nin lo cueyden así, ca dize Sant Agustín: «Non remitetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum.» Dize Sant Agustín<sup>59</sup> *que* si algo levades<sup>60</sup> de vuestro *christi*[a]no<sup>61</sup> por cobdicia o por tuerto o por fuerça<sup>62</sup> o p[or]<sup>63</sup> falso pleito, *que* non podedes seer salvos por confes[ión]<sup>64</sup> *que* fagades si lo non<sup>65</sup> tornades a cuyo es. Et por otra manera nos combate e nos guerrea el mundo que es castiello del diablo: es a saber

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<sup>41</sup> el avariento *BC* : om. *A*

<sup>42</sup> será *A* : es *BC*

<sup>43</sup> porque *A* : e *BC*

<sup>44</sup> fal[...]escrá *A* : fallescerá *BC*

<sup>45</sup> el *que* *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>46</sup> f[...]ze *A* : faze *BC*

<sup>47</sup> figura del *A* : manera de *BC*

<sup>48</sup> se non osa fartar de tierra po[...] a miedo *quel* fallescrá *A* : ha miedo que le fallescerá la tierra e por esta razón non se osa fartar della *BC*

<sup>49</sup> quier[en] *A* : quieren *BC*

<sup>50</sup> a ellos *A* : los dineros e *BC*

<sup>51</sup> co[...]dicia *A* : cobdicia *BC*

<sup>52</sup> con *que* regna el diablo mucho *A* : *que* regna mucho en el mundo *BC*

<sup>53</sup> *christiano* *A* : próximo *B* ; prógimo *C*

<sup>54</sup> artes muchas *A* : muchas cosas *BC*

<sup>55</sup> tollerle *AB* : tollerle luego *C*

<sup>56</sup> tiene *A* : tienen *BC*

<sup>57</sup> pecador *A* : pecadores *BC*

<sup>58</sup> sueltos *A* : absueltos *BC*

<sup>59</sup> Dize Sant Agustín *A* : Que quiere dezir *BC*

<sup>60</sup> levades *A* : levaredes *BC*

<sup>61</sup> *christi*[...]no *A* : *christiano* *BC*

<sup>62</sup> o por fuerça *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>63</sup> p[...] *A* : por *BC*

<sup>64</sup> confes[...] *A* : confesión *BC*

<sup>65</sup> si lo non *A* : si non lo *B* ; sinon lo *C*

por vanagloria. Et ésta regna mucho en todos en *querer* aver caval[los]<sup>66</sup> e mulas e aun<sup>67</sup> paños *preciados* e *fazerse* el omne má[s]<sup>68</sup> sabio de lo *que* es o más poderoso o más fuerte<sup>69</sup> o más *santo*.

Pues dize *Nuestro Señor* en este *Evangelio*[o]<sup>70</sup> a cada uno de nos<sup>71</sup>: «*Cum* audieritis *prelia* et *sediciones*, nolite *terrori*.» Dize el<sup>72</sup> *Nuestro Señor* *que* conforta mucho a *sus* vasallos: «*Quando* oyéredes [o] viéredes<sup>73</sup> batallas o discordias, *non* ayades miedo *nin* temor.» En *otra* manera aun se puede entender esto<sup>74</sup>, ca *quiso* *Nuestro Señor* certificarno[s]<sup>75</sup> en *que* coñosciesemos *quando* sería cierta<sup>76</sup> la fin d[el]<sup>77</sup> mundo. E por esso nos lo demuestra en el<sup>78</sup> *Ev*[angelio]<sup>79</sup> en *aquel* lugar do dize: «*Surget*<sup>80</sup> gens [contra gentem]<sup>81</sup> et *regnum* *adversus* *regnum* et *terremotus* *mag*[ni erunt]<sup>82</sup> *per* *loca*.» Dize el *Nuestro Señor*: «¿*Queredes* saber<sup>83</sup> *quándo* [será]<sup>84</sup> cerca la fin del mundo? *Quando* yrá [gente]<sup>85</sup> [fol. 62<sup>va</sup>] [contra gente e r]ey[es]<sup>86</sup> *contra* rey[es], *quando* tremerá la tierra en m]uchos<sup>87</sup> lugares.» P[u]es<sup>88</sup> est[o]<sup>89</sup> todo [lo

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66 cavall[.] A : cavallos BC

67 aun A : om. BC

68 má[...] A : más BC

69 poderoso o más fuerte A : fuerte o más poderoso BC

70 *Evangelio*[...] A : Evangelio BC

71 a cada uno de nos A : om. BC

72 el A : om. BC

73 [...] viéredes A : o viéredes B ; hobiéredes C

74 aun se puede entender esto A : se puede aun esto entender BC

75 certificarno[...] A : certificarnos BC

76 sería cierta A : será cerca BC

77 d[...] A : del BC

78 el A : aquel BC

79 *Ev*[...] A : Evangelio BC

80 *Surget* A : *Exurget* BC

81 [...] A : *contra gentem* BC

82 *mag*[...] A : *magni erunt* BC

83 *Queredes* saber A : om. BC

84 [...] A : será BC

85 [...] A : gente BC

86 [...]ey[...] A : *contra* gente e reyes BC

87 rey[...]uchos A : reyes *quando* tremerá la tierra en muchos BC

88 P[...]es A : pues BC

89 est[...] A : esto BC

ve]emos<sup>90</sup> e lo oýmos cada<sup>91</sup> día. Et aun en ot[ra mane]ra<sup>92</sup> se deve entender *aquello que dize «que yrán gen[t]es<sup>93</sup> contra gentes<sup>94</sup>»*. Esto es a saber *quando los ma[l]os omnes<sup>95</sup>, los genti[les e]<sup>96</sup> los judíos e los hereges, se [l]evantaren<sup>97</sup> contra la elesia cathólica e persiguen e alcan[ç]an<sup>98</sup> a los siervos de Jhesu Christo e los martirizaren<sup>99</sup>*. En[t]re<sup>100</sup> los *quales fue San Paulo<sup>101</sup> especialmente entendiendo, ca dize que estonce treme[rá]<sup>102</sup> la tierra quando algunos christianos<sup>103</sup> se tornaren<sup>104</sup> hereges, que por mucho saber que por non creyer. Ca dize el Evangelio que pestilencias e fanbre serán en esse tiempo. Serán pestilencias e fanbre en la elesia quando los fieles se tornaren a los hereges; fanbre será<sup>105</sup> quando aquellos que deven estar buenos dexaren<sup>106</sup> salud de sus almas e fueren en error. Et fanbre será en la elesia, e es quando la palabra de Dios, que es comer del alma<sup>107</sup>, no ay quien [la predi]que<sup>108</sup>. Mas dize el Evangelio: «Set ante hec [omni] a<sup>109</sup>, inicien<sup>110</sup> vobis manus suas et persequentur vos<sup>111</sup>, trahentes vos<sup>112</sup> in sinagogas, ducentes a reges et presides<sup>113</sup>, propter nomen meum.» Dize*

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<sup>90</sup> [...]emos *A* : lo veemos *BC*

<sup>91</sup> cada *A* : de cada *BC*

<sup>92</sup> ot[...]ra *A* : otra manera *BC*

<sup>93</sup> yrán gen[...]es *A* : yrá gente *BC*

<sup>94</sup> gentes *A* : gente *BC*

<sup>95</sup> ma[...]os omnes *A* : omnes malos *BC*

<sup>96</sup> genti[...] *A* : gentiles e *BC*

<sup>97</sup> [...]evantaren *A* : levantaren *BC*

<sup>98</sup> persiguen e alcan[...]an *A* : persiguieren e alcançaren *BC*

<sup>99</sup> martirizaren *BC* : martiriavan *A*

<sup>100</sup> En[...]re *A* : Entre *BC*

<sup>101</sup> San Paulo *A* : Sant Julián o Fulán *BC*

<sup>102</sup> treme[...] *A* : tremerá *BC*

<sup>103</sup> christianos *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>104</sup> tornaren *BC* : tornarán *A*

<sup>105</sup> en esse tiempo serán pestilencias e fanbre en la elesia quando los fieles se tornaren a los hereges fanbre será *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>106</sup> dexaren *A* : dexarán *BC*

<sup>107</sup> alma *A* : ánima *BC*

<sup>108</sup> [...]que : la predique *BC*

<sup>109</sup> Set ante hec [...]a *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>110</sup> inicien *A* : Eicien *BC*

<sup>111</sup> vos *A* : om. *BC*

<sup>112</sup> vos *A* : om. *BC*.

<sup>113</sup> ducentes a reges et presides *A* : et custodias *BC*

el *Nuestro Señor* a *Sant Julián* e a<sup>114</sup> todos los otros *mártires*, *que* ante *que* todo esto venga *que* es dicho desuso<sup>115</sup>, *que*<sup>116</sup> echarán en vos las *sus* manos e perseguirvos an. E trayervos an por las sinagogas e levarvos an presos ante [lo]s<sup>117</sup> reyes e ante los merinos<sup>118</sup> e judgarvos an [a]<sup>119</sup> muerte por el mi nombre. Entre los *quales* *mártires* fue *Sant Julián*, *que* pasó por amor de *Nuestro [S]eñor*<sup>120</sup> muchas penas e fue martiriado<sup>121</sup> por él. Et comoquier *que* este *Sant Julián* e los otros *mártires* [p]asasen<sup>122</sup> pena por amor de *Nuestro Señor*, recibién<sup>123</sup> [l]uego<sup>124</sup> *consolación* *que* non desmayasen<sup>125</sup>, mas *que* fuesen fuertes en el *martirio*<sup>126</sup> e seguros de<sup>127</sup> *quanto*<sup>128</sup> dize [e]n<sup>129</sup> el *Evangelio*: «Et capillus capite<sup>130</sup> *vestro*<sup>131</sup> non peribit.» [Dize en]<sup>132</sup> el<sup>133</sup> *Evangelio* a *Sant Julián* e a los otros *mártires*: «[Sed se]guros<sup>134</sup> en *vuestra* *passión*, ca ni el<sup>135</sup> *cabello* de [*vuestra* ca]beça<sup>136</sup> non perescrá.» E dize más: «In *paciencia* [*vestra* possid]ebitis<sup>137</sup> an[im]as<sup>138</sup> *vestras*.» *Que* quier dezir: «En

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114 a A : de sí a BC

115 venga *que* es dicho desuso A : *que* desuso es dicho venga BC

116 *que* : ca A ; dize *que* BC

117 [...]s A : los BC

118 merinos AB : ministros C

119 [...] A : a BC

120 [...]eñor A : Señor BC

121 martiriado A : *mártir* BC

122 [...]asasen A : pasassen BC

123 recibién A : rescebían BC

124 [...]uego A : luego BC

125 desmayasen A : desmayavan BC

126 *martirio* A : mundo BC

127 de A : om. BC.

128 *quanto* A : *quando* BC

129 [...]n A : om. BC

130 capite AB : capitem C

131 *vestro* A : *vestri* BC

132 [...] A : Dize en BC

133 el A : este BC

134 [...]gueros A : Sed seguros BC

135 ni el A : om. BC

136 [...]beça A : *vuestra* *cabeça* BC

137 [...]ebitis A : *vestra* *possidebitis* BC

138 an[...]as : *ánimas* BC

[*vuestra* paciencia guardar]edes<sup>139</sup> las<sup>140</sup> *vuestras* almas<sup>141</sup>.» Et [fol. 62<sup>v</sup><sub>b</sub>] [*aque*l omne ha paciencia el]<sup>142</sup> *que* es pascien[te en las injurias e en los tuer]tos<sup>143</sup> [e en las]<sup>144</sup> *adversida*[des que le vien<sup>en</sup> de]<sup>145</sup> su *christiano*<sup>146</sup>. Et muy grand virtu[d es paciencia, ca m]andado<sup>147</sup> nos es *que*<sup>148</sup> por amor de Dios los [males e las]<sup>149</sup> injurias e los tuertos *que* fazen<sup>150</sup> los o[mnes que los sufra]mos<sup>151</sup> en pasciencia. E esta paciencia plaze<sup>152</sup> m[ucho]<sup>153</sup> a Dios. Et demás, quando el omne se podría vengar [d]el<sup>154</sup> tuerto *quel* fazen si se non<sup>155</sup> *quiere* vengar e lo faze por amor de Dios, éstos atales<sup>156</sup> *que* tal paciencia an, pueden seer mártires llamados<sup>157</sup>. E assí lo dize Sant Gregorio: «Sine ferro et sine flamis<sup>158</sup> martires esse posumus, si<sup>159</sup> *pacienciam* in animo verasciter custodimus<sup>160</sup>.» Dize<sup>161</sup> Sant Gregorio *que* sin cuchiello e sin fuego podemos seer mártires si guardaremos<sup>162</sup> *verdadera* pasciencia<sup>163</sup> en *nuestros* coraçones.

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139 [...]edes *A* : *vuestra* paciencia guardaredes *BC*

140 las *A* : *om.* *BC*

141 almas *A* : *ánimas* *BC*

142 [...] *A* : *aque*l omne ha paciencia el *BC*

143 pascien[...]tos *A* : paciente en las injurias e en los tuertos *BC*

144 [...] *A* : e en las *BC*

145 *adversida*[...] *A* : *adversidades* que le vien<sup>en</sup> de *BC*

146 *christiano* *A* : *próximo* *BC*

147 virtu[...]andado *A* : virtud es paciencia ca mandado *BC*

148 *que* *A* : *om.* *BC*

149 [...] *A* : males e las *BC*

150 fazen *A* : nos fazen *BC*

151 o[...]mos *A* : *omnes* que los suframos *BC*

152 plaze *A* : plago *BC*

153 m[...] *A* : mucho *BC*

154 [...]el *A* : del *BC*

155 se non *A* : non se *BC*

156 atales *A* : tales *BC*

157 mártires llamados *A* : llamados mártires *BC*

158 sine flamis *A* : flamine *BC*

159 si *A* : si *veram* *BC*

160 in animo verasciter custodimus *A* : *habemus* in cordibus nostris *BC*

161 Dize *A* : E dize *BC*

162 guardaremos *A* : oviéremos *BC*

163 pasciencia *A* : penitencia *BC*

Et pues agora, hermanos, roguemos a este<sup>164</sup> Sant Julián, cuya fiesta oy fazemos<sup>165</sup>, e desende a todos los otros santos<sup>166</sup>, que rueguen al<sup>167</sup> Nuestro Señor Jhesu Christo que él nos dé gracia que ayamos entre nos<sup>168</sup> pasciencia e amor e caridat<sup>169</sup> e otras virtudes por que merescamos seyer conpañeros e herederos con ellos<sup>170</sup> en el reyno celestial.

Ad quam gloriam nos perducat ipse Filius Rex<sup>171</sup>, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et reynat Deus per omnia<sup>172</sup> secula seculorum, amen.

Beresford, Andrew M., "A Sermon for the Feast of Saint Julian the Martyr", en *Revista de poética medieval*, 24 (2010), pp. 49-75.

RESUMEN: La Compilación B del *Flos sanctorum* o *Estoria de los santos* compuesta en castellano en la Edad Media incluye, además de una refundición abreviada de la *Legenda aurea* de Santiago de la Vorágine, un sermón sobre San Julián Mártir. El texto, que hasta ahora no había sido editado ni analizado, fue incorporado en un principio en Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 y luego copiado y adaptado en Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419. Este artículo ofrece un análisis del texto, centrándose en la posición del santo dentro de la Compilación y el problema de su identificación. También incluye una edición crítica del texto.

ABSTRACT: In addition to an abbreviated reworking of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, Compilation B of the medieval Castilian *Flos sanctorum* or *Estoria de los santos* also includes a sermon on Saint Julian the Martyr. The text, which has not previously been either edited or discussed, was incorporated initially into Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 and copied and adapted thereafter by Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419. This article offers an analysis of the text,

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<sup>164</sup> este A : om. BC

<sup>165</sup> oy fazemos A : fazemos oy BC

<sup>166</sup> otros santos A : mártires BC

<sup>167</sup> al A : a BC

<sup>168</sup> entre nos A : om. BC

<sup>169</sup> caridat AC : castidat B

<sup>170</sup> e herederos con ellos A : con estos santos mártires BC

<sup>171</sup> ipse Filius Rex A : om. BC

<sup>172</sup> omnia A : om. BC

focusing specifically on the saint's position in the Compilation and the problem of identification. It is accompanied by a critical edition of the text.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** San Julián. Sermón. Hagiografía. Compilación B. Santiago de la Vorágine.

**KEYWORDS:** Saint Julian. Sermon. Hagiography. Compilation B. Jacobus de Voragine.