



JAKOBUS-STUDIEN

John Williams, Alison Stones (Hrsg.)

THE CODEX CALIX- TINUS AND THE SHRINE OF ST. JAMES

narr/f
ranck
e\atte
mpto

The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Shrine of St. James



Jakobus-Studien 3

im Auftrag der Deutschen St. Jakobus-Gesellschaft
herausgegeben von
Klaus Herbers und Robert Plötz

John Williams / Alison Stones (eds.)

The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Shrine of St. James

gnV Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

The Codex Calixtinus and the shrine of St. James / John Williams ;

Alison Stones (ed.). – Tübingen : Narr, 1992

(Jakobus-Studien ; 3)

ISBN 3-8233-4004-2

NE: Williams, John [Hrsg.]; GT

© 1992 · Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen

Dischingerweg 5 · D-7400 Tübingen 5

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem und alterungsbeständigem Werkdruckpapier.

Druck: Müller + Bass, Tübingen

Verarbeitung: Braun + Lamparter, Reutlingen

Printed in Germany

ISSN 0934-8611

ISBN 3-8233-4004-2

Contents

Preface	VII
JOHN WILLIAMS	
Introduction	IX
MANUEL DÍAZ Y DÍAZ	
El <i>Codex Calixtinus</i> : Volviendo sobre el Tema	1
KLAUS HERBERS	
The Miracles of St. James	11
ROBERT PLÖTZ	
<i>Peregrinatio ad Limina Sancti Jacobi</i>	37
ELIZABETH A.R. BROWN	
Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend	51
THEODOR HAUSCHILD	
Archeology and the Tomb of St. James	89
MICHEL HUGLO	
Les Pièces notées du <i>Codex Calixtinus</i>	105
HENDRIK VAN DER WERF	
The Polyphonic Music	125
ALISON STONES	
The Decoration and Illumination of the <i>Codex Calixtinus</i> at Santiago de Compostela	137
JAMES D'EMILIO	
The Building and the Pilgrim's Guide	185
SERAFIN MORALEJO	
The <i>Codex Calixtinus</i> as an Art-Historical Source	207
Commentators	
RICHARD LANDES	
The Absence of St. Martial of Limoges from the Pilgrims' Guide: A Note Based on Work in Progress	231
WALTER CAHN	
Comments on the Question of Illumination	239

LARRY M. AYRES	
The Illumination of the <i>Codex Calixtinus</i> :	
A Norman Dimension	245
THOMAS W. LYMAN	
The Guide's Language: Some Subtext in a Wider Context	255
MARILYN STOKSTAD	
Comments on the <i>Codex Calixtinus</i> as Art-Historical Source	261

Preface

The Colloquium on The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Shrine of Saint James was undertaken on the initiative of the Henry Clay Frick Department of Fine Arts of the University of Pittsburgh and the Friends of the Frick Fine Arts. Neither the Colloquium nor the present volume would have been possible without a generous subvention from the Helen Clay Frick Foundation. Essential, as well, was support from the University, especially its University Center for International Studies, and from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities. The Central Research Fund generously awarded us a publication subvention.

We welcome this occasion to acknowledge the enthusiastic cooperation of The Pittsburgh Camerata, under the direction of Gayle Kirkwood, in undertaking a concert of the music of the *Codex Calixtinus*, and its success in performing it. Aid from the R.K. Mellon Family Foundation made this enhancement of the program possible.

The cooperation and help of the faculty and graduate students of the Department of Fine Arts, especially Andrea Poole and Elizabeth Peterson among the latter, are also gratefully recognized.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that the enthusiasm of the conferees was crucial to the success of the colloquium and the determination to see the papers published. We hope this volume in some measure meets their expectations.

John Williams
Alison Stones

Introduction

JOHN WILLIAMS

The papers of this volume are the result of a colloquium held at the University of Pittsburgh 3-5 November, 1988 on the topic of 'The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Shrine of St. James'. By the early twelfth century, the relics of St. James Major, apostle of Spain, beneath the high altar in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela were being enclosed in a splendid building adorned with monumental sculpture and precious metalwork, and had long been the goal of one of the most popular pilgrimages of the Middle Ages. The five-part compilation of texts and music directed towards the cult of St. James is most completely preserved in a luxury illuminated copy, made in the twelfth century, in the Cathedral Archives at Santiago. That manuscript and its contents are known variously as *Jacobus*, the name given the book on its title page, or, as Walter Muir Whitehill preferred, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, on account of its Jamesian focus, or again, following Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz's most recent monograph which appeared concurrently with the colloquium,¹ the *Codex Calixtinus*, because substantial parts of all five Books are (falsely) claimed in tituli as the work of Pope Calixtus II; occasionally the title *Codex Compostelanus* is also used.

The issues discussed here are those raised by the cult of St. James and the building that houses his shrine, and on what is said about them in each of the five Books of the *Codex Calixtinus*. The essays in this publication discuss questions about the music and liturgy in Book I and the musical supplement that follows Book V; the 22 Miracles of St. James in Book II and the extra ones in Books I, V and the supplement; the accounts of the Translation of St. James's relics to Spain in Book III; the legendary account of Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain attributed to the authorship of Archbishop Turpin of Reims, Book IV; and the last of the five Books, which has come to be known as the Pilgrim's Guide.

The speakers worked from rather general charges, but the issue of sources for the various components of the *Codex Calixtinus* (hereafter CC) and its possible archetype, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (hereafter LSI) loomed large and were guided by Díaz y Díaz's seminal monograph, although that publication was available to most of the participants for the first time at the 1988 meeting. But the discussion at the colloquium and the time that has since elapsed have allowed all the speakers a full opportunity to reflect upon and take account of Díaz y Díaz's salutary view of the origin of the compilation, presented modestly and without fanfare:

The most original aspect of [the confection of the LSI] was not so much its conception as its realization, which had such internal coherence that it succeeded in

1 Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la catedral de Santiago: estudio codicológico y de contenido*, *Monografías de Compostellanum* 2 (Santiago de Compostela 1988). Díaz y Díaz reserves the designation *Liber Santi Jacobi* for the possible archetype from which the *Codex Calixtinus*, and other versions, may descend; we follow that distinction here.

tricking and misleading [its readers], including modern scholars. Thus the *Liber* was presented as a product exclusively by French, for the French, with, even, a French mentality, masking itself as extra-Compostelan through exotic and appealing Jame-sian traditions, while managing to achieve at the same time a notable literary triumph.²

It is a conclusion that has much to recommend it. Where, after all, but at the Apostolic shrine itself would one expect to find the font of such an extraordinary promotion of the cult of St. James? For, as Díaz points out, the LSI was inspired by

... a goal less admissible [than that of the cult and the pilgrimage] but one worthy and important: that of endowing the see of Compostela with a maximum of honor – celestial, pontifical, French – at a moment when the ecclesiastical star of Santiago was in decline.³

The scholarship on the CC has been notably reluctant to credit the peninsula with a decisive hand in its confection. In many accounts Santiago de Compostela seems to have been involved merely as the final repository of the CC, and that almost casually.

The culture-bound nature of scholarship certainly had a role in downplaying Santiago's role, but the scant acknowledgement of motive and special interest in the search for the CC's birthplace is all the more striking given the relative weight attached in the scholarly literature to its references to Cluny and Saint-Denis. When, in fact, it comes to documented Dionysian connections, it is Santiago's arch rival, the cathedral of Toledo, that is involved, albeit as an indirect result of the Frankish ruler Louis VII's pilgrimage to the shrine of James. In the course of his return from Compostela, Louis was received by Alfonso VII of León-Castile and given a magnificent gem with which he enriched the reliquary of the Crown of Thorns at Saint-Denis. As a consequence, Louis prompted Odo of Deuil, abbot of Saint-Denis, to carry from the abbey's collection to Toledo the arm of the reputed first bishop of Toledo, St. Eugene.⁴ In this context the rivalry between Santiago and Toledo went beyond the question of rank and privilege to that of the responsibility for the evangelization of Spain. According to the legends that grew up at Saint-

2 M. DIAZ Y DIAZ, *El Códice Calixtino* (note 1) p. 311: "Lo más original de este proyecto no fue tanto su concepción como su realización, arrancado de una cohesión interna suficiente lograda como para que haya conseguido burlar y despistar incluso a la erudición moderna: presentar el *Liber* como un producto de solos franceses, con objetivos franceses, e incluso con mentalidad francesa, que llevó a perspectivas de apariencia extracompostelana, y hasta ajenas y distantes de tradiciones jacobeanas entrañables para muchos fue una notable proeza literaria." This was not the first claim for a Compostelan origin. See, e.g., A. HAMEL, *Der Pseudo-Turpin von Compostela* aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von André de Mandach, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (München 1965), p. 7-105, esp. 19.

3 *Ibid.* p. 314. "... late en el una preocupación menos confesible pero digna e importante, la de rodear a la sede compostelana del máximo arropamiento, celestial, pontificio, francés, en momentos difíciles en que iba declinando la estrella eclesiástica de Santiago."

4 See JULIUS HORRENT, *Chroniques espagnoles et chansons de geste, Le moyen âge*, 53 (1947) p. 271-302, esp. 287-91; ELIZABETH A.R. BROWN AND MICHAEL W. COTHELEN, *The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) p. 1-40, esp. 28-29.

Denis, Eugene had brought the Gospel to the peninsula, on order from St. Denis, who had accorded him the rank of Bishop of the Primal See, Toledo.⁵ Louis VII made his pilgrimage in 1154, and Toledo received from Abbot Odo the relics of its first bishop in 1156. These are the years that would have seen the gathering, in Díaz y Díaz's view, of the collection which became the CC.

If it may be argued that the CC only masqueraded as a French product, it did so within a context that makes the distinction of nationality complex. At the time it was composed, the peninsula had relatively recently modified its national liturgy on the basis of an ultrapyrenean standard and was in the process of abandoning its distinctive style of writing in favor of the Frankish (Caroline). In the realm of art, styles and iconographies had been based for some time on Gallic models. This certainly was true of the great church that rose over the shrine of St. James, which, whatever the outcome of the debate over priority within the 'Pilgrimage Roads School', helped to introduce a foreign-born architectonic vocabulary to the peninsula. The site of Santiago provides two examples of cultural appropriation that are especially telling for the discussion of the national identity of the CC. One was another literary enterprise, the *Historia Compostellana*, which had been chiefly left in the hands of a canon who was a native of Beauvais. Sculpture supplies the other example. If some catastrophe had caused the reliefs of the tympana of the Platerías doorway to become detached and to wander north of the Pyrenees to reappear in some antique dealer's shop, Toulouse and Conques undoubtedly would be declared their original homes.⁶ The thoroughly Frankish character of the CC is not anomalous, even if it does confound the modern tendency to think in terms of national identity.

The fundamental issue of the widely accepted distinction between the LSI, the hypothetical model, and the CC was not directly addressed in the conference. Even so, its implications for the date of the decoration of the CC caused some tension. For Díaz y Díaz, what began as a possibility has become a reality: the CC is an important copy of an LSI that already had been composed in the form found by the CC. If the LSI can be no earlier than c. 1160, then the CC must have been created c. 1170. This same decade saw the beginning of the completion of a great basilica, with a decorative vocabulary based on contemporaneous developments in Burgundy. This is also the region providing counterparts for the decoration of the CC. However, the parallels repeatedly invoked for the illumination of the CC reach back even to the beginning of the century. Texts were generally copied with great fidelity, but the illumination that accompanies them is not subject to the same strictures. Neither the hypothetical LSI of c. 1160 nor a copy of it should employ

⁵ For St. Eugene see J. Dubois, *Saint Eugène de Dueil, sa personnalité et sa culte*, *Revue bénédictine* 70 (1960) p. 83-101; BAUDOUIN DE GAFFIER, *La légende de saint Eugène de Tolède, martyr à Dueil près de Paris*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 83 (1965) p. 329-49. There is the issue, as well, of the relic of St. James' arm at Saint-Denis. See ERIC BOURNAZEL, *Suger and the Capetians*, in: *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis, A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York 1986) p. 55-72, esp. n. 145.

⁶ In fact, on the strength of the highest scholarly authority a carved head in the Metropolitan Museum in New York was once assigned to Santiago until petrographic analysis made its attachment to Saint-Semin de Toulouse mandatory.

such archaic decorative language. On the other hand, there is less inherent conflict between the age of the textual materials gathered in the LSI (c. 1140-50) and the style of its illumination. All issues raised by codicology, philology, and paleography aside, the richness, morphology, and style of the illumination make it a very attractive candidate as the original LSI of, say, the 1140's, a project which, like the *Historia Compostelana* was not quite finished before Gelmírez expired.

The date of the CC and LSI also involves the issue of sponsorship. It is true that the decade 1160-1170 was a moment when Santiago enjoyed the active support of its ruler Fernando II (1157-1188). In 1168 the king delivered into Master Matthew's hands directions for completing the cathedral. It is true too, that the sources identified for the music and illumination of the CC in the papers of the conference are from the same general zone (namely northern and central France, Normandy and Burgundy) as the architectural vocabulary employed in the western bays when the cathedral was finally finished, and of the illumination. In view of a tendency at the beginning of the Europeanization of hispanic art and music at the end of the eleventh century to borrow from the proximate models in Aquitaine and Languedoc, this unity of geographical source might argue for a date for the CC in the same period of the 1160's. However, if the Gallic architectural models employed are of that era, the illumination depends, as we saw, on models of a more remote time. Moreover, given the nature of the CC, attaching its conception to Gelmírez has great appeal, for he looms large in the cast of ambitious and creative ecclesiastical promoters. The time of confection preferred by Díaz y Díaz separates him from the CC by almost a generation. If the final assembling of the Compostelan collection did not begin under Gelmírez, this supreme effort in the promotion of Compostela took place in a more hectic period of Compostelan history. In contrast to Gelmírez's lengthy term of forty years, eight prelates presided over Compostela in the next quarter century.⁷

The dependence on Gallic sources went far beyond pallid imitation. It was a case of employing the modern style, and the specific use to which this style was put is the telling gauge of regional creativity. None of the so-called Pilgrimage churches surpassed Santiago, whose exploitation of sculpture was, at the time, unparalleled. This was the product not only of Bishop Gelmírez's admiration for the Frankish style in worship and its setting, but also of his imagination when it came to putting it to ever more creative uses. Kingley Porter's metaphor seems apt: Santiago was a delta, a rich and fertile seedbed for ideas that originated upstream.⁸

If the CC was conceived anywhere but in Santiago, its apparent end, the promotion of the shrine of St. James, was but a pretext for some other – possibly trivial! – goal. For more recent generations, however, the issue of authenticity touches Saint James' tomb, the seed from which the whole enterprise blossomed. If some of the mystery surrounding the CC may be lifting, that which enshrouds the tomb may never be dispelled. The Asturian 'Father', Beatus, had popularized the

7 For the post-Gelmírez period see R.A. FLETCHER, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford 1978) p. 53ff.

8 A. KINGSLEY PORTER, *The Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923) p. 175.

mission of James in Spain, and its invention was one of the moves made by the Asturian crown and church to construct a post-Invasion, post-Toledo state by claiming Apostolic authority.⁹ However, the reason why this program involved the remote site of Compostela remains a puzzle. It represented, in some sense, the kind of colonization through ecclesiastical foundation that would later characterize the reconquest of the frontier between León-Castile and Andalusia, but in the case of Compostela the frontier was not Christian/pagan. Indeed, Galicia was a zone susceptible to the spread of a quasi-Apostolic cult, that of St. Martin of Tours.

A tangible witness to the cult of James is the most plausible explanation for the selection of Compostela, but neither the nature of what actually remains at the site and the early literary references offer much support for the presence of something material, such as a shrine or tomb, even though the site was adjacent to a cemetery.¹⁰ The language of the CC does not even indicate that a visitor in the heyday of pilgrimage to Santiago saw an actual tomb: 'Within the above mentioned venerable basilica lie the revered relics of the blessed James beneath the high altar magnificently built in his honor, so it is said (*ut fertur*), in a marble sarcophagus within in a finely arched sepulchre of admirable craftsmanship and appropriate size (*magnitudine condecens*).'¹¹ These are the words of the Pilgrim's Guide, and the qualification *ut fertur* and the vague reference to dimension, in marked contrast to the exact measurements just provided for the basilica, make it improbable that even a privileged visitor, which the author of the Guide must have been, had access to the tomb. Like the early 'portraits' of the tomb,¹² the 'marble sarcophagus' and 'finely arched sepulchre' of the description would seem to be based on the language (*arca marmorea*, *sub arcis marmoreis*, etc.) habitually employed for the site rather than the result of visual experience.¹³ Equally remarkable, the Guide's description of the tomb gives no support to the idea that the tomb itself, as opposed to the setting – church, reliquaries, liturgy – was the center of attention. If accurate, a remarkable account of a visit to the shrine in 1056 by pilgrims from Liège before the transformations imposed by Gelmírez strikingly divorces the relics of James from a tomb. In it the 'king's' hunt for a suitable relic of James involved a search through reliquaries and the royal chapel, with no mention of the tomb.¹⁴ For López

9 ODELO ENGELS, Die Anfänge des spanischen Jakobusgrabes in kirchenpolitischer Sicht, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1980) p. 146-80: "Die asturische Kirche befand sich durchaus in Übereinstimmung mit Bestrebungen ihrer Zeit, wenn sie innerhalb des zweiten oder dritten Jahrzehnts des 9. Jahrhunderts das Grab der Mission des Apostels Jakobus hinzufügte. Der Sinn des damit beginnenden Grabkultes bestand darin, der gotisch-mozarabischen Kirchenordnung, wie das asturische Reich sie repräsentierte, einen apostolischen Ursprung zu geben (p. 169)."

10 For the evidence of what was visible see JOSE GUERRA CAMPOS, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del apóstol Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela 1982) p. 95ff.

11 Serafín Moralejo, La miniatura en los Tumbos A y B, in: *Los Tumbos de Compostela* (Madrid 1985) p. 45-62, esp. p. 46.

12 For the usage *sub arcis marmoreis* see R. PLOTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien bis zum 9. Jahrhundert, in: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, ed. O. Engels 30 (1982) p. 19-145.

13 *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* by ABODIUS AUREAEVALLENSIS (MGH, SS, XXV, 84). See J. STIENNON, Le voyage des Liégeois à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle en 1056, in: *Mélanges Félix*

Ferriero, the Canon and historian of Santiago de Compostela, and for his age, the tomb itself would be called on to play a key part in authenticating the site. The effort it cost him¹⁴ to find traces of what he presented as the 'tomb' within the choir of the church of Santiago can be understood only if the church lacked a tomb that was the center of the Jamesian cult. In a real sense, López Ferreiro should be credited with the second invention of the tomb of St. James.

Rousseau (Brussels 1958) p. 553-81; P. GEORGE, Un reliquaire, 'souvenir' du pèlerinage des Liégeois à Compostelle en 1056 (?), in: *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 57 (1988) p. 5-22, esp. p. 10. According to Stiennon, the account, essentially accurate, was composed under Stephen the Great (1095-1112). However, a telling mark against its accuracy is its denomination of the 'king of Galicia' as García, son of Fernando I of León, who would become king only in 1065. The preoccupation with the martyrdom in recent scholarship led the author of this Introduction to force the evidence to yield a tomb/confessio. See J. WILLIAMS, La arquitectura del Camino de Santiago, in: *Compostellanum* 29 (1984) p. 267-290, esp. 274 n. 16.

14 GUERRA CAMPOS (note 7), p. 109-11.

El *Codex Calixtinus*: Volviendo sobre el Tema

MANUEL C. DIAZ Y DIAZ

Confieso mi embarazo al presentar aquí y ahora unas consideraciones sobre el *Códice Calixtino*, en parcial desacuerdo con el título previsto anteriormente (El *Códice Calixtino*: ¿por quién y para quién?), que se debía por cierto a la buena voluntad y a la confianza depositada en mí por el Prof. Williams. Las preguntas de por quién y para quién fue elaborado el *Códice* me parece que resultan prematuras; todavía hay que puntualizar antes otros aspectos importantes del complejo problema del Calixtino. Por descontado, como cosa resuelta, y aunque todavía en muchas publicaciones se sigan observando las consecuencias de esta confusión, distinguiré con estricto rigor cuanto se refiere al LSI, contenido único del *Códice Calixtino*, de lo que hace relación a este excelente manuscrito de la Catedral de Santiago, arquetipo para nosotros del texto de aquél. Se me perdonará que en esta ocasión a la vez resuma algunas de las conclusiones a que hemos llegado en un estudio reciente¹, y que, dando algunos pasos más, sugiramos ciertas nuevas conclusiones que parece lícito deducir de las anteriores.

Sobre el LSI continúan las dudas e incertidumbres. Pienso que se trata del resultado tardío de un proyecto, acaso concebido por Gelmírez, quizás desde antes de ser arzobispo en 1120, probablemente aprobado y apoyado por él, en paralelo con otras geniales empresas como la *Historia Compostelana*², o el Tumbo A³. Es altamente probable que el proyecto del LSI fuera confiado a algún clérigo francés relacionado de manera más o menos inmediata con Compostela (como ocurre en parte con las otras empresas mencionadas). También parece indiscutible, aunque resulte casi imposible fijar los detalles, que la acumulación de materiales para el LSI debió iniciarse hacia 1130, y con toda certeza aún no estaba rematada en 1145, cuando muere Guillermo de Jerusalén, destinatario con Gelmírez (fallecido en 1140) de la Epístola introductoria atribuida al papa Calixto. Como se ha visto en épocas recientes, singularmente desde los estudios de Buchner⁴, Hämel⁵, David⁶,

1 El estado de la cuestión, creo que bastante completo, se presenta en M. C. DIAZ Y DIAZ (A. GARCIA PINERO / P. DEL ORO TRIGO), *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago. Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago 1988), p. 33-93 (citado luego DIAZ).

2 Véase B. REILLY, "The 'Historia Compostellana': The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish Gesta", en: *Speculum* 44 (1969) p. 78-85. Una nueva edición acaba de aparecer: E. FALQUE REY, *Historia Compostellana, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 70 (Turnhout 1988).

3 M. C. DIAZ Y DIAZ / S. MORALEJO / F. LOPEZ ALSINA, *Tumbos de Compostela* (Madrid 1985) p. 14.

4 M. BUCHNER, "Pseudo-Turpin, Reinold von Dassel und der Archipoet in ihren Beziehungen zur Kanonisation Karls des Grossen", in: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 51 (1928) p. 1-72, especialmente p. 17.

5 A. HÄMEL, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber sancti Iacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin* (Munich 1950).

6 P. DAVID, *Etudes sur le livre de Saint-Jacques attribué au pape Calixte II*, en: *Bulletin des études portugaises* 10 (1945) 1-41, 11 (1947) p. 113-185, 12 (1948) p. 70-223, 13 (1949) p. 52-104; en especial 13 (1949) p. 102-103.

De Mandach⁷, Hohler⁸, y Herbers⁹, hay indicios de que ciertos detalles del Liber no pueden ser anteriores a 1150: a esta década estimamos verosímil atribuir la puesta a punto de la forma actual de esta compilación¹⁰. Los intentos de retraer esta fecha hasta 1140, en virtud de la supuesta carta otorgada por Inocencio II, no escapan a fuertes críticas, que hacen tal datación por lo menos insegura¹¹. Para evitar malos entendidos quiero explicar desde ahora que la supuesta carta en el *Calixtino* parece no pertenecer al núcleo codicológico inicial¹². Probablemente ha sido escrita en su forma paleográfica actual hacia 1175¹³ y supongo que, quizás igual que pasa con los restantes folios del Apéndice, proviene de algún otro códice similar pero distinto al nuestro¹⁴. Por lo que hace al autor del LSI, cuestión con la que está estrechamente relacionada la del destinatario, no tenemos ninguna indicación firme salvo la de que debe haber sido un canónigo francés, acaso de formación monástica, buen conocedor de Santiago y sus problemas, aunque no siempre partícipe de las preocupaciones compostelanas de carácter más local.

Un nuevo camino para abordar este tema sería estudiar lo que hasta ahora ha sido objeto de escasa atención: el problema de la estructura del *Liber* en función del género literario correspondiente. El LSI no es una vida de santo en sentido tradicional, ni un libro de milagros, ni la forma compuesta de una y otro que se hace bastante común en el siglo XII. Nada nos resuelve tampoco pensar en una obra de propaganda de la peregrinación, porque si bien ésta puede ser el objetivo inmediato de la obra, no es su razón de ser literaria. De todas maneras, el libro II es a estos efectos muy determinante: una colección de milagros era algo real, normal, en función de un culto; lo habitual era que la precediera una biografía del santo, o un equivalente. En LSI esta biografía como tal no existe, aunque podemos considerarla transmitida por el complejo de algunos sermones¹⁵ más la Pasión Magna: de todos modos no se entiende por qué la biografía viene sustituida por un desarrollo

- 7 A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe I* (Ginebra 1961) p. 301.
- 8 C. HOHLER, *A Note on Jacobus*, en: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 31-80.
- 9 K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der Liber sancti Iacobi* (Wiesbaden 1984) p. 197.
- 10 Sobre la puesta a punto paleográfica del *Calixtino*, que es otro problema, véase luego.
- 11 HERBERS, p. 38; A. MOISAN, *Aimeri Picaud de Parthenay et le Liber sancti Iacobi*, en: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 143 (1985) p. 5-52, especialmente p. 27.
- 12 DIAZ, p. 187-195.
- 13 Pendiente de algunas comprobaciones técnicas, y antes de ofrecer el resultado de las mismas y sus consecuencias, quiero señalar desde ahora que sería muy difícil no relacionar la escritura contrahecha de las firmas de los testigos en la bula con otros testimonios análogos en documentos de este tiempo. Por otra parte más de una vez me he preguntado si esta carta se refiere al LSI completo o a una parte de él, que quizá serían los libros I-II, para los que pasa mejor la autoría calixtina y algunos detalles de la bula. La frase usada por Inocencio es equívoca, porque habla de hunc codicem y en el uso del compilador del LSI este término no designa tanto el manuscrito completo como cada libro (cf. DIAZ, p. 227-228).
- 14 Las razones para este modo de ver, iniciado por Hohler, pueden encontrarse desarrolladas en DIAZ, p. 193 ss.
- 15 Piénsese en el sermón *Quare Petrus*, sacado de Jerónimo, de f. 55v; en la carta dedicatoria de Calixto se dan ya como parte fundamental los libros I y II: sermones et miracula beati Iacobi que in hoc codice continentur (f. 2 = DIAZ, p. 338).

desmesurado de la liturgia jacobea. Por otra parte, es evidente que estos dos libros van estrechamente unidos, no sólo por razones de disposición, sino porque los milagros no se presentan prácticamente en función de Compostela (es decir, de su sepulcro después de una inevitable traslación), sino en función de su solo nombre y poder¹⁶. Se trataría, ciertamente, de un modo de ver que no dejaría de plantear problemas al santuario compostelano, ya que, de hecho, de esta forma, todo podría aplicarse a cualquiera iglesia dedicada al apóstol¹⁷. ¿Por qué, entonces, los textos específicos que justifican los títulos de la Iglesia Compostelana se proponen como libro III, en lugar de incluirse, de una u otra manera, en el libro I, en todo caso antes del Libro de los Milagros? No cabe más que suponer que el libro III, además de actuar como determinante de los dos primeros, sirve de justificación o ambientación a los dos siguientes: la acción de Carlomagno sólo se comprende si ha habido traslación, y a su vez ésta y la obra del emperador justifican la llamada Guía¹⁸. El libro III, contra lo que se dice a menudo¹⁹, sería la charnela que permitió la presentación final del LSI. El interés compostelano aparece neta y diáfana en esta estructura. Que el autor general haya sido un compostelano es, sin embargo, absolutamente de excluir; pero quien haya sido tenía con Compostela suficientes conexiones como para alcanzar estos resultados a partir de no pocos materiales anteriores, unos más organizados y otros menos, algunos de entre ellos elaborados con certeza en Compostela²⁰.

Frente a estas imprecisiones relativas, podemos movernos con mayor soltura cuando enfocamos nuestra atención sobre el *Códice Calixtino*. Sigue siendo difícil contestar a las preguntas de “por quién” y “para quién” ha sido ejecutado, pero podemos intentar avanzar en dos cuestiones conexas e importantes: “dónde” y “cuándo” se escribió el Códice. Si para estas preguntas obtuviéramos respuestas válidas, podríamos acercarnos con más confianza a todas las demás que tenemos planteadas.

Vengamos al “dónde”. Desde un primer momento quiero decir que numerosos indicios convergentes, que adquieren por este hecho una fuerza inesperada, apuntan vigorosamente al origen compostelano del códice. Hasta ahora se ha venido considerando producto de algún escriptorio francés²¹, situándose esta copia hacia 1140 para los defensores de la autenticidad de la bula de Inocencio II; hacia 1150 / 1160 cuando se da preferencia a conexiones paleográficas²². En el primer caso el Códice de Santiago sería el propio ejemplar que Aimerico Picaud habría traído

16 Como se indica en el sermón *Veneranda dies*, cf. DIAZ, p. 53.

17 Como quiere HOHLER (cit. nota 8), p. 63.

18 Su conexión con el Pseudo-Turpin ha sido notada desde muchos puntos de vista por diversos investigadores; resumen de la cuestión en DIAZ (cit. nota 1), p. 82 ss.

19 P. ej. DAVID (cit. nota 6), 13 (1949), p. 98-100.

20 Lo son, sin duda, el sermón *Veneranda dies* (f. 74), el milagro 2 (f. 141v), la llamada epístola Leonis (f. 159), al menos en su forma inicial, y la narración de tribus sollempnitatibus, al menos en parte (cf. DIAZ, Descripción en el siglo XII de una procesión en Compostela. Algunos de sus problemas, en: *Studia Graecolatina Carmen Sanmillán in Memoriam Dicata* [Granada 1988] p. 79-89).

21 Así lo había supuesto yo mismo hace muchos años, cf. HERBERS (cit. nota 2), p. 28.

22 DIAZ (cit. nota 1), p. 315.

desde su patria a Santiago y entregado en la Catedral compostelana, con el beneplácito pontificio. En el segundo supuesto, la relación con Aymerico quedaría en la sombra. Ahora bien, toda la construcción que relaciona el Códice con Aymerico Picaud²³ se basa en argumentaciones de ida y vuelta: la bula de ser auténtica de la fecha al código, y esta fecha permite que el responsable del mismo sea Aimerico Picaud, beneficiario de la bula, resultando así confirmada la bula y la fecha. Sorprende, por ello, que no se haya prestado atención preferente al texto y presentación de esta bula de Inocencio, sobre todo porque cuando se estudia con cuidado, se descubren en ella pequeños indicios que despiertan sospechas sobre su autenticidad²⁴. Para las consideraciones que siguen voy a prescindir de este bifolio y de las hipótesis que a partir de él se han venido haciendo como si pudieran sin más transferirse al conjunto del *Códice Calixtino*.

Vuelvo, pues, al problema de dónde se escribió este Códice. Ya queda dicho que se descubren diversos indicios de tipo compostelanista: en primer lugar, detalles codicológicos bastante significativos; en segundo lugar, la realización de un programa decorativo que ofrece una lectura aparentemente clara; finalmente, la posición misma del *Códice* en la transmisión del *Liber*. Por cuanto hace al primer punto, señalaré la unidad básica del tratamiento de la mise en page: doble rectángulo de Pitágoras superpuesto creando una relación 3:2 entre alto y ancho de la caja²⁵, que se mantiene incluso en aquellos folios en que interviene para el pautado una técnica nueva, la de trazar en tinta diluida las líneas pertinentes. Recordemos que, como es admitido desde Hämel, numerosos bifolios y un cuaderno entero han sido sustituidos en el manuscrito original, sin que sepamos a ciencia cierta cuáles han sido las razones que han llevado a esta alteración. Todo el mundo conviene (en verdad, sin que se haya probado nunca) en que estos bifolios nuevos fueron elaborados en la propia Compostela. Si esto es verdad, tendremos un valioso indicio a favor de Compostela a partir de la unidad codicológica del *Calixtino*, toda vez que un aspecto tan delicado de la construcción del bifolio antes de disponerlo para la escritura, como es el de su ordenación (que comporta las proporciones de caja de escritura y blancos, de los distintos blancos entre sí, y del pautado), resulta

23 No me pronuncio de momento sobre la exactitud de la tesis inicialmente enunciada por dom Lambert (DHGE, V (París 1931) p. 1297) de identificar el Aymerico, canónigo de Jerusalén, asentado desde 1128, más o menos, en las cercanías y dependencia de Santiago, con el Aymerico Picaud de Parthénay que menciona la bula de Inocencio II.

24 A los indicios arriba apuntados de relativa incoherencia codicológica del bifolio que contiene la bula con el Códice, hay que añadir la probable fecha posterior de este bifolio, y el aprovechamiento de estas hojas que se conservaban quizás con cierto aprecio por llevar el poema, copiado en fecha muy anterior, acaso del primer cuarto del s. XII, Dum paterfamilias, aunque sea en transcripción literaria y musical imperfectas. Aún se me ocurre pensar en un leve indicio, pero de valor indiscutible en aquel tiempo: si la bula fuera auténtica y estuviera verdaderamente ligada a nuestro Códice como quieren tantos investigadores, no sería admisible, sin chocar frontalmente con ella de una u otra manera, la sustitución de bifolios y hasta de un cuaderno íntegro que tuvo lugar después: la excomunión contra quienes alteraran el texto del manuscrito o atentaran contra su integridad se expone de manera manifiesta en la Bula.

25 La excepción, única según resulta de nuestras mediciones, es la de f. 186-187, en que la caja puede considerarse formada por un cuadrado (de lado igual al ancho de la caja real) superpuesto a un rectángulo pitagórico, todo ello aparentemente calculado sobre las líneas interiores del doble pautado vertical.

ser prácticamente el mismo a lo largo de nuestro códice tanto en la parte primigenia como en casi todas las adiciones. Comprobación interesante porque hace altamente verosímil la continuidad de la copia en un mismo escritorio (en el que al existir división del trabajo, se explica que hayan podido mantenerse procedimientos o pequeños ensayos personales de los diversos artesanos)²⁶. El hecho de que tanto los folios primeros como los nuevamente añadidos mantengan un tratamiento idéntico en la configuración de la caja de escritura se convierte por sí mismo en un indicio, siquiera se le tenga por leve, repito, que apunta claramente a Compostela.

Creo que llegamos a idéntica solución si estudiamos de cerca el programa decorativo del Calixtino, no en sus valores artísticos, sino en la relación de ciertos detalles de la decoración con los textos correspondientes. Aunque se haya supuesto, acaso con razón, que el modelo artístico del *Calixtino* tenía más variada decoración que el códice conservado en Santiago²⁷, sigue teniendo validez el estudio de los criterios selectivos (de esa supuesta abundancia decorativa) con que operó el responsable de nuestro códice. Aunque no hubiera tal, y se llegara a establecer que la decoración del *Calixtino* es original (excluidas, naturalmente, fuentes e influencias), volveríamos a encontrarnos con el mismo problema, a saber, qué significan las relaciones entre decoración y contenido del códice. En esta línea llamo la atención sobre un hecho importante: el códice se abre con una figuración del papa Calixto, que constituye la C inicial del primer texto²⁸, precisamente el que pretende establecer de manera inequívoca la autoría de este papa sobre la obra entera que viene a continuación, autoría recalcada por la destinación de esta carta-prólogo al arzobispo Gelmírez y al patriarca Guillermo de Jerusalén, y subrayada luego por multitud de indicaciones²⁹. En cierta manera podemos establecer una correspondencia entre la C figurada en folio 1 con el papa Calixto y la formidable T, con retrato del personaje en mandorla, que representa en f. 163 a Turpin, supuesto autor del libro IV. Deduzco que se quieren subrayar las dos autorías fingidas. Es curioso que la segunda quede marcada no sólo por la gran T, sino también por la presencia en las páginas anteriores de las miniaturas alusivas a Carlomagno. La diferencia de tratamiento entre el responsable de toda la obra, el pseudo-Calixto, y cuanto se

26 Subrayo la tesis de pequeños ensayos personales, porque técnicas como el pautado, vertical y horizontal, a tinta diluida, que sin duda son posteriores al pautado en seco, y que se encuentran como normales en los folios añadidos, aparecen en estas partes nuevas y en otras del cuerpo original del Códice (f. 42, 46, 58, 100). Por otro lado, este detalle nos permite pensar que no hay una diferencia demasiado notable entre el tiempo de la escritura primigenia y el momento en que se generaliza en el escritorio correspondiente la nueva técnica.

27 A. STONES Four Illustrated Jacobus Manuscripts, in: *The Vanishing Past, Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg y A. Martindale, B.A.R. International Series 111 (Oxford 1981) p. 197-222, esp. 203.

28 Señalo su semejanza con Troyes Bibl. Munic., ms. 900.

29 Recuérdese que hay una diferencia bastante notable entre los epígrafes, sobre todo en el libro I, y el índice del contenido que precede al libro. En éste el responsable parece como obsesionado por atribuir al papa Calixto la mayor cantidad posible de piezas; al revés sucede en el libro II, donde son los epígrafes – que en este libro ya no pertenecen al responsable del programa decorativo – los que recalcan sin cesar la autoría calixtina, incluso en piezas increíbles. El estudio comparado de índices y epígrafes deja entrever que los índices han sido compilados en momento distinto de aquel en que se crearon los epígrafes. Habría que profundizar más en esta cuestión, que acaso arroje más luz todavía (DÍAZ cit. nota 1, p. 233-238).

refiere a Turpín y Carlomagno es evidente, en beneficio de este último. No puedo por menos de pensar en un deseo de remachar la conexión compostelana con los ambientes de Aquisgrán, acaso favorecido por la utilización de un modelo especialmente decorado³⁰.

Se puede avanzar más estudiando la combinación de epígrafes ricos y grandes capitales. En este punto se atiende con preferencia al empeño de presentar la fiesta litúrgica de Santiago del 25 de julio como la verdaderamente central e importantes³¹. Ahora bien, esta comprobación no basta para explicar otras acciones en este terreno que apuntan a que el responsable de la decoración tenía un enorme interés en destacar piezas tradicionales en Compostela. Lo hace así singularmente con la Pasión Magna que había estado en uso en la liturgia visigótica, y que en el libro I deja huellas tan importantes como la conmemoración de San Josías, personaje únicamente conocido a través de esta Pasión, en la liturgia del 26 de julio³². Si se comparan los tratamientos en el libro III, observaremos que, a pesar del cambio de decorador, las iniciales de las piezas jacobeanas de principal interés compostelano aparecen cuidadosa y brillantemente ejecutadas. No sería de excluir que en el modelo de estos folios rehechos ya aparecieran ricas capitales o, por lo menos, iniciales muy elaboradas.

Finalmente, otra intención del decorador aparece manifiesta si se piensa que actúa con otro objetivo bien definido: vincular estrechamente los cinco libros para subrayar su unidad. En efecto, con independencia de los epígrafes, el primer capítulo de cada uno de los libros I, II, (acaso originariamente también III), IV y V van realzados por una gran capital, cuya presencia destaca por el hecho de que en los libros II, IV y V no aparecen más decoraciones de este mismo tipo.

Así pues, tendríamos una triple serie: la que vincula los inicios de cada uno de los libros para dar coherencia y unidad al conjunto; la que se utiliza para destacar la preeminencia de la fiesta del 25 de julio; y la que pone de relieve especial las piezas de sello más netamente compostelano. Por otro lado las figuras de Calixto y de Turpín indican, además de las autorías correspondientes, la importancia relativa de cada una de las responsabilidades, con realce de cuanto se refiere a Carlomagno. Por mucho que se suponga un origen francés al menos para la elaboración del conjunto (y hay que admitirlo), no cabe la menor duda de que en el momento de ser

30 Parece que podrían descubrirse ciertas minúsculas diferencias de tratamiento entre la primera miniatura de f. 162 (sueño de Carlomagno) y las otras dos de f. 162v. Habrá que plantearse el problema de si las aquisgranenses de f. 162v, junto con la T de f. 163, no pueden haber tenido una existencia anterior, acaso acompañando una versión independiente del Pseudo-Turpín (no me resuelvo a aceptar las tesis de múltiples fases de este texto antes de que se incluyera en el Liber, aunque tengo por seguro que el Pseudo-Turpín es anterior a él, en algunos de cuyos textos ha influido ciertamente).

31 Grandes capitales en f. 24v, 31v, 44v en sermones atribuidos al 25 de julio; f. 53v, 55v y 72 para sermones correspondientes a los días 26, 27 y 31 de julio. Esta intensidad decorativa para la fiesta de julio y su octava contrasta con la más reducida presencia de capitales respecto a la fiesta tradicional del 30 de diciembre: capitales en f. 74 y f. 95v. En el primero de estos dos casos, que se corresponde con el sermón Veneranda dies, no podemos excluir que el tratamiento se deba precisamente al hecho de que esta pieza es, sin la menor duda, compostelana y acaso el núcleo de todo el LSI.

32 F. 122v (cf. Díaz cit. nota 1, p. 108).

ejecutado el *Códice Calixtino* se quiso llamar la atención sobre los puntos arriba indicados, que desde la perspectiva del preparador del texto del LSI no tenían tan singular relevancia. Si ahora aparecen, en función de ciertas pretensiones concretas, hay que pensar en intereses de Compostela.

Me parece que en esta misma dirección apunta el hecho mismo de la elaboración del *Códice*. Si había un modelo que ha sido copiado con suma atención, reproduciendo incluso ya que no la totalidad al menos una parte muy importante de su decoración, parecería ingenuo pensar en una copia más y no en una copia especialmente cuidada, aunque no de gran riqueza³³, con destino a algún personaje o comunidad de Santiago. Hay a este respecto dos indicios que no querría descuidar: es evidente que en el *Calixtino* se ha prestado atención singular desde el punto de vista codicológico a los libros I y II³⁴, con el ensayo de liturgia de Santiago y los milagros³⁵, aunque ciertas piezas importantes como las miniaturas carolinas avaloren el libro IV: los epígrafes, la disposición del texto, la grafía misma son mucho más cuidados en los primeros ciento cincuenta folios que en todo el resto. Por otro lado, pienso que esta conclusión, que parece orientarnos hacia alguien más interesado en esta parte del LSI que en otras, se corresponde con las modificaciones y amelioraciones que se han practicado en las transcripciones musicales de f. 130-131, y en el Complemento. ¿Podríamos deducir de aquí que esta copia ha sido ejecutada especialmente pensando en algunas personas concretas, acaso dignidades de la Iglesia compostelana?

Quisiera en este momento introducir un problema que no me parece carente de interés. De las copias sacadas de nuestro *Códice* en Compostela, dejada de lado la que hizo Arnaldo de Monte en 1173, hay dos que no dejan dudas de que derivan del manuscrito de Santiago: la del Vaticano, y la de Londres. Anterior a ellas parece la que se conserva en Salamanca, que he atribuido a los ambientes de Don Berenguel de Landoria por leves indicios que no es el momento ahora de repetir³⁶. Una colación de su texto, relativamente descuidado, creo que autoriza a pensar que depende de un modelo que deriva a su vez de la forma exacta del LSI que poseemos en el *Calixtino*, pero probablemente no de éste. El código gemelo (?) de nuestro *Calixtino* de que parece derivar el código de Salamanca era bastante puntual por lo que toca al texto, pero debía estar ya hecho a dos columnas, al menos en parte³⁷, como el propio Salmantino, y limitarse como él a los solos cinco libros sin el

33 La variedad de pigmentos, la labor de los decoradores, y el cuidado de copia desarrollado sobre todo por el escriba 1A excluyen que el *Códice* sea producto en serie de un obrador poco selecto.

34 Es altamente probable que aquí tendríamos que incluir asimismo el libro III; pero lo cierto es que este libro no se conserva más que en la forma – al menos paleográfica – rehecha posteriormente; el fol. 162, único conservado de la forma primigenia no basta para adscribir esta parte también a la más cuidada, que propugnamos.

35 Díaz (cit. nota 1), p. 318. Se subraya allí cómo en esta parte se trabajó con mayor esmero y sin apremios, al contrario que en el resto del manuscrito. La observación es válida independientemente de que se acepte o no nuestra tesis de dos escribas contemporáneos, pero con distintos hábitos y calidad de trabajo (véase ibid. p. 283-292).

36 Díaz (cit. nota 1), p. 135-136.

37 Por lo menos estaba a dos columnas el índice del libro I, pues de otro modo no pueden explicarse las confusiones que presenta el código de Salamanca. En otros pasajes no puede estimarse tan necesaria esta disposición.

Complemento musical³⁸; también es probable que la grafía utilizada no fuera tan formada como la del *Calixtino*, a juzgar por no pocas malas interpretaciones del texto al procederse a la copia en el manuscrito de Salamanca, de imposible explicación si la grafía fuera tan nítida como lo es, en general, la del *Códice Calixtino*. La existencia de todas las copias antes mencionadas, singularmente cuidadas, nos permite concluir que el *Códice Calixtino* que poseemos se guardaba, al menos desde el siglo XIII, si no antes, en la Iglesia de Santiago; pero más aún, el ejemplar salmantino nos asegura de que existió en Compostela más de una copia puntual del LSI.

Si ahora volvemos la vista atrás desde este supuesto, tendremos que aceptar, al menos como altamente verosímil, que el *Códice Calixtino* fue copiado para la Iglesia compostelana, y se ha conservado en ella. Probablemente ha sido este carácter el que permitió que se introdujeran en él ciertas novedades (pienso en las musicales). Quiero, no obstante, indicar que no se explican así satisfactoriamente las alteraciones de folios y cuadernos, cuya razón última sigue escapándonos.

¿Cuándo se copió el *Códice Calixtino*? No he logrado obtener hasta el momento datos que me permitan situarlo de manera precisa. Quiero señalar que la copia del manuscrito de Ripoll, a la que siempre se le prestó tanta atención, haciendo hincapié en su data de 1173, sirve para datar el *Liber* de manera definitiva, que le ha de ser anterior, pero no surte los mismos efectos demostrativos por lo que se refiere al *Códice*. Mientras no concluyamos los estudios que sobre el Ripollense están en curso, ni siquiera queda libre de duda el hecho comúnmente admitido ahora de que se copió sobre el *Calixtino* que poseemos. El argumento era válido mientras no hemos tenido la certeza de que en Santiago hubo por estos años más de una copia del LSI. Pero el estudio minucioso de las relaciones entre ejecución de las capitales o de las grandes iniciales y copia del texto ya no permite dudar de que se disponía de un modelo terminado y decorado del que nuestro *Códice* no pasa de ser un excelente, pero acaso no único ejemplo. El hecho más significativo al que ahora prestaría atención es el musical en el Complemento: si la música de estos folios ha de ser de 1160/1170, con diferencia de años respecto al momento de la copia de la música monódica del cuerpo del LSI, se nos plantea un problema que apunta como única solución a la existencia de un modelo, en que se hizo al menos una adición posterior. En efecto, en el *Códice Calixtino* el Complemento es de mano textual y musical distinta a la que había actuado en la parte musical primigenia³⁹. Pero creo

38 Como en el Salmanticense aparece el texto que contienen los folios modificados en el *Calixtino* parece necesario suponer que se utilizó éste; pero esta dificultad se compensa con otras pequeñas pero significativas variantes que excluyen que el *Calixtino* haya sido el modelo. Más dificultad produce, como se indica, que no figuraran en el prototipo del Salmantino los folios 214-220 (y siguientes) del Complemento, que no son posteriores a aquellas alteraciones de la forma primigenia del *Códice*.

39 La mano del texto parece distinta; pero con los cambios de módulo y calibres y la peculiar disposición de las sílabas para acoplarse a la secuencia musical resulta muy difícil comprobar y probar este aserto. Por lo que hace a las iniciales, a pesar de su extraordinaria semejanza con las que aparecen dentro de los cinco libros, ciertos pequeños detalles causan la impresión de que nos encontramos ante el producto de otro artista diferente; los pigmentos parecen ser, sin embargo, los mismos.

haber probado que cuando se preparó y dispuso el último cuaderno del *Códice* ya se contó con la inclusión del Complemento, que probablemente por aquel tiempo ya se había incluido en el manuscrito modelo⁴⁰.

Resulta, pues, que no contamos por el momento con otros indicativos que los paleográficos. Y estos todavía no han sido agotados. Los paralelos con las distintas partes del Tumbo A son menos probantes de lo que deseáramos, ya que, aunque unas y otras copias hubieran salido de un mismo escriptorio, no estaríamos por ello ciertos de que hubieran coincidido las manos, con lo que careceríamos igualmente de pruebas suficientes. De otra parte, la carencia de documentos originales de notarios compostelanos de este tiempo hace muy difícil entrar en precisiones con una dosis mínima de credibilidad. Sí podemos estar seguros de que el *Códice* ha debido ser copiado entre 1160 y 1180; pero si se piden argumentos en que pueda apoyarse esta aseveración, difícilmente podríamos presentarlos.

Nuestra vuelta sobre el tema no ha dado todos los resultados que nos hubiera gustado presentar. Algunas cosas parecen poder ponerse de relieve: el LSI se remata bastantes años después de muerto Gelmírez, aunque el respeto por el arzobispo que se desprende del contexto parece remitir a ambientes que le habían sido afectos, y que estaban al menos en parte en oposición al conjunto de los canónigos de la iglesia compostelana. Quizás se haya alcanzado el final del *Liber* poco después de 1150, aunque quizás se podría pensar en un año más cercano a los movimientos de Aquisgrán de exaltación de Carlomagno, de los que parece difícil separar la forma última del *Liber*. Elaborada esta obra, cuando se trató de copiarla para difundirla hubo dos actuaciones: la del que preparó los índices de contenidos de los distintos libros, y la del que organizó, o seleccionó el programa decorativo. Uno parecía especialmente interesado por la superchería calixtina, que recalaba por todos los medios a su alcance; el otro parece preocupado por subrayar cuanto había en el *Liber* que verdaderamente confirmase y protegiese las tradiciones compostelanas. Esta doble actuación debió haber finalizado no mucho antes de 1173. Sería por este tiempo, o algunos años antes, cuando se sacaría la copia que conservamos como *Códice Calixtino*. Probablemente en 1173 éste todavía no contaba con el Complemento musical, previsto, pero aún no copiado, que ahora se ofrece como parte integrante e inseparable del propio manuscrito.

40 De todos modos esta precisa conclusión no queda al abrigo de discusiones. No estoy tan seguro de que en el caso de la música del Complemento se haya procedido a copiar cuidadosamente un modelo. Se descubren no pocas incongruencias (entre las que sería una de las importantes, el descuido con que se tratan los epígrafes de autorías musicales), que difícilmente se darían si existiera el supuesto modelo, en forma y debidamente terminado, como había sido el caso para el *Liber* respecto de nuestro *Códice Calixtino*.

The Miracles of St. James

KLAUS HERBERS

I.

"Le peuple cria au miracle," – common people cried out for miracles – so Pierre André Sigal assessed the climate of devotional sites in the late middle ages.¹ Of course, accounts of miracles were an excellent means to attract people to places of worship in the first place, as the agents of such cults, as Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz termed them,² well understood. For Compostela this strong desire was met in the second book of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, where twenty-two miracles underscored the awesome power of Saint James.³

One, the 4th, may serve as an example. Thirty knights from Lorraine wished to travel to Compostela. They all swore loyalty to one another, save for one. On their arrival in Gascony one of the company became ill. The knights who had professed loyalty carried him to the Cisa pass in a journey that took fifteen days rather than the normal five. There the sick knight was left alone, but – in a development which recalls the parable of the Good Samaritan – the knight who had not sworn loyalty stayed with his suffering companion. Nevertheless, the stricken knight died during the night, and was ushered to paradise by Saint James. On being left alone the faithful knight became fearful and asked for help from Saint James. The apostle came to him in knightly disguise, and in the course of the night carried the corpse and the loyal knight on his horse to Compostela in order to bury the dead knight there. After praying, the loyal knight was ordered by James to tell the rest of their companions, who were in León, that if they did not do penance their pilgrimage would be in vain. This mission was carried out, and the guilty knights continued their journey after receiving absolution from the Bishop of León.

1 L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI-XII^e siècle) (Paris 1985) p. 9. – I thank O. Scheiding and John Williams for their help in translating this paper.

2 M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ con colaboración de M.A. GARCÍA PINEIRO y P. del Oro Trigo, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago: Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Monografías de Compostellanum 2, Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 24; p. 1-97 are identical with: M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Liber Sancti Jacobi. Situación de los problemas*, Compostellanum 32 (1987) p. 359-442.

3 *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, Codex Calixtinus, ed. W.M. WHITEHILL, 3 volumes (Santiago de Compostela 1944) vol 1, p. 259-287. For the defects of this edition see K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der "Liber Sancti Jacobi"* (Historische Forschungen 7 Wiesbaden 1984) p. 28-29 and DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 126-128. A new edition is being prepared by Díaz y Díaz. The book of miracles figures in the "índice de contenido" de Díaz y Díaz (p. 110-112) from n. 80 to 104. The abundant literature dealing with the *Liber* and the *Codex Calixtinus* are cited in these works; in the following notes I shall cite only those works dealing more directly with the second book (miracles) of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and refer to the bibliographies of these books. Recently F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) dealt with the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* as source for the urban evolution of Compostela.

This is only one of many stories which emphasize Saint James' ability to perform miracles,⁴ a power demonstrated throughout the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.⁵ One finds miraculous tales⁶ in the other parts of the *Codex Calixtinus* – the Compostellan version of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*⁷ – but they differ, as we shall see, from those of the second book. I shall provide a brief characterization of the twenty-two miracles of the second book.

In a prologue by Pseudo-Calixtus the twenty-two miracles are described as the "truest" ones.⁸ The stories which then follow start almost always with a statement of time, in most cases an exact year.⁹ With the reading of each miracle one finds, except with miracles 16 to 18, a certain formula based on Psalm 117, 23: *A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris*. A doxological ending-formula, in

- 4 The author is said to be the canon Hubert of St. Mary Magdalene of Besançon, a person not known from other texts. I chose this miracle because many of my observations may be proved by this miracle and because some miracles have been analyzed already in other works. Cf. e.g. miracle 5 by B. DE GAFFIER, *Un thème hagiographique: Le pendu miraculeusement sauvé*, *Revue belge d'archéologie de l'histoire de l'art* 13 (1943) p. 125-148, reimp. in: idem, *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 43 (Brussels 1967), p. 194-227 esp. p. 208-215 and 226; R. PLÖTZ, *Der hüntr hinder dem altar saltu nicht vergessen. Zur Motivgeschichte eines Fingeralters der Kempener Propsteikirche*, in: *Epitaph für Gregor Hövelmann, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins dem Freund gewidmet*, ed. St. FRANKIEWITZ (Geldern 1987) p. 119-170 (citing older articles p. 127 note 29). Cf. for the evolution of this hagiographic theme in the context of the evolution of medieval society and law: F. LÖTTER, *Heiliger und Gehenker. Zur Todesstrafe in hagiographischen Episodenerzählungen des Mittelalters*, in: *Ecclesia et Regnum. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kirche, Recht und Staat im Mittelalter*, Festschrift F.-J. Schmale, ed. D. BERG and H.-W. GOETZ (Bochum 1989) p. 1-19, especially 15-16. For an interpretation of miracle 19 cf. M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Santiago Caballero y la Reconquista de Coimbra*, in idem, *Visiones del más allá en Galicia durante la alta Edad Media*, *Bibliofilos gallegos, Biblioteca de Galicia* 24 (Santiago de Compostela 1985) p. 121-143 (with edition).
- 5 See e.g. book I, chapter 17 (WHITEHILL [note 3] p. 148) and book V, ed. J. VIELLIARD, *Le Guide du pèlerin de St-Jacques de Compostelle, texte latin du XII^e siècle édité et traduit en français d'après les manuscrits de Compostelle et de Ripoll* (Mâcon-Paris 1938, 5th ed. 1981) chapter 9, p. 118 (with similarities in both citations). Both passages underline the thaumaturgic power of St. James, stressing, above all, his power to liberate from sin. Cf. the German translation and comments: K. HERRERS, *Der Jakobsweg. Mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela* (Tübingen 1986, 4th ed. 1991) p. 61 with note 11 and p. 158 with note 372 (cf. p. 54-55 notes 8-10 for other translations of the fifth book).
- 6 Book I, chapter 2, ed. WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 20-21; book V, chapter 11, ed. VIELLIARD, *Guide* (note 5) p. 122-124; appendix, ed. WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 400-401, 404-406, 406-407, 413-415; finally another miracle in book IV (Pseudo-Turpin), ed. A. HAMPEL, *Der Pseudo-Turpin von Compostela, aus dem Nachlaß von A. DE MANDACH* in: *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (München 1965) p. 94-96. Cf. the exact references and further literature in: HERRERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 112. Some of these miracles are edited now by H.W. KLEIN, *Verstreute Mirakelberichte aus dem Liber Sancti Jacobi*, in: *Text-Etymologie. Untersuchungen zu Textkörper und Textinhalt, Festschrift H. Lausberg zum 75. Geburtstag*, hg. von A. ARENS (Stuttgart 1987) p. 19-27. Cf. the edition of miracle 19 in DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Santiago Caballero* (note 4).
- 7 For the relation between *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Codex Calixtinus* (or *Compostellanus*) see HERRERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 16-32 and DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) especially pp. 99-101.
- 8 *Nec quis putet me omnia, que audiui de eodem, miracula et exempla scripsisse, sed que uerissimis assercionibus uerissimorum hominum uera approbaui fuisse*, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 259 (all quotes of the Whitehill-edition are revised on the *Codex Calixtinus*).
- 9 Only miracles 1, 2, 16-21 are without indication of a year. The miracles cited here are from the second book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, with the number of their order; the folio and pages are indicated in the table (Appendix 2, p. 34).

some cases a moral, closes each story. The other miracles spread through the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* are different.¹⁰ In most cases they have no ending-formula. They are much shorter¹¹ and chiefly describe incidents of misbehaviour in which punishments follow in a miraculous way. The miracles of the second book are therefore to be put in the category of "miracles of help" or "Hilfswunder."¹²

Stories about miracles were collected in almost every pilgrimage center.¹³ They normally had a "living structure," that is, new things were constantly added to pre-existent tales, while older events were eliminated or the main body of the text changed in some other way.¹⁴ A sermon of the first book of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* where more recent miracles are inserted beside earlier ones attests to this. Moreover, in stating that the miracles had to be witnessed by two or three persons,¹⁵ the author of this passage made claims similar to those in the prologue of the second book.¹⁶ For many of these tales one can find earlier patterns. I will not enter further into the early history of the second book.¹⁷

10 Cf. note 6.

11 HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 113 and DIAZ Y DIAZ, Calixtino (note 2) p. 55.

12 The opposition of "help" and "punishment" may be important for the conception of a cult and for the tendency of special collections of miracles. Cf. concerning the difference of "Hilfs-" and "Strafwunder" F. LOTTER, *Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen*, *Historische Zeitschrift* 229 (1979) p. 298-356, p. 333. The miraculous events in the Pseudo-Turpin are cited in KLEIN, *Mirakelberichte* (note 6) p. 20-21. These are, above all, events that are integrated with the text. Cf. the analysis of those represented on the shrine of Aachen: H.W. KLEIN, *Karl der Große und Compostela*, in: *Deutsche Jakobspilger und ihre Berichte*, ed. K. HERBERS (Tübingen 1988) p. 133-148 and K. HERBERS, *Karl der Grosse und Spanien - Realität und Fiktion*, in: *Karl der Grosse und sein Schrein in Aachen*, ed. H. MULLEJANS (Aachen/Mönchengladbach 1988) p. 47-55, especially p. 51-52. Some of the miracles in the Appendix (ed. KLEIN, *Mirakelberichte*, note 7, p. 23-27) are closer to those of the second book.

13 Cf. R.C. FINUCANE, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London-Melbourne-Toronto 1977) especially p. 130-151; B. WARD, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event. 1000-1215* (London 1982 and Philadelphia 1987), with analysis of miracles from English centers (but cf. for the miracles of St. James p. 110-116, based on the theory of P. DAVID [note 15 below]). Cf. the corpus of the 11th and 12th century interpreted by SIGAL, *L'homme* (note 1) p. 316-329 (208 collections) and p. 330-332, and the more precise catalogue of C. RENDTEL, *Hochmittelalterliche Mirakelberichte als Quelle zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte sowie zur Geschichte des Wallfahrtswesens*, 2 vol. (Phil. Diss. FU Berlin 1982, Düsseldorf 1985) p. 332-505. We are dealing here only with the miracles of pilgrimage centers and not the "miracula in vita" or other forms. For questions of definition "miracle-exemplum" cf. note 68.

14 Among other factors the competition between different centers, the reactions of other clerics or of lay people influenced these "changes." Cf. SIGAL, *L'homme* (note 1) p. 185-188 and RENDTEL, *Mirakelberichte* (note 13) p. 140-163.

15 *Miracula tamen, quae ipse adhuc facturatus est, quae sub duobus aut tribus testibus testificata fuerint, concedimus ut ad fidelium edificationem scribantur*, I chapter 17, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 145. Cf. P. DAVID, *Etudes sur le livre de St-Jacques attribué au pape Calixte II, I-IV*, *Bulletin des Etudes portugaises* 10 (1945) p. 1-41; 11 (1947) p. 113-185; 12 (1948) p. 70-223 and 13 (1949) p. 52-104; 11 (1947) p. 175 (erroneously citing the introductory letter of Pseudo-Calixtus).

16 Cf. note 8.

17 At least miracles 16-19 can be traced back to earlier sources; above all the "Dicta Anselmi," which took shape about 1116, cf. R.W. SOUTHERN, F.S. SCHMITT, *Memorials of St. Anselm* (London 1969) p. 26; R.W. SOUTHERN, *The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958) p. 176-216, p. 188-190 and 208-213 (miracles 16-18) and perhaps the "Historia Silense", ed. J. PÉREZ DE URBEL and A.G. RUIZ ZORILLA, *Escuela de Estudios medievales* 30 (Madrid 1959) p. 191-193 (miracle 19), although the two versions are perhaps based independently on an oral tradition, cf. HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 111 and DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Santiago caballero*

The time of origin for the *Codex Calixtinus* version of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* has been estimated as the some point between 1139 and 1173, more precisely some time around 1160.¹⁸ Book II, now under discussion, was already basically compiled, perhaps, between 1110 and 1120. According to recent, above all codicological, research, it seems probable that the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* existed in various copies, possibly shorter and differently arranged, in Compostela in the 12th century.¹⁹ That becomes even more probable when we consider the copy which Arnaldus de Monte made for the monastery of Ripoll in 1173, for it does not correspond in every detail with the *Codex Calixtinus* of Compostela.²⁰ Arnaldus completely copied books II, III and IV as well as some parts of Books I and V.²¹ The following points about this copy are noteworthy:

- (note 4) p. 123. I cannot discuss here either the interpretation of the name of Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124), originally from Burgundy (Guy of Vienne), in the context of the miracles. Although he was not the true author of the miracles of the *Codex Calixtinus* (cf. for theories about the authorship of Calixtus: HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* [note 3] p. 44 and note 192), the influence of his authority concerning miracles is stressed by the citation of Calixtus in Paul von Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII papae*, ed. J.M. WATTERICH, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae*, vol. 1 (1862) p. 474-546, p. 479-480: *papa Calixtus narrare consuevit*. It is interesting that this miracle in Paul von Bernried figures also (although differently) in the *Dicta Anselmi*. Cf. H. FUHRMANN, *Zu den Marienwundern in der Vita Gregorii VII pape* des Paul von Bernried, in: *Ecclesia et Regnum* (note 4) p. 111-119, especially p. 112. For Paul von Bernried cf. generally R. SCHEFFER, in: *Verfasserlexikon*²⁷ (1988) col. 359-364. This argument has to be taken into consideration for the evolution of the compilation, cf. for the miracles and Burgundy note 65. In such an analysis the different use of *edire* and *conscribere* in the title of the miracles should be considered. The supposition of C. TORRES RODRIGUEZ, *Aldhelm, Adhelmo o Adelm, Abad de Malmesbury y obispo de Sherborn. Su relación con la tradición Jacobea (650-709)*, *Compostellanum* 28 (1983) p. 417-428, p. 425 that an expression in Aldhelm might refer to the book of miracles is at the least very hypothetical.
- 18 DAVID, *Études* (note 15) IV (1949) p. 102 (about 1150) HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 33-38 (1140-1150), DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 81 (about 1160). All recent propositions for dating (cited in these works) start from the reflection that Arnaldus de Monte copied parts of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* from the Compostelan version in 1172/73. Another argument is the letter attributed to Innocent II (1130-1143), P. JAFFÉ, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, Leipzig 1885-1888, ed. S. LOWENFELD (cited JL) n. † 8286), which I think must have been forged soon after the death of Innocent, because it offered a more actual papal legitimation (normally represented by the fictive Pseudo-Calixtus II) for the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. But this second argument is not necessarily valid for the entire compilation in the *Codex Calixtinus*, for the bull of Innocent figures, e.g., after Book II in Arnaldus' copy. This may indicate a "pre-*Liber Sancti Jacobi*" consisting of Books I and II.
- 19 Cf. the suppositions of M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Problemas de la cultura en los siglos XI-XII. La Escuela episcopal de Santiago*, *Compostellanum* 16 (1971) p. 187-200 with note 34; idem, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 38-42, treating the problem in the context of the "Libellus" version, which might be earlier than the *Codex Calixtinus*, and p. 312-314. The differentiation between "Liber" and "Libellus" goes back to A. HÄMEL, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Munich 1950) p. 6 and 42-43 and idem, *Los manuscritos latinos del Falso Turpino*, in: *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. 4 (Madrid 1953) p. 67-85, p. 73-81 (with list of manuscripts). Hämel thought the "Libellus" to be a later reduction of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* based on the *Codex Calixtinus*, but the question remains open.
- 20 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ms. Ripoll n. 99. See the description of this manuscript in R. BEER, *Die Handschriften des Klosters S. Maria de Ripoll*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 5 (Vienna 1908) p. 7; HÄMEL, *Überlieferung* (note 19) p. 65-67, cf. p. 21-28; HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 22-23 note 67 and 33; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 134-135 and 327-333.
- 21 See HÄMEL, *Überlieferung* (note 19) p. 65-67 and DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 262 and note 56 and 327-333.

- 1) The tales of miracles are enhanced after the 22nd miracle by those from Book I, and shortly afterwards with those from the appendix and Book V.
- 2) The letter related to Pope Innocent II falls after the miracle tales.
- 3) The marginal remark in the *Codex Calixtinus* which points to a miracle feast as the third feast of St. James is now integrated with the text.²²

The first two points lead to the conclusion that a version of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* with more than the twenty-two miracles might have existed in Compostela.²³ Perhaps the forged bull of Innocent, today at the end of the collection, originally authenticated only Books I and II as well as some further pieces. The third point raises problems. Two possibilities exist. If Arnaldus had copied his text from the *Codex Calixtinus* manuscript, the marginal note must have been inserted before the date of Arnaldus's visit to Compostela. But if Arnaldus copied from another version, as the first two points make probable, then the marginal note must have existed in the other version too, as a gloss or as part of the text.²⁴ But in this case it is strange that we have the miracle feast present in the *Codex Calixtinus* as a marginal gloss. Apparently various independent collections of miracles with different arrangements existed in Compostela, but the comparison of the two surviving copies of Ripoll and Compostela (*Codex Calixtinus*) shows how difficult it is to resolve contradictions and to describe further possible and probable versions of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* more precisely. In any case it appears certain that the compiler of the book of miracles as we know it from the *Codex Calixtinus* used various sources.²⁵ The book then took shape according to certain goals sought by clerics and other supporters of the bishopric of Compostela.²⁶

II.

Let us now focus on the collection of the *Codex Calixtinus*. What did the clerics of Compostela wish to achieve with such a compilation? It has always been said that the purpose of collections of miracles was, above all, the propagation of a given cult. Put so generally, it does not say much about the particular collection. We must

- 22 F. 35r-48v: 22 miracles; 48v-49r miracles of Book I (chapter 2, WHITEHILL [note 3] p. 20-21; KLEIN, *Mirakelberichte* [note 7] p. 22); f. 49r-49v two miracles of the appendix in CC (WHITEHILL p. 404-405 and 405-406; KLEIN p. 24 and 25); 49v-50r miracles of Book V (VIELLEARD, *Guide* [note 5] pp. 122-124). Cf. the synopsis of manuscripts in DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 330. Cf. for this feast note 40.
- 23 Cf. DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 261-262 with the remark that Arnaldus perhaps found another copy of the *Liber* containing the first and the second (slightly different) book. This might be correct for the miracles of the actual appendix, but less so for those of the 2nd chapter of Book I: a note in the Ripoll copy in I 2 (f. 7^v) hints at the later following collection of miracles in the Ripoll copy.
- 24 DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 266 concludes from all marginal notes that those were inserted before 1172, i.e., before the time when Arnaldus copied parts of the *Liber S. Jacobi*. But this is contrary to the supposition that Arnaldus copied, perhaps, from another manuscript in Compostela; more precisely, it might indicate only the form of another manuscript.
- 25 HUBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 110-111 and DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 54; cf. note 17.
- 26 The final redaction in Santiago de Compostela is assumed by HAMEL, *Manuscriptos* (note 19) p. 68; HAMEL-DE MANDACH, *Pseudo-Turpin* (note 6) p. 17-23 and DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 90-91.

become more concrete. When we consider the prologue of our book of miracles, it is apparent that liturgical significance is emphasized. It stipulates that sermons and miracles should be recited during the Saint's feast in the church, and read in the refectory on the day the Saint's feast fell upon that year.²⁷ The prologue of the book of the miracles says almost the same: the text should be read in the church or in the refectory, especially on the Saints' feasts.²⁸ Arnaldus de Monte, the monk from Ripoll, also noted in his copy from 1173 that parts should be read in the church.²⁹ The provision of material for offices in the church and refectory makes it clear that only "the most authentic miracles," as they stipulated, were chosen, for the amount of text in the first and second book seems to be more than enough for matutinal lectures: *Satis sufficiunt ad matutinas legendum*.³⁰ At the same time, the Pseudo-Calixtus recommended the continuation of reading in the refectory.³¹ The doxological ending-formula also reflects the compiler's liturgical intention. Half of the miracles³² end with this formula and the above-mentioned quotation from Psalm 117.

When we look at the construction and content of the miracles we note that with few exceptions³³ every story begins with a statement of time, in most cases the exact year.³⁴ Usually the participants are then introduced and sometimes their native regions. The above-mentioned ending-formula, based on Psalm 117, always appears after the story itself. Exceptions are miracles 16-18, which are based on a text from the "Dicta Anselmi."³⁵

A few stories stand out compared to the rest. This is the case with miracles 10-14, where a relatively simple style avoids the circumlocutions found in other miracles of the compilation. In my opinion the built-in morals and explanations

27 JL n. † 7108; last edition DIAZ Y DIAZ, Calixtino (note 2) p. 335-340, p. 338, line 66-69.

28 Fol. 140r, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 259: *codex iste... in ecclesiis et rectoriis diebus festis eiusdem apostoli aliisque, si placet, diligenter legatur*. Cf. similar words concerning the "Passio", WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 94: *Passio in ecclesiis et in rectoriis secure legatur*.

29 *Quid autem legendum sit in ecclesia sive in rectorio, de superscriptis omnibus, ex epistola Calixti... nulli fidelium contempnenda prebatur auctoritas...*, ed. VIELLIARD, Guide (note 5) p. 130.

30 JL † 7108, ed. DIAZ Y DIAZ, Calixtino (note 2) p. 338 line 65-66.

31 Cf. concerning the lectures at table in the refectories: B. DE GAFFIER, A propos des légendiers latins, *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979) p. 57-68. Cf. HAMEL, Überlieferung (note 19) p. 24: The number of miracles in book II and later additions seems to indicate that this book was destined for a monastic community. Cf. DAVID, Etudes (note 15) II (1947) p. 155-156; cf. similarly WARD, Miracles (note 13) p. 111. But cf. the different observations of C. HOHLER, A Note on *Jacobus*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 31-80, p. 43-44, who favored a use in communities of regular canons. Let us take into consideration that the canons of Compostela were instituted in 1102 (*Historia Compostelana*, ed. E. FALQUE REY, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 70, [Turnhout 1988] I 20 p. 46-47 – cf. R.A. FLETCHER, Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela [Oxford 1984] p. 167-169, stressing the French influence of this innovation). Before then the cult of Compostela was served by monks (cf. DIAZ Y DIAZ, Calixtino [note 2] p. 24-28 on the cult in Compostela following traditional forms). This change has to be taken into account in the consideration of the evolution of the book of miracles and its different numbers in different versions.

32 Thus miracles 1, 7, 10, 11-15, 19-21; special cases are miracle 17 and 18, lacking this formula.

33 Exceptions are miracles 16-19. Miracle 1 contains a form of second introduction, miracle 4 a form of introduction and in miracle 21 it says vaguely *nostro itaque tempore*.

34 Without exact year are miracles 1, 2, 16-21.

35 Cf. note 17.

were introduced by interested parties from Compostela. The miracle was not allowed to speak for itself, but had to receive an added emphasis on the thaumaturgic power of St. James. Thus the second miracle states that as the story shows, he who comes to Santiago de Compostela ready to do real penance can count on forgiveness for his sins.³⁶ Or one notices in the 20th miracle (in case someone did not notice it through the hearing or reading of the preceding 19 miracles!) that St. James has become famous for performing many miracles in our (!) time.³⁷

I will return to the structural and textual differences among the various miracles later, but allow me to make the following comments. The explanations and the moralistic insertions in the version of the *Codex Calixtinus* are concrete indications of the purpose of the recitation of the miracles, namely, the further enhancement of the propaganda of the cult. The primary aim, *aedificatio* – as the sermon *Veneranda dies* of the first book calls it³⁸ – was changed through exaggeration, remodeling and insertions from that of simple narrative to a specific intention to edify.

The promoters of Compostela responsible for such changes went even further. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* recognizes two feast days for St. James: the 25th of July and the 30th of December. Much has been written about the reason the 30th of December remained a feast after the introduction of the Roman liturgy and the feast day of the 25th of July.³⁹ They went further, however, and tried to appropriate still another feast day for St. James. The version of the *Codex Calixtinus* contains in miracle 17 a marginal note which claims a miracle feast on October 3rd.⁴⁰ Books I and III have some similar notes.⁴¹ A separate folio that can be dated between 1172–1190 according to recent research by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz,⁴² was inserted after the mass formulas for the 25th of July and the 30th of December. It concludes with the injunction *lectiones de miraculis s. Jacobi legantur*.⁴³ These attempts demon-

36 *Hinc datur intelligi, quia quisquis uere penitens fuerit et de longinquis horis ueniam a Domino et auxilia beati Jacobi postulanda in Gallecia toto corde pecierit, procul dubio delictorum eius cyrographum deletum in eum erit.* WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 263.

37 *... cum iam nostris temporibus multis miraculorum signis beatissimus Iacob(us) apostolus per totum orbem longe lateque refulsisset.* WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 285.

38 *Miracula tamen quae ipse adhuc facturus est, quae sub duobus aut tribus testibus testificata fuerint, concedimus ut ad fidelium edificationem scribantur,* chapter 17, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 145.

39 Cf. J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *El antifonario de León y el culto de Santiago el Mayor en la liturgia mozárabe*, *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 3 (1954) p. 5–24, p. 23; J. VIVIS, *Liturgia. C. Calendarios litúrgicos*, in: *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 2 (Madrid 1972) pp. 1324–1326 and HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 103–105 with the quotation of the passage of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. – In the *Liber* the 25th of July signifies the Feast of the Passion, the 30th of December the Feast of Vocation and Translation. DAVID, *Études* (note 15) II (1947) p. 130–131 considered an influence of the feasts of St. Martin in Tours. In the miracles of book II we twice find a date for the feast day of the 30th of December and only one time for the feast day of the 25th of July, perhaps a hint of a certain traditional Compostelean influence. Cf. M. DE MENACA, *Histoire de Saint Jacques et de ses miracles au Moyen Âge (VIIIe–XIIe siècles)* (Université de Nantes 1987) p. 141 (cf. for this work note 65).

40 Cf. HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 27 note 92 and p. 205; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 250 and 266. Contrary to HOHLER, *Note* (note 32) p. 32, I think that the point of departure for these notices is to be found in the book of miracles.

41 F. 20r, 152r and 161r. Cf. the added miracle in the appendix, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 406–407.

42 DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 266.

43 F. 128, WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 240.

strate the resourcefulness of the clerics of Compostela, even if the insertions by those responsible for the campaign for an additional feast day failed in the end to accomplish that goal.⁴⁴ The miracles were employed in order to establish a further day for James in the feast calendar and the enhancement of James' reputation in comparison with those of other Saints and apostles. Perhaps the number of Roman Apostolic feasts for Peter and Paul influenced the scribes of these notes as well as the author of the additional folio.⁴⁵

As wonder-worker James had many competitors with their own compilations of miracles.⁴⁶ How could Compostela promote its Saint against these rivals? Above all, it was important to select the right examples for the book of miracles. As the prologue states, only the most beautiful, truest, and valuable ones are to be taken into consideration.⁴⁷ In comparing this compilation with other books of miracles of the same period, one perceives what the so-called compiler, Pseudo-Calixtus, wanted to express in his prologue. For instance, simple healing of bodily afflictions or diseases are exceptional; raising from the dead and salvation of body and soul in all kinds of extreme situations are frequent, and in comparison with other collections of this genre skillfully woven into a tale.⁴⁸ If the tales constantly stress the special thaumaturgic strength of Saint James, they do so in order to distinguish him from the huge crowd of wonderworkers. The tale of miracle 3 goes even further. Here a mighty competitor of St. James is directly addressed. The author asks how St. James can raise the dead after his own death, when "God, our Lord, and St. Martin raised persons from the dead during their lifetime."⁴⁹ This objection to St. James' performance *post mortem* might have been formulated by critics.⁵⁰ The end

44 Further influences of this feast are unknown; cf. DAVID, *Etudes* (note 16) II (1947) p. 131 for traditions in Compostela. WARD (note 13) p. 111 proposed (without proof) that the feast was kept in the 12th century. It is of interest that JACOB GREISER, *De sacris et religiosis peregrinationibus libri quattuor* (Ingolstadt 1606) p. 279 still mentioned this feast.

45 Cf. W. DUKIO, *Apostelfeste*, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 1 (1957, Repr. 1986) col. 742-743 for the evolution of the different feasts.

46 Cf. in general the miracles analyzed by SIGAL, *L'homme* (note 1) and RENDTEL, *Mirakelberichte* (note 13). The fifth book (chapter 8) of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* cites much hagiographic literature of important French competitors. Cf. VIELLIARD, *Guide* (note 5) p. 34-82 and the identifications in HERBERS, *Jakobsweg* (note 5) p. 105-133. For miracles see especially p. 108-109 (Saint Gilles), p. 115-116 (Sainte-Foy de Conques), p. 116-117 (Vézelay), p. 118-119 (Saint Léonard), p. 122 (Saint Martin). The idea of subordination of the French saints, stressed by DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 30, has some exceptions in Book V, e.g., VIELLIARD, *Guide* (note 5) p. 46 (similar rights of James, Martin, Leonard and Gilles) or p. 60 (very similar to the healings in Compostela described on p. 118).

47 WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 259: *Quæ quanto magis sunt pulciora, tanto magis cariora. Nec quis putet me omnia, quæ audiui de eodem, miracula et exempla scripsisse ...*

48 Cf. the classification in HERBERS, *Jakobskult* (note 3) p. 119 and 122. WARD, *Miracles* (note 13) p. 116 compares the miracles from the *Codex Calixtinus* with those of the Abbey of Reading, where a hand of St. James was venerated, and concludes: "St. James at Reading was the *divinus medicus* not *Santiago Matamoros*". From this comparison the special character of the miracles in the *Codex Calixtinus* seems evident.

49 WHITEHILL (note 3) p. 264: *Res est noua et adhuc inaudita, quod mortuus mortuum suscitaret. Beatus Martinus adhuc uiuens et Dominus noster Ihesus Christus tres mortuos suscitauit: beatus uero Iacob(us) mortuus mortuum ad uitam reduxit.*

50 See the continuation: *Sed dicat econtra aliquis: Si Dominus noster et beatus Martin(us) neminem post mortem, sed ante necem tres tantum mortuos suscitasse leguntur, ergo mortuus non posse suscitare mortuum peribetur.*

of the passage says that every Saint, communing with God our Lord and thus "living", is able to raise people from the dead. Despite this explanation, we should keep in mind that one of James' more important competitors, St. Martin, is indirectly forced to step back into a second rank position through this comparison. The tale reflects, by the way, links to the fifth book of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which also deals with revivals of the dead by St. Martin *in vita*.⁵¹ As a further reduction in rank, St. Martin's church is called a reproduction of the cathedral in Compostela.⁵² The idea of the subordination of saints and other devotional places to Compostela, recently stressed by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz,⁵³ is not an exclusive property of the fifth book. St. Martin's example shows that this idea is true as well for parts of the second book too.

Not only was the importance of one's own Saint to be enhanced by the overshadowing of competitors, but it was also necessary to demonstrate the universal dimension the cult had attained. People who were personally affected by miracles were said to come from present-day Germany, Italy, France, Greece and Catalonia.⁵⁴ According to this and various other primary sources, all of the chief countries where St. James' pilgrims came from in the 12th century are mentioned. The portion of pilgrims from Burgundy is notably high. Pilgrims coming from the area around Compostela were obviously less important. They could not contribute anything to the cult's universal claim and they would come to the apostle's tomb as a matter of course.

The setting of the miracle is in five cases the pilgrim's home, in five others at Santiago de Compostela, six occur on the journey there by land, four on board ship,⁵⁵ in a demonstration that the Saint's thaumaturgic strength is present everywhere.⁵⁶ Miracles happening on the way to and taking place in Compostela have special importance. The way to the holy place, a central motif especially of St. James' cult,⁵⁷ is reflected in the miracles too. Even the whole of the pilgrimage

51 *Liber Sancti Jacobi* V, 8, ed. VIELLIARD, Guide (note 5) p. 60: *Hic vero trium mortuorum suscitator magnificus esse perhibetur...* Cf. to the Life of St. Martin the "Vita" of Sulpicius Severus, ed. J. FONTAINE, *Vie de Saint Martin* (Sources Chrétiennes 133-135, Paris 1967-1969) (cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, Brussels 1899-1901, n. 5610, cf. for his miracles n. 5619-5623, 5653-5656, 5660-5663). Cf. C. STANCLIFFE, *St. Martin and His Hagiographer. History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford 1983) and generally C. DONALDSON, *Martin of Tours, Parish Priest, Mystic and Exorcist* (London 1980). For the pilgrimages cf. E. DELARUELLE, *La spiritualité des pèlerinages à Saint-Martin de Tours du Ve au Xe siècle*, in: idem, *La piété populaire au Moyen Age* (Torino 1980) p. 477-519.

52 *Liber Sancti Jacobi* V, 8 ed. VIELLIARD, Guide (note 5) p. 60. *Super quem ingens basilica veneranda sub ejus honore ad similitudinem scilicet ecclesie beati Jacobi miro opere fabricatur...* Cf. for interpretations of this dependence: M. DURLIAT, *Pèlerinages et architecture romane, Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 20 (1977) p. 22-25 and J. WILLIAMS, *La arquitectura del camino de Santiago, Compostellanum* 29 (1984) p. 267-290, especially p. 278-280 with references to the archeological evidence.

53 DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Calixtino (note 2) p. 30.

54 France: miracle 3, 6, 9, 13, 16-18, 20, 21 (Lorraine: miracle 4); Italy: miracle 11, 12, 15; Germany: miracle 5 and 7; Greece: miracle 19; Catalonia: miracle 1 and 22 (culturally, Catalonia belonged to southern France). Miracle 14 cannot be localized.

55 Cf. HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 115 and notes 49-52.

56 Cf. *ibid.* and DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Calixtino (note 2) p. 54 note 81.

57 Cf. K. HERBERS, *Via peregrinalis*, ed. R. Plotz (*Jakobus-Studien* 2, Tübingen 1990), p. 1-27.

roads, as in miracle 5, which is an early version of the "chicken miracle,"⁵⁸ are susceptible to James' intervention. The same power can be found in still other miracles⁵⁹ where James helps pilgrims to overcome space and distance on their long way to *finis terrae*. Thus in miracle 4 recounted above James appears to his loyal companion as a knight and in a single night carries the dead and living knights over the twelve stages described in book V to *Mons Gaudii* near Compostela: ... *Nocte illa transcurro interuallo itineris duodecim dierum, ante solis ortum ... apostolus quos acceperat ab equo deponit ...*⁶⁰

It is difficult to systematize the different kinds of miracles. Basically, the text had to satisfy different purposes. James had to be a potent protector, but at the same time his strength was supposed to be available to all. Very often the miracles have a complex structure as the just quoted fourth miracle demonstrates. On the other hand, some tales were constructed very simply around the theme of the healing of "normal" diseases. However, these are rare. The time of occurrence is usually the beginning of the 12th century.⁶¹ Thus the traditional hagiographical texts about mission, Passio and Translatio are completed in the present.

Finally, looking at persons affected by miracles it becomes clear that above all members of the lower aristocracy experienced the thaumaturgic strength of St. James.⁶² This chivalric orientation of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and of the compilation of miracles had its consequences: St. James could become a figure of identification all over Europe for the new rising group of the lesser nobility of the *ministeriales*. The House of Thurn from the area around Salzburg, about 1500 miles from Compostela, represents a good example of this.⁶³ However, if the miracles focus not only on the needs and problems of all pilgrims but place a certain emphasis upon those of chivalric rank, that does not automatically mean that this theme was meant to be exclusively a chivalric one. Members of different social groups shared the literary themes from the world of chivalry.

At the beginning of the 12th century there were intensive contacts between Compostela and the Burgundian aristocracy,⁶⁴ and the fact that the Burgundian area played such an important role in the miracles has been emphasized in arguments for a Burgundian origin for the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Scholars such as Pierre David and

58 Cf. note 4.

59 Cf. miracles 3, 4, 5, 6 and 16.

60 For the day's stages cf. Book V, 2, ed. VIELLIARD, Guide (note 5) p. 4, cf. HERBERS, Jakobsweg (note 5) p. 44 and F. ISHOLEK, Die Bedeutung von Pilgerwegen für die mittelalterliche Siedlungsentwicklung, Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie – Geschichte – Geographie 4 (1986) p. 81–102, p. 85 stressing that nobles especially were the addressed in the pilgrim's guide. This remark is correct for the whole compilation of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, but less for Book V, and especially the cited chapter 2, because here the author supposes a pilgrimage on foot and indicates two stages to be made on horseback.

61 Miracle 3, 6–15, 20–22. Miracles 6–15 seem to be chronologically classified (with exception of miracle 13, cf. appendix 2). The other miracles happened mostly in the 11th century (miracles 1, 4, 5, 16–19); miracle 2 in the 9th century.

62 Two *comites* (miracle 1 and 18); six knights (*milites, heroes*) (miracles 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, and 20), one *vir inclitus* (miracle 21). Ecclesiastics are mentioned in miracles 8 and 19.

63 Cf. J.B. FREED, Devotion to St. James and Family Identity. The Thurns of Salzburg, Journal of Medieval History 13 (1987) p. 207–222.

64 Cf. FLETCHER, Saint James's Catapult (note 31) p. 45–52.

recently, but differently, Marie de Menaca,⁶⁵ have argued that an original collection of St. James's miracles existed in Burgundy or in the Rhône valley. Burgundian preponderance in the second book could represent a certain counterweight to the Pseudo-Turpin's Carolingian references, imposed by promoters of the cult of Compostela who were open to various Burgundian influences at the beginning of the 12th century.

III.

I shall not discuss the thesis concerning Burgundy and the origin of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* any further, but the question of its possible earlier forms is pertinent for this third section, dealing with the reception of St. James' miracles. Leaving aside the immediate copies of the "Liber" and "Libellus" versions,⁶⁶ it is of interest to look at the adaptations of miracles in different contexts. Our analysis will be limited to the 12th and 13th centuries up to Jacobus de Voragine (Varazze) and will not pretend to assess the reception of the miracle collection completely.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, we

65 DAVID, *Études* (note 15) II (1947) p. 178-184 and IV (1949) p. 58-60; M. DE MENACA, *Histoire* (note 39) especially p. 191-197. The latter work contains some useful ideas, but is full of errors and inaccuracies, which I cannot deal with here. The importance of Burgundy for the whole *Liber* and the miracles was stressed very often in research done about the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, chiefly connected with the identification of the supposed bearer of the manuscript from Vézelay to Compostela, Aimeric Picaud. Cf. above all: R. LOUIS, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1948/1949, p. 80-97; A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance et développement de la Chanson de geste en Europe*, I (Geneva-Paris 1961), especially p. 77-90; HOHLER, *Note* (note 31); J. VAN HERWAARDEN, *L'intégrité di texto del Codex Calixtinus*, in: *Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacobea*, Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi 23.24.25 settembre 1983, ed. G. SCALIA (Perugia 1985) p. 251-270; A. MOISAN, *Le séjour d'Aimeric Picaud à l'église d'Asquins et la composition du Liber Sancti Jacobi* (1135-1140), *Annales de Bourgogne* 57 (1985) p. 49-58, especially p. 52 and idem, *Aimeric Picaud de Parthenay et le "Liber sancti Jacobi"*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes* 143 (1985), p. 5-52, especially p. 38-39. It is worth noting that Burgundian influence is manifest in the miracles too (persons of the miracles, authority of Guy de Vienne-Calixtus II, influence of Hugh of Cluny; cf. for further remarks the contribution of M. Huglo to this volume) – but despite all these arguments, we have to make a distinction between the *Liber* and its evolution and the Compostelan version, the *Codex Calixtinus*. A special problem is presented by the influence of Cluny in the composition of the *Liber*, which may be deduced from the colophon and other indications. For a revision of this theory, which goes back to Bédier: HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 34-35. Nevertheless, a certain influence of Cluny is undeniable. For new interpretations concerning art on the roads see J. WILLIAMS, *Cluny and Spain*, in: *Gesta* 27 (1988) p. 93-101.

66 Cf. HAMEL, *Überlieferung* (note 19) p. 65, 70-73; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 133-139, concerning the manuscripts of the *Codex Calixtinus*. For the manuscripts bearing on the *Libellus* version cf. HAMEL, *Manuscriptos* (note 19) and the index (noting all manuscripts bearing also on the Pseudo-Turpin in Latin or other languages) in A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance* (note 65) p. 367-398. Cf. M.L. BERKEY, *The Liber Sancti Jacobi: The French Adaption by Pierre de Beauvais*, *Romania* 86 (1965) p. 77-103, especially p. 80; cf. the critical review: A. DE MANDACH, *Le "Livre de saint Jacques de Compostelle" par Pierre de Beauvais* (1212). A propos d'une édition récente, *Vox Romanica* 30/2 (1971) p. 287-300. I thank E. Brown for her suggestions concerning the reception of the Pseudo-Turpin (cf. her contribution in this volume), which are perhaps valuable for the miracles too, although I cannot deal with these problems here.

67 Robert Plötz needed more than fifty pages recently to show the after-effect of only one miracle, admittedly an especially famous one (miracle 5), cf. PLÖTZ, *Hunlr* (note 4), especially p. 127-128.

may be able to detect how the original goal of the collection of miracles from Compostela was expanded or changed. Through plot and structure, hagiographical texts offered an extended range of moral models and provided an excellent base for the instruction of all.

Tales of miracles were adopted in many collections, especially when the literature of sermon and *Exempla* began to grow in the 13th century.⁶⁸ It is frequently difficult to identify the source of an appropriated tale, and the lack of published editions impedes the search. When we take into consideration only the 12th and 13th centuries, we get the following picture. Leaving aside notices about copies of the *Liber* and *Libellus*,⁶⁹ the suggestion that Guibert of Gembloux († 1213) copied the "miracula b. Jacobi" together with miracles of St. Martin of Tours around 1180 (before 1187) in the monastery of Marmoutiers near Tours, is significant.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, we cannot get a clear picture of the collection that must have existed in Marmoutiers, but it is worth recording that James' and Martin's miracles are mentioned together. Other mentions of miracles were made later by Alberic of Troisfontaines.⁷¹

In Caesarius of Heisterbach († about 1240), who wrote his "Dialogus miraculorum" between 1219 and 1223,⁷² several miracles are connected with St. James, but only the "chicken miracle" shares essential features with the fifth miracle of our

68 Cf. as general introduction C. BREMONT, J. LE GOFF, J.-C. SCHMITT, *L'exemplum, Typologie des sources au Moyen Age*, fasc. 40 (Turnhout 1982). The critical remarks of C. DAXELMÜLLER, *Fabula* 26 (1985) pp. 139-142 stress the importance of a wider conception of "exemplum," but is less important in our context. See also the index of F.C. TURACH, *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (FF Communications 204, Helsinki 1969); criticism by H.D. OPPEL, *Exemplum und Mirakel. Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung*, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976) p. 96-114, cf. p. 99 note 22. For further literature cf. E. RAUMER, *Exempel, Exemplum*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV (Munich 1987) col. 161-163. The headings of the miracles in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* seem to use the term *exemplum* and *miraculum* synonymously, although Pseudo-Calixtus mentions both forms in his prologue separately: *Nec quis putet me omnia ... miracula et exempla scripsisse ...*, WHITTELL (note 3) p. 259.

69 Cf. note 20. A note in book III of the *Codex Calixtinus* refers to the copying of miracles (together with the translation) in Compostela: KLEIN, ed., *Mirakelberichte* (note 7) p. 23. The note surely goes back to Compostelan influence. Cf. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 40 note 29.

70 Cf. J. MAILLON, *Vetera analecta* (1676) p. 547 (Nova ed. 1723) p. 482. Cf. the remarks concerning the Brussels manuscript (n. 5527-34) of the letter: DAVID, *Études* (note 15) II (1947) p. 159. Perhaps the note refers to a *Libellus*-version. The study of other manuscripts is still to be made: cf. e.g. a manuscript of the 12th century of the Abbey of Marchiennes, *Bibl. municipale Douai*, Ms. 842. Cf. *Les chemins de Saint-Jacques dans le nord de la France*, Catalogue (Douai 1988) p. 232 n. 29.

71 *Chronica*, ed. SCHIEFFER-BOICHOEST (MGH SS XXIII, 1874) p. 719 and 822-825. Another mention is found in the *Chronica universalis Mettensis*, ed. G. WAITZ (MGH SS XXIV, 1879) p. 515 (now identified as a work of Jean de Mailly, cf. note 74).

72 Ed. J. STRANGE (Cologne, Bonn, Bruxelles, 1851, Reprint 1966), cf. P. MCGUIRE, *Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach Dialogus Miraculorum*, *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980) p. 167-245 and generally: F. WAGNER, *Caesarius von Heisterbach*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* II (1983) col. 1363-1366. According to OPPEL, *Exemplum* (note 68) p. 108 Caesarius marks the end of the monastic *Exempla*-literature. I cannot treat in this context the translated versions of the miracles; cf. e.g. for the German and Niederländisch legends: W. WILLIAMS-KRAFF, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte. Texte und Textgeschichte* 20 (Tübingen 1986) with presentation of the most important legends like Hermann von Fritzlar, the "Passional"

compilation. Caesarius certainly adopted things from other written or oral sources.⁷³ Works of two Dominicans, Jean de Mailly and Stephen de Bourbon, may be cited for the middle of the 13th century.⁷⁴ The miracles of St. James, as already demonstrated in the case of Caesarius of Heisterbach, found their way into the context of devotional and moralizing *Exempla* literature. This kind of literature was employed by the mendicant orders especially, but also by Cistercians and Universitarians.⁷⁵ I named as examples Jean de Mailly and Stephen de Bourbon because Dondaine's quotation seems to be true indeed:

"The prodigious success of the 'Legenda aurea' by the blessed James de Voragine has almost completely blocked out the memory of similar works that were issued during the same centuries. For example, who remembers the 'Sanctorale' of Bernard Gui ... Nowadays the only people acquainted with them are some specialists and a few antiquarians ... Jean de Mailly is even less known ... However, sometimes the favors of fortune are distributed without perfect justice, and it seems permissible to lodge an appeal against her."⁷⁶

Jean de Mailly († 1254-1260) arranged his compilation⁷⁷ around the cycle of feast days. For the 25th of July he gave a Passion and Translation commentary about St. James, and added to it miracles 2-6, as well as 16 and 17. Miracle 22 followed, preceded by a miracle dated in 1139, which is in the appendix of the *Codex Calixtinus*.

Stephen de Bourbon († 1261), on the other hand, ordered his tales and *exempla* systematically around certain themes, for he designed them as materials for preaching. He named Jean de Mailly and the *Historia Turpini* among his primary

etc. (especially p. 12-33); for St. James cf. the index. Cf. for e.g. the French version of Pierre de Beauvais: M.L. BERKEY, *The Liber Sancti Jacobi* (note 66) p. 77-103, for the choice of miracles p. 83-84 and p. 92-101. Cf. A. DE MANDACH, *Le Livre* (note 66). Cf. for Galician traditions: E. LÓPEZ AYDILLO, *Os miragres de Santiago* (Valladolid 1918); A. LÓPEZ, *Os mirages de Santiago*, in: *Nuevos estudios crítico-históricos acerca de Galicia*, 1, ed. L. GOMES CANEDO (Madrid 1947) p. 224-251 (Galician version of the *Codex Calixtinus*) and J.L. PENSADO, *Miragres de Santiago*, *Revista de Filología española*, Anejo 68 (Madrid 1958). Other hispanic traditions are reflected in collections of miracles originating from the milieu of the order of St. James. Cf. to two of these collections: D.W. LOMAX, *Medieval Predecessors of Rades y Andrada*, *Iberoromania* 23 (1986), p. 81-90, p. 85-87. Above all they pick up the political interventions of St. James. In one of those collections, Diego Rodríguez de Almela, *Compilación de los milagros de Santiago* (Murcia 1946), only one miracle can be traced back to the collection of the *Codex Calixtinus* (p. 29-30: miracle 19 of the *Codex*).

73 Cf. the last note and PLOTZ, Hunlr (note 4) p. 128.

74 Cf. for these authors and their works: T. KAEPPPEL, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi II* (Rome 1975) p. 473-474. (Jean de Mailly) and III p. 354-355 (Stephen de Bourbon).

75 Cf. BREMONT, LE GOFF, SCHMITT, *L'exemplum* (note 68) p. 55-57. OPPEL, *Exemplum* (note 68) p. 105-108 stresses the existence of monastic (especially Cistercian) *exempla*-collections in the 12th century up to Caesarius and D.L. D'AVRAY, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford 1985), especially p. 13-63 revises the evolution, function and form of friars' preaching.

76 Cf. the English translation with further observations in: S.L. REAMES, *The Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Wisconsin 1985) p. 197 based on: Jean de Mailly, *Abbrégé des gestes et miracles des saints*, transl. A. DONDAINE (Bibliothèque d'histoire dominicaine 1, Paris 1947), introduction p. 18.

77 Cf. DONDAINE, *Abbrégé* (note 76) and for further references KAEPPPEL, *Scriptores* (note 74). The passages referring to James are in Dondaine p. 255-267, miracles p. 259-267.

sources.⁷⁸ At least the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 22nd, and the 1139 miracle of the appendix of our compilation were assembled in a paragraph entitled *de peregrinatione*.⁷⁹

Probably the most complete collection of St. James' miracles appears in the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais († 1264), written slightly earlier, around 1250.⁸⁰ Vincent copied parts of the prologue and then presented the texts of the miracles omitting only miracles 9, 12, 13, and 21. Furthermore, one can find the appendix miracle of 1139, as well as tales of miracles from the second chapter of book one. Two points are especially striking when comparing the arrangement and the tales of the *Codex Calixtinus* with those of Vincent's compilation:

1) The chronological order of miracles is clearer and more uniform in Vincent than in the *Codex Calixtinus*. We find the following arrangement after the fourth miracle: 1080, 1090, 1100, 1102, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1110, 1108. Then two miracles follow without any date. Finally, Vincent offers further undated accounts for the time between 1100 and 1139. It is noteworthy that in this diverging arrangement the 13th miracle, dated in the *Codex Calixtinus* as 1135, is recorded in the year 1105 in Vincent's version, for in dealing with the question of the date of the compilation many scholars have referred to this miracle.⁸¹ Also miracle 3, a bit further removed chronologically in the *Codex Calixtinus*' arrangement, appears later, after miracle 15, in his version.

78 Cf. the title of Stephen's unedited work: *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus ordinatis et distinctis in VII part. secundum VII dona Spiritus sancti*; cf. the partial editions quoted in KAEPPH, *Scriptores* (note 74) p. 354-355. Cf. the passage to his sources: ... *de cronicis fratris Johannis de Malliaco de ordine Predicatorum ... Item de hystoria Turpini Remensis archiepiscopi*, ed. in the partial edition of A. LECOY DE LA MARCHÉ, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon* (Paris 1877) p. 7. Cf. also the rest of the prologue for the system of his arrangement (p. 4-8).

79 LECOY DE LA MARCHÉ, *Anecdotes* (note 78) p. 170-171 prints parts of the passage including the 4th miracle. Further miracles are not included in this edition, but their insertion can be deduced not only by the manuscript, but also by the analysis of the passage made by J. BERLIOZ, *Pèlerinage et pénitence dans le recueil d'exemples d'Etienne de Bourbon*, OP († vers 1261), in: *La faute, la répression et le pardon. Actes du 107e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Brest 1982, Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, I (Paris 1984) p. 399-412.

80 I am using the edition of 1684 (Douai, Reprint Graz 1965) Liber 26 cap. 30-41, p. 1065-1068, which is better than MIONE, *Patrologia latina* vol. 163 (Paris 1893) col. 1369-1376. Cf. for the St. James miracles in Vincent: DAVID, *Etude* (note 15) II (1947) p. 159 and 176, speaking of "résumés." J. VORBIJ, *The Speculum Historiale: Some Aspects of Its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition*, in: W.J. AERTS, E.R. SMITS, J.B. VORBIJ, *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the "Speculum Maius" and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, *Medievalia Groningen* 7 (Groningen 1986) p. 11-55 speaks of four main manuscript groups. Cf. recently M.-C. DUFRENNE, G. GUZMAN, J.B. VORBIJ, *Une liste des manuscrits du Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*, *Scriptorium* 41 (1987) p. 286-294. According to some of the main manuscripts of the passage concerning the miracles of James (for which I thank Mme Dr. Paulmier-Foucart, Nancy) confirmed by a letter from Prof. J. B. Vorbij (8/1/1990) for further manuscripts, the version of the Douai-edition may be used for this part. For bibliographic orientation cf. Vincent de Beauvais - Orientation bibliographique, in: *Spicae. Cahiers de l'atelier Vincent de Beauvais* (CNRS) 1 (1978) p. 6-30, especially p. 20-21. For the distribution of (Pseudo)-Calixtinian texts in Vincent's "Speculum historiale" cf. the edition of the table of: Jean Hautfuney, *Tabula super Speculum historiale fratris Vincentii* (A-L), ed. M. PAULMIER, in: *Spicae* 2 (1980), p. 19-263, p. 101 and 218. Cf. DAVID, *Etude* (note 15) II (1947) p. 167 and 177-178; IV (1949) p. 60; HERBERS, *Jakobuskult* (note 3) p. 114-115; DIAZ y DIAZ, *Calixtino* (note 2) p. 79. However, without a critical edition of Vincent we are not able to state definitely that the date given by him should be preferred.

2) Vincent of Beauvais used a less ornate style than appears in some tales of the *Codex Calixtinus*, but with the absence of critical editions, it is not yet possible to make definitive remarks on literary characteristics. He moralized only occasionally and the above-mentioned slight to St. Martin in the 3rd miracle is absent.⁸² It is difficult to identify the source for Vincent's text. Those researching Vincent's method of working consider the chronicle of Helinand a likely source for this part,⁸³ but Helinand notes only about half of the miracles found in Vincent's text and various differences exclude this hypothesis for the sequence of the miracles of St. James. One example noted in Vincent, is completely absent in Helinand's work.⁸⁴ On the other hand, it is not very probable that Vincent or his collaborators took this passage from a *Liber Miraculorum* in the form of the *Codex Calixtinus* or a direct copy of it. Vincent and his team may have shortened or excluded some of the tales,⁸⁵ but the work of reducing and arranging would have been considerable. If this in fact occurred, we are left without an adequate explanation for the prologue to the miracles. It states at the end that "the miracle tales should be read in the refectory, as well as the Turpin tale."⁸⁶ However, the Pseudo-Turpin does not follow in Vincent's version at this point. Had Vincent himself compiled and shortened the miracles, this sentence would not have appeared in the prologue.

In my opinion there might have existed, whether in Compostela or elsewhere, a compilation at least of the miracles, which was loosely linked to the *Codex Calixtinus* but was nonetheless independent. This version would have contained miracles in a different arrangement and in a more sober style. Even though it would be rash to decide definitively that this version was an earlier, prototypical, collection rather than a later reduction of the *Codex Calixtinus'* version, the evidence in

82 Cf. p. 18-19 and note 50.

83 Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, Migne, *Patrologia latina* 212 (Paris 1855) col. 481-1082 for the miracles col. 1024-1028; cf. M. PAULMIER-FOUCART, *Ecrire l'histoire au xiii^e siècle. Vincent de Beauvais et Helinand de Froidmont*, *Annales de l'Est*, 5^e série, 33 (1981) p. 49-70 and idem, *Helinand de Froidmont. Pour éclairer les dix-huit premiers livres inédits de sa chronique*, in: *Spiculae* 4 (1986) p. 81-254. The question of Helinand's sources remains an open one (cf. *ibid.* p. 55).

84 Worth noting is the fact that book XXVI in the Klosterteuburg manuscript of Vincent contains among other things the miracles of St. Mary in Laon and the miracles of St. James, which Eugene III united in one book (I thank Mme Dr. Paulmier-FoucART for a transcription of this passage).

85 For the method of work in Vincent's work cf. A.-D. VON DEN BRINCKEN, *Tabula alphabetica. Von den Anfängen alphabetischer Registerarbeiten zu Geschichtswerken* (Vincenz von Beauvais O.P., Johannes von Hautfuney, Paulus Minorita OFM), in: *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel* (Göttingen 1972) II p. 900-923, p. 903-904 and idem, *Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vincenz von Beauvais. Die Apologia Actoris zum Speculum Maius*, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34 (1978) p. 410-499, p. 420-421. According to Vincent's account of his own working method in his *Apologia*, personal contributions are marked by the word *actor*. In the prologue to the miracles it reads (preceded by: *author*): ... *de quo ad edificationem legentium hic inserere curavi* (p. 1065).

86 *Itaque miracula quae in hoc codice continentur diebus festis eius in rectoriis legantur... Idem de historia Caroli a beato Turpino Remensi archiepiscopo descripta statuimus*, edition (note 80) p. 1065. Cf. A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance* (note 65) p. 377 who notes the Pseudo-Turpin, the miracles and the story of Amicus and Amelius in Vincent's *Speculum* and classifies it as belonging to the family "D" (famille Aimeric Picaud). His conclusions are based, above all, on the Pseudo-Turpin, not on the miracles, but might be possible for the miracles too.

Vincent's collection of an independent abbreviated version supports such a conclusion. Some miracles in the *Codex Calixtinus*' version, in my opinion, retain the simplified shape of this prototype, while others were changed through enlargement and remodeling.

We may see from the comparison of two examples the two different kinds of miracles in the *Codex Calixtinus*.⁸⁷ Despite a few differences, miracle 11 in Vincent is almost identical with the version in the *Codex Calixtinus*. Only the two ending-formulas are missing, and a stylistic figure of speech, *quid plura?*, frequently encountered in the *Codex Calixtinus* and designed to catch the audience's attention, is replaced by a simple *et* by Vincent.

At first glance one can see differences in quantity in miracle 4, but there are six more points worth noting:

- St. James is twice called apostle of Galicia in the *Codex Calixtinus* (p. 30 heading and line 7).
- The prayer in Compostela occurs *solito more*; an expression absent in Vincent (p. 31 line 34).
- The concrete reference to fear of the *baschi impii* is also missing in Vincent's version (p. 31 line 4).
- The use of a so-called "Unsagbarkeitstopos," a topos referring to the inability to express, such as *ultra quam dici fas est*, merits a simple *valde* in Vincent's version (p. 32 line 9).
- Some special forms (*hopus* for *opus*, *orror* for *horror*) pointing to the Iberian Peninsula are not found in Vincent's version (e.g. p. 30 line 27).
- The *heroes* of the *Codex Calixtinus* become simple *viri*, thus widening the score of addressees too (p. 30 line 5).

We may draw the following provisional conclusion: in Vincent certain "simple" tales, like miracle 11, are almost word for word as they appear in the *Codex Calixtinus*; more complex tales, like miracle 4, are fewer and they lack elements and stylistic figures typical for Galicia and the compilation of the *Codex Calixtinus*.

I wish finally to mention Jacobus of Voragine (Varazze), because he was one of the last in this line who significantly influenced further adoptions.⁸⁸ First, Jacobus narrates tale 11 of the miracles, which is connected to an Italian tale, and then gives a selection of ten tales, referring also, like Stephen de Bourbon, to an additional St. James miracle from Hugh of St.-Victor.⁸⁹ He concludes with an event in Pistoia

⁸⁷ See Appendix p. 30-33.

⁸⁸ The Latin edition still to be used is: Jacobus de Varazze (Voragine) *Legenda aurea*, vulgo *Historia lombardica dicta*, ed. T. GRAISSE (Bratislava 1890, Reprint Osnabrück 1965); St. James miracles p. 425-430. Cf. concerning the work and its influence: M. VON NAGY, N.C. DE NAGY, *Die Legenda aurea und ihr Verfasser Jacobus de Voragine* (Bern-Munich 1971); REAMES, *Legenda* (note 76), especially p. 197-209 (over eight hundred manuscripts and up to the Renaissance a "best-seller"). Cf. for its internal structure: A. BOUREAU, *La légende dorée. Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* († 1298), préface de J. LE GOFF (Paris 1984) p. 82 and 90 for authentication and sources (e.g. citing Calixtus and his "dossier" as a source). Bourreau explains the success of the *Legenda aurea*, above all, through its narrative structure.

⁸⁹ Ed. GRAISSE (note 88) p. 427. This miracle is found in Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis libri II*, pars 16, cap. 2, ed. J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia latina* 176 (Paris 1854) col. 583-584, to Hugh of St-

which does not have its origin in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, so that the beginning and end of this compilation may be seen as a tribute to the native Italian country of the compiler. We know that by this time there were special relations between Pistoia and Compostela.⁹⁰ The appendix miracle of 1139 of the *Codex Calixtinus* falls, as in Jean de Mailly's version, before the 22nd miracle of the *Codex Calixtinus*.

IV.

I do not wish to continue with the history of the early reception of the James miracles, but instead to draw some conclusions from the above. The miracles of St. James were adopted in the 13th century in different forms. As presented in Vincent of Beauvais, they could be shortened, although remaining essentially intact as far as content was concerned, and arranged differently. On the other hand, they could be handed down for further devotional "edification" and public instruction as largely shortened selections of some dozen or more of the twenty-two miracles, as we see in the tales of Jean de Mailly, Stephen de Bourbon and Jacobus of Voragine. In these contexts they lost their specific liturgical function. The integration in the new context of *Exempla* literature as practiced, above all, by the Dominicans, required such a constriction. It seems that some miracles of the *Codex Calixtinus* were never of any interest to these compilers: examples are the miracles of the Jerusalem pilgrims on their way to Santiago.⁹¹ The miracle of 1139 of Bruno of Vézelay, which was relegated to the appendix of the *Codex Calixtinus*, reappears in some of the non-Spanish texts before the last (22nd) miracle, which takes place in

Victor cf. J. EHLERS, Hugo von St. Viktor. Studien zum Geschichtsdenken und zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts, Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 7 (Wiesbaden 1973), p. 196 for the work "De sacramentis". Cf. for the miracle in Jean de Mailly: DONDAINE, *Abrégé* (note 76) p. 265-266 and Stephen: BERLIOZ, *Pèlerinage* (note 79) p. 405. It has not yet been noted that the miracle in the text of Jacobus de Voragine immediately precedes miracle 17 of the Calixtinian collection, a miracle with a similar plot. Vincent of Beauvais also cites the miracle in a place later than the Calixtinian miracles (ed. Douai, note 80, p. 1070) and refers to the already cited miracle: ... *de quo scilicet superius dictum est* ... The plot of this miracle was handed down quite often: it appears already in the 11th century, cf. note 17 and A. MORALEJO, *Tres versiones del milagro XVII del Libro XVII del Calixtino*, Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos 20 (1950) p. 337-352 (the version of Guibert de Nogent now in the edition of E.R. LABANDE, *Autobiographie*, Paris 1981, p. 442-448). St. James, the "wonderworker" acts very often together with St. Mary, and in some versions Mary replaces St. James: cf. the *Cantigas d'Alfonso X*, cantiga 26, ed. W. METTMANN *Acta Univ. Conimbrigensis* 2 (Coimbra 1959) p. 76-79 and idem, *Cantigas de 1 a 100* (Madrid 1986) p. 123-126, or other collections of the miracles of the Virgin: P. GALLAIS, *Remarques sur la structure des "Miracles de Notre Dame"*, in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Médiévales* 1, *Épopées, légendes, miracles* (Montréal - Paris 1974) p. 117-134, p. 118 and: P.-M. SPANGENBERG, *Maria ist immer und überall. Die Alltagswelten des spätmittelalterlichen Mirakels* (Frankfurt 1987) p. 238-240. We cannot here deal with the further reception of this miracle in later collections of exempla and the function of suicide and the devil in this story.

90 Cf. L. GAI (ed.), *Pistoia e il cammino di Santiago. Una dimensione europea nella Toscana medioevale*. Pistoia 28-29-30 settembre 1984 (*Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi* [1987]) and especially the contribution of L. GAI, *Testimonianze jacobee e riferimenti compostellani nella storia de Pistoia dei secoli XII-XIII*, p. 119-230, especially p. 203-206 for the documents existing in Pistoia. The miracle is registered in a manuscript of Pistoia (p. 206).

91 Miracles 7-10.

Spain.⁹² This arrangement is noteworthy because even the very special "Spanish miracles" 1 and 19 are not included in the versions of Jean de Mailly and Jacobus de Voragine. I will not speculate further about collections of miracles of St. James which must have existed independently of the *Codex Calixtinus*. The style and arrangement of Vincent, however, make it clear that this question is still open for further discussion.

Certain miracles can be found in almost every compilation. However, along with miracle 5, the base of the later "chicken miracle," miracle 4 of the thirty Lorrainers was especially popular. It appears in all collections cited above and in many others, such as the "Alphabetum narrationum" of Arnold of Liège (arranged by catchwords of the alphabet) and the "Recull d'exemplis," or in the "Seelentrost" (arranged by the Ten Commandments).⁹³ Its popularity may be owed to the similarities its plot shows with those of the "amicus-tales."⁹⁴ All the later versions have a more sober style and are shorter than those in the *Codex Calixtinus*. A few of the differences between Vincent's version and that of the *Codex Calixtinus* have been mentioned. James, a knight in the *Codex Calixtinus*,⁹⁵ becomes a peregrinus in Stephen of Bourbon's account,⁹⁶ a sign, perhaps, of a change in the "target-group" Stephen was addressing. Although all versions refer to the knight's fear of the *gens barbara* near the Pyrenees on the night of his death, only the *Codex Calixtinus*

92 Thus, Jean de Mailly (note 76) (normally strictly following the disposition in the Liber), Jacobus of Varazze (note 88), similar, although slightly different from Vincent (note 81).

93 An English XVth Century Translation of the 'Alphabetum narrationum' of Etienne de Besançon, ed. M.M. BANKS (1904) vol. 1, p. 373 (cf. for the attribution to Arnold of Liège: G. GIERATHS, in: Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 9 [1964] col. 1038-39 and H.D. OPPEL, Arnold von Lüttich, in: Verfasserlexikon² [1978] col. 748-749); Recull de exemplis e miracles, gestes et faules e altres ligendes ordenades per A.B.C. trestes de un manuscrit en pergamini de començament del segle XV, ed. A. VERDAQUER, vol. 1 [Barcelona 1881] p. 296-297 n. 325; Der grosse Seelentrost. Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des 14. Jahrhunderts, ed. M. SCHMITT, Niederdeutsche Studien 5 (Cologne 1959) p. 237; cf. the further (but not completely registered) versions in TUBACH, Index (note 68) n. 3783. Interesting are the contexts, e.g., in the "Seelentrost" the miracle figures as examples for the 8th command. - Cf. the representation of this miracle on the "retable de Saint Jaume de Frontanayá" (beginning of the XIVth century), Museu Diocesà e Comarcal de Solsona, Inv. n. 13, cf. J. CALDERER SERRA, in: Santiago de Compostela. 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen (Catalogue) (Gent 1985) p. 370 n. 369 with further literature. His interpretation lacks the identification of the miracles. Besides our miracle 5 we find no. 4 and the miracle of Brun de Vézelay (appendix of the *Codex Calixtinus*; WHITEHILL [note 3] p. 400-401). Cf. for further representations A. SICART GIMÉNEZ, La figura de Santiago en los textos medievales, in: Il Pellegrinaggio (note 65) p. 271-286, p. 279-280 note 27; cf. illustrations 1-2.

94 Cf. generally V. MERTENS, Freundschaftssagen, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters IV (1988), col. 912-913 and especially the story of Kunz Kistener, Die Jakobsbrüder, ed. K. EULING, Die Jakobsbrüder von Kunz Kistener, Germanistische Abhandlungen 16 (1899) (dated to the mid-14th century). Perhaps the cited source (verse 1194) is our miracle 4, but the whole story also contains elements of miracles 4 and 5. Cf. EULING p. 44-46. Cf. generally I. REIPPENSTEIN, Zeit Prosauflösung von Kunz Kisteners Jakobsbrüdern, in: Festschrift B. Horacek, Philologica Germanica 1 (1974) p. 279-296 and idem, Kunz Kistener, in: Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon, IV (Berlin-New York 1983) col. 1158-1160. Cf. for the reception of the story (with slightly changing plots) R. KOHLER, Die Legende von den beiden treuen Jakobsbrüdern, Germanistik 10 (1865) p. 447-455.

95 *Quasi miles insidens equo: Dei miles*.

96 Although the pilgrim is sitting still on horseback, *beatus Jacobus in forma peregrini, eques veniens ...*, ed. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, Anecdotes (note 78) p. 171.

specifies *gens Basclorum impiorum*. The anti-Navarre and anti-Basque character of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* has several times been pointed out by researchers.⁹⁷ The failure of the other works examined to include this element may be a further indication that different primary sources were available to them. On the other hand, their compilers may have on their own decided to omit this passage because the danger posed by the Basques had diminished in the 13th century.

There is another evolutionary direction worthy of study: some collections incorporating miracles of St. James tried to downgrade the apostle in favor of the saints of important centers on the way to Santiago.⁹⁸

It is clear that the "living structure" of compilations of miracles makes it difficult to demonstrate dependencies and affiliations. They represent a response to different needs in different periods. The collection of miracles in the *Codex Calixtinus* should be seen as a cross-section in an on-going process. Various other versions of these miracles existed before the second book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, at the same time, and afterwards. Because of its style and form, we may conclude that Book II was designed to be read in church and refectory. The choice of miracles stemmed from the desire to reveal the special thaumaturgic strength of St. James, which, in the interest of spreading the cult, might be directed against competitors. As we saw in the miracle of the knights of Lorraine, the power of James was shown to command even space and time.

The miracles originated in a chivalric context, and the poor pilgrim could find himself in only a few passages. However, the target group was not based exclusively in knightly society, a fact revealed by the history of reception. To the question of why the history of reception should be invoked when we are dealing with the *Codex Calixtinus*, I would give the following answer: knowledge of the destiny of St. James' miracles sharpens our understanding of the particular character of the collection of miracles inserted in the *Codex Calixtinus*. Behind this collection of miracles there was even more spirit and motivation than informs various other compilations of this sort. It is, therefore, a collection that inspires many questions and asks for our continued attention.

97 Cf. e.g. L. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, Aimeric Picaud y Navarra, *Correo erudito* 4 (1947) p. 113-114.

98 This is the case, for example, in the miracles of S. Zoilo, *España Sagrada* 33 (Madrid 1753, p. 496-497), where a pilgrim does not need to journey the remainder of the route to Santiago because he is cured on the way. I thank Serafin Moralejo for this suggestion. A similar effect can be found in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X (note 89).

Appendix 1

Miracle IV

In hoc beati Iacobi Zebedei apostoli **Gallecie**, presenti miraculo approbatur, uerum esse, quod scriptura testatur: *Melius est non uouere quam post uotum retrorsum abire* (Eccles. 5,4).

- 5 Feruntur namque, triginta heroes in Lotharingie horis pietatis deuotione se uisitatuos beati Iacobi limina in **Gallecie** partibus, anno incarnationis dominice millesimo octogesimo proposuisse (fol. 143^v). Sed quia mens humana
10 quandoque uariatur per multa, promittentes fidem inter se mutue seruitutis et conseruande fidelitatis commune officium pactum subierunt. Veruntamen unus ex illo numero huiusmodi sacramento se noluit implicare. Denique
15 hii omnes propositum iter aggressi usque ad Gasconica(m) urbem dictam Portam Clusa(m) incolumes uenerunt. Ibi uero unus ex illis, infirmitate grauatus, nullo modo ire potuit. Quem sui socii ex pacto fidei promisse equis et subuectione manuum cum graui labore usque
20 ad portus Cisere per quindecim dies detulerunt, cum spacium uie huius ab expeditis quinque diebus soleat expleri.

- Tunc tandem grauati ac nimio tedio affecti,
25 pactam fidem postponentes, infirmum deseruerunt. Ille tamen, qui solus fidem ei non dederat, hopus fidei et pietatis, eum non deserens, debilitato exhibuit, et in proxima sequenti nocte circa eum uigilias in uico sancti Michaelis ad pedem prefati montis exercuit. Mane autem facto, infirmus dixit socio suo, quod temptaret montem ascendere, si sibi auxilium secundum uires suas uellet ipse sanus impendere. Cui ille respondit, quod non esset eum usque
30 ad mortem deserturus. Itaque cum ad montis fastigium simul ascendissent, dies clauditur, infirmi beatissima anima a seculo nequam egreditur, et in paradisiaca requie dignae pro meritis beato Iacobo ducente collocatur.

Anno Domini 1080, triginta viri de Lotharingia sanctum Iacobum adeuntes mutuae seruandae virtutis fidem sibi inuicem promiserunt. Vnus tum inter eos fuit, qui hoc eis non promisit. Cum itaque ad urbem quae Porta Clausa dicitur, incolumes peruenissent, vnum e sociis ibi aegrotantem propter pactum quo fecerunt per 15 dies usque ad portam Riseros (!) cum grandi labore tulerunt.

Cum ille 15 dietae ab expeditis quinque diebus agi posset, tunc tandem grauati infirmum reliquerunt. Ille tam solus, qui fidem non promisit, cum eo remansit ad pedem montis sancti Michaelis. Tunc dixit infirmus, ut eum si posset super illum montem ferret. Quem ille libenter detulit, et die declinante ad vesperam infirmus migravit. Quod videns viuus valde timuit propter imminentem noctis caliginem et defuncti praesentiam et gentis barbarae saeuitatem.

Quod uiuus uidens maxime perterritus, tum loci solitudine, tum noctis caligine, tum presencia mortui atque orrore barbare gentis **Basclorum impiorum** circa portus commorantium supra modum timuit.

5

Et quoniam a se uel a quolibet homine nullum inuenit auxilium, iactans super dominum cogitatum suum a beato Iacobo suplici corde expectiit presidium. Dominus uero fons pietatis non deserens sperantes in se, per apostolum suum dignatus est desolatum uisitare. Enimvero beatus Iacobus, quasi miles insidens equo, in angustia posito superuenit. Dixitque ei: quid hic agis, frater? Domine, inquit ille, sepelire hunc meum socium maximo desidero, sed qua ope (fol. 144r) sepeliatur in hac uastitate non habeo.

Tunc ille: Porrige, inquit, michi huc mortuum, tu quoque post me super equum quousque ad locum sepeliendi perueniamus reside. Sicque agitur. Defunctum coram se apostolus in brachiis diligenter accepit, et uiuum post se super equum residere fecit. Mira Dei virtus, mira Christi clemencia, mira beati Iacobi subsidia! Nocte illa transcurso interuallo itineris duodecim dierum, ante solis ortum uno miliario citra monasterium predicti apostoli in monte Gaudii apostolus quos acceperat ab equo deposuit, intimans uiuo ut prefati (!, -fati *on rasure*) basilice canonicos ad sepeliendum hunc beati Iacobi peregrinum inuitaret.

Deinde adiunxit, dicens: Cum exequias defuncti tui honorifice expletas uideris, et pernoctans in oratione solito more completa redieris, apud urbem nomine Legionem(m) socios obuiam habueris. Quibus et dices: Quoniam circa socium uestrum, deserentes eum, infideliter egistis, beatus apostolus per me uobis denunciatur, uestras preces uestrasque peregrinationes usque ad condignam penitentiam penitus sibi displicere. Tunc demum his audi-

Sic ergo omnino destitutus ad orationem se contulit et statim sanctus Iacobus ei in specie equitis apparens causam fletus inquisiuit. Domine, inquit, quia nox est, et mortuus iste sepeliri non potest.

15

Tunc ille: Trade mihi hunc mortuum, et tu ascende post me super equum. Quo facto, nocte illa ante solis ortum duodecim dietas peragentes ad montem Gaudii qui est dimidia leuca citra sanctum Iacobum peruenerunt. Ibique sanctus uiuum et mortuum de equo deposuit, iubens uiuo, ut canonicos sancti Iacobi ad sepeliendum peregrinum mortuum inuitaret.

20

Et peracta peregrinatione cum inueniret socios in vrbe, quae dicitur Legio, eos de fracto pacto corripere, et diceret eis ex parte sancti Iacobi, quod propter hoc eorum peregrinatio non ualeret. Et his dictis disparuit.

25

30

tis, intelligens ipsum esse Christi apostolum, ad pedes eius procidere uoluit, sed Dei miles non ei amplius comparuit.

His itaque gestis, reuertens, socios in urbe pre-
5 fata (*f on rasure*) inuenit, quibus quecumque a
discessu illorum sibi contigerant, quot quantas
minas, de fide in socium non ex integro exhibi-
ta, apostolus intulerat, per ordinem enarrauit.
Quibus auditis, **ultra quam dici fas est**, mirati
10 sunt, et accepta ilico ab antistite urbis Legionis
penitencia, peregrinationis sue iter (*iter inter-*
lin.) consummarunt.

A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in
oculis nostris. Hec enim sunt que fecit Domi-
15 nus; exultemus et letemur in eis. Si quidem in
hoc miraculo comprobatur, quia quicquid Deo
uouetur cum ylaritate reddi debetur: quatinus
uota digna reddens, ueniam a Domino conse-
quatur. Quod ipse prestare dignetur Ih(esu)s
20 Christus Dominus noster, qui cum Patre et
Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per infinita
secula seculorum. Amen.

(Whitehill p. 265-266, I revised the text from
the ms. of the Codex Calixtinus)

Ille autem rediens, cum hoc in-
uentis sociis nunciasset, valde
mirati sunt, et ab episcopo Le-
gionis ciuitatis ut ille consecus-
tus fuerat, super hoc poeniten-
tiam susceperunt.

(Speculum historiale, Douai
1624, Repr. Graz 1965, p. 1065-
1066)

Miracle XI

Anno dominice incarnationis M^o C^o V^o extitit quidam, nomine B(er)nardus, apud castrum nomine Corzanu(m) in Ytalia episcopatu Mutine captus, catenis allegatus et in profundo cuiusdam turris ab inimicis eiectus. Cui die noctuque beati Iacobi subsidia uoce continua imploranti, apparuit gloriosissimus Christi apostolus dicens: Ueni sequere me usque ad Gallecia(m). Et disruptis catenis ipsius disparuit. Illico peregrinus ille, suspensis ad collum boiis usque ad turris summitatem sine aliquo humano iuuamine, bea (fol. 148^r) ti Iacobi subsidiis suffultus ascendit. Quid plura? De sublimitate turris usque ad solum terre forinsecus sine aliqua lesione unum saltum fecit. Turris uero sublimitas erat sexaginta cubitorum; unde magis mirum fuit, qualiter necem euasit, qui de tanta celsitudine incolumis cecidit.

A Domino factum est istut et est mirabile in oculis nostris. Regi regum sit decus et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

(Whitehill p. 273, I revised the text from the Codex Calixtinus)

Anno Domini 1105, Bernardus quidam in Italia captus catenis obligatus est, et in profundo cuiusdam turris ab inimicis eiectus. Cui die noctuque continuo imploranti apparuit beatus Iacobus dicens: Veni sequere me, vsque ad Galiciam. Et disruptis catenis eius disparuit. Illico peregrinus suspensus ad collum Boys, vsque ad turris summitatem sine humano iuuamine beati Iacobi auxilio suffultus ascendit, et de sublimitate turris, quae 40 cubitorum erat, vsque ad solum terrae forinsecus saltum vnum, faciens incolumis penitus euasit.

5

10

15

20

(Speculum historiale, Douai 1624, Repr. Graz 1965, p. 1065-1066)

Appendix 2

List and concordance of miracles in Book II of the Codex Calixtinus

Miracle nr.	fol.	Whitehill p.	Díaz y Díaz, Calixtino, 103-118, pieza nr.	(pretended) author or compiler	date
1	141 ^{r-v}	261-62	82	Pope Calixtus (II.)	(1065-1109)
2	141 ^v -142 ^v	262-63	83	Beda (Venerabilis)	(8/9th cent.)
3	142 ^v -143 ^r	263-64	84	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1108
4	143 ^r -144 ^r	265-66	85	Magister Hubert of Besançon	1080
5	144 ^r -145 ^r	267-68	86	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1090
6	145 ^r -146 ^r	268-69	87	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1100
7	146 ^{r-v}	269-70	88	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1101
8	146 ^v -147 ^r	270-71	89	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1102
9	147 ^{r-v}	271-72	90	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1103
10	147 ^v	272-73	91	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1104
11	147 ^v -148 ^r	273	92	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1105
12	148 ^r	273-74	93	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1106
13	148 ^{r-v}	274	94	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1135
14	148 ^v	274-75	95	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1107
15	148 ^v -149 ^r	275-76	96	Pope Calixtus (II.)	1110
16	149 ^r -150 ^v	276-78	97	Anselm of Canter- bury	~1090
17	150 ^v -152 ^v	278-82	98	Anselm of Canter- bury	(11th cent.)
18	152 ^v -153 ^v	282-83	99	Pope Calixtus (II.)	(1037-1060)
19	153 ^v -154 ^r	283-85	100	Pope Calixtus (II.) 1064)	(before 1064)
20	154 ^{r-v}	285-86	101	Pope Calixtus (II.)	(1100-1110)
21	154 ^v	286	102	Pope Calixtus (II.) <i>ita que</i>	(<i>nostro</i> <i>tempore</i>)
22	154 ^v -155 ^v	286-287	103	Pope Calixtus (II.)	(1100)



Miracle 4 in S. Jaume de Frontanyá (Vázquez de Parga, *Peregrinaciones III*, table 42, cf. note 93)



Miracle 4 in *Recull de exemplis* (cf. note 93 p. 296)

Peregrinatio ad Limina Sancti Jacobi

ROBERT PLÖTZ

The Christian West gained distinctive features of its own in the eleventh century,¹ a period which coincided with a mass movement of the pious to the presumptive shrine of Saint James.² From the beginning, the cult of St. James had two aspects, one Franco-European, the other Spanish, with the latter increasingly strengthened by the progress of the Reconquista.³ The dual nature of this Galician religious movement most clearly revealed itself at the time of the First Crusade (1096-99). Not long after, around 1150, the *Codex Calixtinus*⁴ provided in Liber 1, XVII,⁵ a census of the national and ethnic composition of the pilgrims visiting the apostle's tomb in the far west. This encyclopedic enumeration, perhaps more ideal than actual, was introduced by the claim that "To this place come foreign peoples and such as live all over the world."⁶ The status and condition of these pilgrims was presented in the description of the *vigilia* of the feast of St. James: "Thither to the apostle's tomb betake themselves the rich, robbers, horsemen, pedestrians, princes, the blind, the lame, the prosperous, noblemen, squires, people of rank, bishops, abbots, some barefooted, some without means, others burdened with iron for reasons of repentance."⁷

These initial quotations shall serve as a starting-point for the discussion of the following topics in their temporal and spatial context:

1) The phenomenological development of pilgrimage into the 12th century within the general development of the Latin Christian Occident in Europe.

1 See H. FUHRMANN, *Einladung ins Mittelalter* (2nd ed. Munich 1987); F. BORKENAU, *Ende und Anfang, Von den Generationen der Hochkultur und von der Entstehung des Abendlandes* (Stuttgart 1984), p. 166-489; K. HAMPE, *Geschichte des Abendlandes von 900 bis 1250* (6th ed. Cologne-Vienna 1977); F. HEER, *Abendland* (Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon, I (Mannheim et al. 1971), p. 57-64; A. VAN SCHIELTAMA, *Antike - Abendland* (Salzburg 1964); O. BRUNNER, *Inneres Gefüge des Abendlandes, Historia Mundi* 6 (1958); J. FISCHER, *Oriens - Occidens - Europa, Begriff und Gedanke 'Europa' in der späten Antike und im frühen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden 1957); H. PIRENNE, *Geburt des Abendlandes*, (German Translation, 2nd ed. Amsterdam 1941).

2 See R. PLÖTZ, *Deutsche Pilger nach Santiago de Compostela bis zur Neuzeit, Jakobus-Studien* 1, (Tübingen 1988), p. 1-27; O. ENGELS, *Die Anfänge des spanischen Jakobusgrabes in kirchenpolitischer Sicht, Römische Quartalschrift* 75 (1980), p. 146-170; J.-M. LACARRA, *Espiritualidad del culto y de la peregrinación a Santiago antes de la primera cruzada, Pellegrinaggi e culto dei Santi in Europa fino alla la Crociata* (Todi 1963) p. 115-144; L. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA/J.-M. LACARRA/J. URÍA RUI, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, (Madrid 1948) I, p. 27-86.

3 See LACARRA (note 2), p. 115.

4 See M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago Monografías de Compostellana* 2, (Santiago de Compostela 1988); and K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der Liber Sancti Jacobi, Historische Forschungen* 7 (Wiesbaden 1984).

5 W.M. WHITEHILL (ed.), *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus, I. Text* (Santiago de Compostela 1944), p. 148 f.

6 Ibid. p. 148.

7 Ibid. p. 149.

- 2) The *peregrinatio ad limina Beati Jacobi* up to the time of the *Codex Calixtinus*; including structural factors and historical aspects of piety and devotion.

The Development of the *Peregrinatio Religiosa*

From the earliest times the Christian world has included travellers who visited holy places or the dwellings of holy men in order to seek the intervention of divine powers for their worldly and material needs. The practice of pilgrimage differs essentially from the general veneration of saints and its effects in the fields of relics, local cults etc., nor is it to be confused with these fields when it comes to history of piety, although the boundaries between these experiences of salvation are fluid and their developments may be connected with each other.⁸ Different, separable, phenomena of the external form and internal motivation can be presented:

- 1) Pilgrimage, or the state of a pilgrim (*status viae* or *viatoris*), whose relevance for Christian anthropology is summed up in the saying "Life is a pilgrimage" (*vita est peregrinatio*).⁹ Life on earth is for the *homo viator* just a transitional stage to his real heavenly goal, to God.¹⁰ The Iro-Scottish itinerant monks of the period of middle-European mission lived by this ideal; they had learned homelessness from the early monks in the East. Pilgrimage signified a concretized religious attitude and did not relate to a specific way or geographically localizable destination.

- 2) Pilgrimage to a holy place (*peregrinatio ad loca sancta*). At the beginning this phenomenon merely meant a visit for devout purposes to the holy places of Christ's life and sufferings in Palestine, notably Jerusalem. From this would develop the concept of the crusades as warlike pilgrimages.¹¹

- 3) Penitential pilgrimages in the Middle Ages to remote places with the tombs of apostles and saints.¹² These descended from the *peregrinatio ad loca sancta* and competed with it. The concept of pilgrimage as we recognize it today did not reach

8 R. PLOTZ, *Pèlerins et pèlerinages hier et aujourd'hui, autour de l'exemple de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. Les chemins de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, Rapport du Congrès de Bamberg, Patrimoine architectural, Rapports et études 16* (Strasbourg 1989), chapter "peregrinatio religiosa"; W. BROCKNER, *Pilger, Pilgerschaft*, in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, III (Rome et al. 1971), p. 439-442; R. PLOTZ, *Peregrini - Palmieri - Romci, Untersuchungen zum Pilgerbegriff der Zeit Dantes, Jahrbuch für Volkskunde NF 2* (1979), p. 103-134.

9 See E.-R. LABANDE, "Pauper et Peregrinus", *Les problèmes du pèlerin chrétien d'après quelques travaux récents, Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen, Aufsatzband*, (München-Zürich 1984), p. 23-32; R. PLOTZ, *Strukturwandel der peregrinatio im Hochmittelalter, Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 26/27* (1981/82), p. 130-151; R. PLOTZ, *Peregrini* (note 8), (München-Zürich 1984) p. 103-104; and H. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum, Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte 149*, (Tübingen 1930).

10 L. and R. KRÜSS-RETTENBECK/L. ILLICH, *Homoviator - Ideen und Wirklichkeiten, Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (note 9), p. 10-22.

11 See H.E. MAYER, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart et al., 6th revised ed. 1985), p. 13-40; K.M. SETTON, *The History of the Crusades, I-V*, (Philadelphia 1958-85); and C. ERDMANN, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart 1935, Reprint Darmstadt 1974).

12 See B. KOTTING, *Peregrinatio religiosa, Forschungen zur Volkskunde 33-35*, (Reprint Münster 1980).

its full scope as a European mass phenomenon until the 11/12th century.¹³ It was only then that the classification of Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostela as major places of pilgrimage (*peregrinationes maiores*) was made.

4) The *Concursus populi*. This means pilgrimage in its broadest sense, such as the cults of tombs, images of saints, miracle cults, salvation and indulgence *concursus*, rogation feast and obligatory processions. All these phenomena were considered normal things and no one regarded them as pilgrimage.¹⁴ In a certain sense they came together in the *processio peregrinationis* which was a common practice since the counter-reformation.

What motivated the pilgrims to set out on their hard way? Whereas for the strict doctrine of the church, for learned theologians, the emphasis lay on repentance and salvation, the main concern of the layman was the very immediate, literally physical contact with the sanctuaries at the place of grace. There people of devout faith sought quasi-material, tangible assurances of salvation, together with devotional objects to be taken home and made a part of everyday life. Everyone wanted some visible testimony of their completed pilgrimage; hence the medieval pilgrims' signs. We can trace them for the first time in the second half of the 12th century. The scallop of James ranked highly among the pilgrim's signs and appeared on buildings and in sculptural art at the beginning of the 12th century.¹⁵ As early as the 12th century busy trading with the *intersigna Beati Jacobi* had established itself "in the paradise behind the fountain"¹⁶ in front of the northern portal of the cathedral.

Many of the motives which made the pilgrims take to the road can no longer be reconstructed because of the lack of sources, particularly for the period under discussion. A considerable contingent of the pilgrims was probably made up of those driven by their own pious impulses, urged on their way by disease and ailments, bodily as well as mental and psychical. This becomes especially apparent in the enormous rise in the number of pilgrims during and after famines, epidemics, natural and other disasters, one part travelling to ask for recovery or relief for themselves or their relations, the other part, to offer their thanks and to make sacrifices for a recovery or rescue granted, often in fulfilment of a vow.¹⁷ Later these pilgrims would be joined by others delegated by secular and spiritual authorities.¹⁸

13 See R. Plotz, *Strukturwandel der peregrinatio im Hochmittelalter* (note 9), p. 130-151.

14 H. DÖNNINGER, *Processio peregrinationis*, *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 23, (1961), p. 55-75.

15 See R. Plotz, *Imago Beati Jacobi in: Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (note 9), p. 248-264; and K. KOSTER, *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostrassen, Ausgrabungen in Schleswig, Berichte und Studien* 2, (Neumünster 1983).

16 *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (note 5), p. 379 f.

17 See P.A. SIGAL, *Les différents types de pèlerinage au Moyen Age*, in: *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (note 9), p. 76-85.

18 See R. Plotz, *Deutsche Pilger* (note 2), p. 21-25.

Peregrinatio ad Limina Beati Jacobi

From the extremely scanty data provided by the Gospels and the accounts of the apostle James to the discovery/invention of the Saint's grave in the first third of the 9th century entails a lengthy journey.¹⁹ Preceding the formation of the *Traditiones hispanicae*²⁰ were the church's efforts to progressively expand the missionary areas of the apostles, which according to the *divisio apostolorum* (Ps 18:5) reached the boundaries of the ancient world.²¹ In the 4/5th century the *sortes apostolicae* mention an apostle as a proclaimer of the Gospels in Spain, but without identifying him (Dydimus, Jerome, Theodoret of Cyrus).²²

Still earlier, according to Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, there existed a *passio modica* which dealt with the apostle's work before his death,²³ but its scope was restricted to his activities in Jerusalem and Judeae. The *passio modica* was accepted into the *passio magna* of Ps.-Abdias, a Passion anthology of Latin-Frankish origin which better satisfied the prevailing taste and which circulated in the churches and monasteries of Latin Christianity from the 7th century onwards.²⁴ Strongly influenced by anti-Jewish tendencies, the *passio magna*, which probably originated in the area around Narbonne-Lyon-Marseille, had James preaching in Judeae and Samaria.²⁵

For James' activities, the Spanish Church exhibited two ancient records:

- 1) the apostle's journey to the Iberian peninsula, his unsuccessful mission there, and his return to Jerusalem where he suffered a martyr's death.
 - 2) the *Translatio* of his mortal remains and burial in Compostela.
- The oldest mention of James as a missionary in the peninsula appears in the *Breviarium Apostolorum*, a translation from Byzantine-Greek sources into Latin of biographical notes of all the apostles.²⁶ In the *Breviarium* the Occident was speci-

19 See F. LÓPEZ ALFARO, La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media. Monografías de Compostellanus 1 (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), p. 107-118; and R. PLÖTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien bis zum 9. Jahrhundert, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 1. Serie, XXX, p. 102-106.

20 See R. PLÖTZ, Traditiones Hispanicae Beati Jacobi in: Santiago de Compostela, 1000 Ans de Pèlerinage Européen (Gent 1985), p. 27-39.

21 See M.C. DÍAZ, La littérature jacobite jusqu'au XII^e siècle, *ibid.* p. 165; and W. HUO, Geschichte des Festes "Divisio Apostolorum", Theologische Quartalschrift 113 (1932), p. 53-73.

22 See PG XXXIX, 486-488; PL XXIV, 373, PL XXIV, 424-425; and PG LXXXIII, 1010 (PLÖTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien [note 19], p. 61-63).

23 Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1, 9, 2, 3. See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, La littérature jacobite (note 21), p. 165; PLÖTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 55-56. The *passio modica* was translated in 403 by Rufinus of Aquileia.

24 Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, a Johanne Alberto Fabricio (Hamburgi 1703), tom. II Apocrypha, sive Historia certamen Apostolici. See PLÖTZ (note 19), p. 58-61; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, La literatura jacobea anterior al Códice Calixtino, Compostellanus 10 (1965), p. 641; R.A. LIPSUS, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden, Vol. II/2 (Braunschweig, 1884), p. 202-208.

25 Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus II (note 24) p. 516.

26 See JACQUES COCHERYAS, Saint Jacques à Compostelle (La Guerche-de-Bretagne 1985), p. 86-88; PLÖTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 63-73; B. DE GAFFIER, Le Breviarium Apostolorum (BHL 652), Analecta Bollandiana 81, fasc. I-II (1963), 89-116; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Die spanische Jakobus-Legende bei Isidor von Sevilla, Historisches Jahrbuch 77 (1958), p. 469; Th. SCHERMANN,

fically assigned to James (Iberian Peninsula), Matthew (Macedonia) and Philip (Gaul). In contrast to the *passio magna*, the apostle James is said to have spread the Christian belief in "Spaniae et occidentalia loca."²⁷ However, there was no mention of a tomb. Since the *Breviarium* was not known to Venantius Fortunatus († 609) and Gregory of Tours († 595), but definitely to Julian of Toledo († 690) and in an adaptation by Aldhelm († 709),²⁸ it would have circulated from around 700 onwards. The liturgy conveys a similar impression. Neither in the *Liber Comicus* of Silos, which probably reflects the liturgical standards of the 7th century, nor in the *Orationale* of Verona is there a feast reserved for James the Elder or the Younger.²⁹ Another early indication of the evangelization of Spain by James was the *De ortu et obitu Patrum*,³⁰ closely connected with the *Breviarium*. According to recent research the part of this document relevant for us is an interpolated version of a text by Isidore of Seville that was adapted from the *Breviarium* and circulated in Spain from about the middle of the 7th century.³¹ The passages in the text refer to James' family background, his authorship of the canonical letter, his preaching the Gospel in Spain and other regions of the West, a martyr's death and the place of his grave. Further testimony of the apostle's mission on Spanish soil is, for the most part, associated with the texts already dealt with, and is of minor importance for our subject.³² Until the 8th century the apostolic tradition was of no importance to the Spanish church. Neither in the ancient Hispanic church nor at the time of the convocation of a national Gothic church at the Third Council of Toledo (589) during the reign of the Visigothic king Reccared I (585-601) was there any reference to a bishop's seat going back to apostolic tradition.³³ On the contrary, in Spain itself the *vitae* of the seven disciples of Christ were written down probably only at the end of the 8th century, supposedly by a Mozarabic hagiographer, without any reference to an apostolic tradition.³⁴ This account was later associated with James and integrated into various texts of the translation. We come across the first literary trace of the news spread by the

Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandter Texte, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 31/3 (Leipzig 1907), p. 254.

27 Ibid. p. 254.

28 See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, La littérature jacobite (note 21), p. 166; PLOTZ, Traditiones Hispanicae (note 20), p. 29; idem, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 88f.; C. TORRES RODRÍGUEZ, Aldhelmo, Adhelmo, o Adelmós, abad de Malmesbury y obispo de Sherborn; su relación con la tradición jacobea (650-709), Compostellanum 18 (1983), p. 417-428.

29 PLOTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 77-88; J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, El Antifonario de León y el culto de Santiago el Mayor en la liturgia mozárabe, Revista de la Universidad de Madrid 3 (1954); M. ALAMO, Les calendriers mozarabes d'après Dom Férotin, additions et corrections, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 29 (1943).

30 See C. CHAPARRO GÓMEZ, Isidorus Hispalensis De Ortu et Obitu Patrum (Paris 1985); DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Die spanische Jakobus-Legende (note 26), p. 467-472.

31 See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, La littérature jacobite (note 21), p. 166.

32 See PLOTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 65-73.

33 See PLOTZ, Traditiones Hispanicae Beati Jacobi (note 20), p. 30.

34 See PLOTZ, Der Apostel Jacobus in Spanien (note 19), p. 125-128; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum, I (Madrid 1959), p. 106f. nr. 395; J. VIVES, Las Actas de los Varones apostólicos, Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg I (1948), p. 45.

apostolic Catalogues about a mission of James in Spain in the *poema de Aris* written by Aldhelm of Malmesbury (650?-709). This text, more lyrical than hagiographic, described James as "Primitus Hispanas."³⁵

Had Jeromes's principle been adhered to, whereby each apostle was buried in the place of his mission, it would have been the moment to identify the apostle's tomb and to bring it into accord with the the burial site "Achaia Marmarica" mentioned in the *Breviarium*.³⁶ However, events prevented that for the time being. The Muslim invasion led to the decline of the Visigothic realm, paralyzing for some time the religio-political life of the Spanish Christians. The next mention of the preaching of the Gospel by James was delayed until the beginning of the Reconquista. The monk Beatus of Liébana took his cue, probably, from the above-mentioned widely distributed list of the apostles and made use of it in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.³⁷

One of the most important and at the same time most polemical texts is the hymn *O Dei verbum patris*, dedicated to the Asturian King, Mauregatus (783-788). In the fifth stanza James was portrayed as "potitus Ispania." The tenth stanza linked him even more closely with the Iberian peninsula: "Tutorque nobis et patronus vernulus."³⁸ Thus a "personal" relationship of James with Spain was established. It is the 8th century which witnessed, outside of the customary attributions just reviewed, the establishment of a connection between James and Spain. Of the historical trends which led to this development, the following were most central:

- 1) The constant threat by the Moors, who, apart from endangering one's life fought against the Christian faith James had brought to Spain.
- 2) The growing estrangement of the Christian North, which resulted in a detachment from Visigothic ecclesiastical control.
- 3) The internal quarrels in Spain over Adoptionism involved important political and ecclesiastical problems, such as the significance of the primacy of Toledo, the relationship of the Asturian church to the Frankish and Roman church, Toledo's apostolic authenticity, and consequently, its claim to doctrinal authority.
- 4) The emergence of a growing self-confidence in the Asturian kingdom. As it came to regard itself as the successor of the Visigothic, the enterprise of the Reconquista was promoted.³⁹

35 *Poema de Aris*, PL LXXXXIX, 293. See PLÖTZ, *Apostel Jacobus* (note 19), p. 88f.

36 See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice Calixtino* (note 4), p. 18-20; PLÖTZ, *Der Apostel Jacobus* (note 19), p. 99-113.

37 H.A. SANDERS, *Sancti Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim* (Rome 1930). See J. GIL, *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana I*, (Madrid 1978), p. 230-232; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Literatura jacobea hasta el siglo XII, II Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacobea*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi*, (Perugia 1985), p. 239.

38 C. BLUM, *Hymnodia Gotica, die Mozarabischen Hymnen des altspanischen Ritus*, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 27, (Leipzig 1897), p. 186-188; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Estudios sobre la antigua literatura relacionada con Santiago el Mayor, I: los himnos en honor de Santiago de la literatura hispánica*, *Compostellanum* 11 (1966), p. 487-503; see PLÖTZ, *Der Apostel Jacobus* (note 19), p. 90-94; J. VAN HERWAARDEN, *Saint James in Spain up to the 12th Century in: Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (note 9), p. 238f.

39 See R. PLÖTZ, *La peregrinatio como fenómeno alto-medieval*, *Compostellanum* 29 (1984), p. 241-

It is no coincidence that King Alfonso II began to shape his residence at Oviedo on the model of Toledo in 795, that is, just a year after the condemnation of Adoptianism at the Council of Frankfurt. Heretofore the Asturian realm had been politically oriented to mere self-assertion. Now, however, the Asturian rulers claimed to be in succession to their Visigothic predecessors, and thus to be guardians of the unadulterated Visigothic church. First contacts with Charlemagne, whose role I will deal with later, are evidence of an approximation to the Frankish church. All these components fed an intricate process of creating a spiritual and psychological climate which would ultimately entail the rediscovery of the apostle's tomb.⁴⁰ Backed by apostolic authority and advanced by the Christian reconquest of the lost Iberian regions, the dynamics of a cult were released, the consequences of which are still with us.⁴¹

Evidence of the practice of a cult already existed in the eighth century. Some churches of the diocese of Lugo may have possessed the patronage of James by then, but the documentation is probably falsified.⁴² The final realization of the cult took place in the first half of the ninth century with the "invention" of the grave of James in the era of Bishop Theodomir († 847) of Iria Flavia and the Asturian king Alfonso II (789-842). At that time Lewis the Pious was probably ruling in the western part of the Frankish empire. The first mention of the finding of the grave, but without specification of a site, is in the martyrology of Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés († 877), who was in Spain about 856: "ad Hispanias translata, [ossa] et in ultimis earum finibus condita..."⁴³ Here for the first time a literary text which circulated outside the peninsula mentioned the existence of the apostle's tomb. Usuard, however, implies a translation of the apostle's body.

At this point there are only two important links missing in the chain of evidence for the *Traditiones hispanicae*: the identification of the place of the grave and the *translatio* to the tomb of the apostle's body after his death in Jerusalem. In addition, the tomb cult must be established, with its service and its propagation. The information provided in the more-or-less reliable documents represents a preliminary stage in establishing the place names. These documents are in the first part of Tumbo A of the cathedral in Compostela, where the evangelization of Spain by James, his role as patron and the tomb are taken for granted.⁴⁴ A royal document of

243; see generally E. PORTELA SILVA, *La Reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Zaragoza 1951); J.A. GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR RUÍZ DE AQUIERRE, *Historia de España alfozguara, II, la época medieval* (Madrid, 1973).

40 See C. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *España, un enigma histórico*, I (Buenos Aires 1956), p. 272f.; Plotz, *Der Apostel Jacobus* (note 19), p. 47f.

41 See Plotz, *Pèlerins et pèlerinages hier et aujourd'hui* (note 8); I. MISCK, *Kontinuität im Wandel, politische und soziale Aspekte der Santiago-Wallfahrt vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 3 (1977), p. 299-328.

42 See LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago* (note 19), p. 102f.; C. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires 1966), p. 28f.; L. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, *Los documentos sobre las presuras del obispo Oduario de Lugo, Hispania* 10 (1950), p. 635-680, esp. 662.

43 PL CXXIV, 85. See HEERWAARDEN, *Saint James in Spain* (note 38), p. 240; H. ACHSLES, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse NF III/3* (Berlin, 1900), p. 114.

44 M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ / F. LÓPEZ ALSINA / S. MORALEJO ALVÁREZ, *Los Tumbos de Compostela* (Madrid, 1985).

885 by Alfonso III located the grave "in locum arcis marmoricis, territorio Gallicie..."⁴⁵ As proof of a local tradition, the appellation of the note is too vague, particularly as Galicia was a name generally associated with the kingdom of the Asturias both in the Muslim and the Carolingian world, as well as in Rome. Nothing short of a relic translation could contribute to the solution of that problem and legitimize the tomb and authenticate it as an apostolic site. The *Translatio* was not slow in coming. Two, probably genuine, texts testify to this: an epistle attributed to Pope Leo and a letter of 906 by Alfonso III to the clergy of Tours. The other texts may be ignored here. The *Epistola Leonis* addressed to "regibus Francorum et Vandalorum, Gotorum et Romanorum"⁴⁶ probably dates from the late tenth century and relates the translation with the seven apostolic disciples mentioned above. There is no reference to the preaching of the Gospel by James in Spain. The text of the "epistola" originated in Galicia about the turn of the millenium, and might be regarded as a propaganda tract for the pilgrims already visiting the sanctuary.⁴⁷

This text must be seen in connection with Alfonso III's letter to the clergy of Tours, which turned up at the beginning of the 12th century and may go back to earlier records.⁴⁸ Here an attempt was made to link the cult of St. Martin with the cult of St. James. Again, the preaching of James is suppressed. The letter referred to Venantius Fortunatus and called Martin of Braga the only and true apostle of Galicia, who introduced the cult of Martin Turrensis and converted the Suevians to Catholicism in the sixth century.⁴⁹

One gets the impression that for the church in Compostela the appropriate *Traditiones hispanicae* began with the *translatio*. Associations with the preaching of the Gospel during the apostle's lifetime were conspicuously avoided, perhaps because the original bishop's seat in Iria Flavia might then have claimed senior rights over the tomb of the apostle. Furthermore, claim to a metropolitan status was held by Mérida, the ancient capital of Lusitania. Here were two cities with an essentially older tradition! By the turn of the millenium the *Traditiones hispanicae*

45 A. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, II (Santiago de Compostela, 1899), Annex XVII, 32. See M.R. GARCÍA ALVAREZ, *La primera parte del Tumbo A de Santiago, Compostellanum* 7 (1962), p. 539.

46 Z. GARCÍA VILLADA, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, I/1 (Madrid, 1929), p. 368. See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Literatura jacobea* (note 37), p. 244-248; P. DAVID, *La lettre pseudo-Léon sur la translation de saint Jacques*, *Bulletin des études portugaises* 15 (1951), p. 184-186.

47 See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Literatura jacobea* (note 37), p. 245; LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (note 19), p. 188f.

48 A.C. FLORIANO CUMBREÑO, *Diplomática española del periodo astur*, *Estudio de las fuentes documentales del reino de Asturias (718-910)*, II (Oviedo 1949), p. 339-342. See PLOTZ, *Der Apostel Jacobus* (note 19), p. 111-113.

49 For the problem of the authenticity of the letter in discussion see R.A. FLETCHER, *Saint James' Catapult, the Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), p. 317-324; M.R. GARCÍA ALVAREZ, *Catálogo de documentos reales de la alta edad media referentes a Galicia (714-1109)*, *Compostellanum* 9 (1964), p. 599f., nr. 99; C. ERDMANN, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters* (Berlin, 1951).

were sufficiently structured to provide the foundations for the great Jamesian "monuments," the *Historia Compostellana*⁵⁰ and the *Codex Calixtinus*.⁵¹

Parallel to the institutionalization of the cult of James ran the conversion of the *Locus Sanctus Beati Jacobi* into a cathedral city⁵² and the various expressions of cult activities ranging in their spiritual-religious gradations from paraliturgical forms of devotion to contemplation and spirituality.⁵³ To direct the growth of popular devotions around the apostle's cult an organization capable of handling both its material and spiritual manifestations was needed. From the beginning, monastic institutions on the holy site were to attend to this function, and they would not be replaced by capitulars until Gelmírez's time.⁵⁴ For this kind of service the monks of Antealtares and San Martín Pinario could resort to the reliable infrastructure of the "confratres" of Tours, who from the start had been entrusted with organizing the cult of St. Martin.⁵⁵ The areas where the cult activities of the two saints, James and Martin, coincided may be briefly categorized here:

- 1) As a proclaimer of the Gospel, Martin of Tours is "par Apostolis" (Odo of Cluny, 878/9-942)⁵⁶. James evangelized Spain.
- 2) For the Merovingians and Carolingians Martin had the same importance as James had for the Asturians.⁵⁷
- 3) The *Gallicana peregrinatio* displays at the beginning the same structural features as the *peregrinatio ad Sanctum Jacobum*.
- 4) The congregation in Cluny and the Burgundian dynasty were interested in the cults of James and Martin in the same way.
- 5) Both saints were simultaneously feudal patrons, but also enjoyed great popularity among the common people.
- 6) Both saints had two feast days.⁵⁸
- 7) For the sacral propaganda of both saints *Libelli Miraculorum* were composed early.⁵⁹
- 8) Both saints had a tomb cult.

50 See L. VONIS, Die 'Historia Compostellana' und die Kirchenpolitik des Nordwestspanischen Raumes 1070-1130 (Cologne-Vienna 1980).

51 See notes 4 and 5.

52 See LÓPEZ ALSINA, Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela (note 19), p. 145-228.

53 See R. PLÖTZ, Santiago-peregrinatio und Jacobus-Kult mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Frankenlandes, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 1. Serie, XXXI (Münster 1984), p. 27-36.

54 See LÓPEZ ALSINA, La ciudad de Santiago (note 19), p. 186.

55 See C. GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda (Madrid, 1966), p. 336f.; J. FONTAINE, Mozarabie hispanique et monde carolingien; les échanges culturels entre la France et l'Espagne du VIII^e au Xe siècle, Anuario de estudios medievales 13 (1982), p. 17-46.

56 See B. KÖTTING, Vielverehrte Heilige, Traditionen, Legenden, Bilder (Münster 1986), p. 85-93.

57 C.A. BERNOULLI, Die Heiligen der Merowinger (Hildesheim-New York 1981), p. 9f.; KÖTTING, Peregrinatio religiosa (note 12), p. 274f.

58 For Martin July 4 for episcopal consecration: Gregory of Tours, De virtutibus S. Martini libri quattuor (MGH SS rer. Mer. IV, 4, 640); November 11 for the anniversary of his death: idem, IV, 5, 650.

59 Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae, Dialogi (CSEL 1, 107/216 Halm). Even before 576 Venantius Fortunatus altered the *vita* (MGH Auct. antiquissimi IV, 293-370). The most important source is the cited *vita* from Gregory of Tours (note 58, 584-661). See also H. DELEHAYE, Quatre miracles de Saint Martin de Tours, Analecta Bollandiana 55 (1937), p. 29-48.

Since the tenth century relationships between Tours and Compostela had led to numerous artistic and informational exchanges.⁶⁰ As early as the time of Charlemagne, Alcuin, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin before he joined the court of Charlemagne, observed and influenced the kingdom of Asturias.⁶¹ He had, for example, decisively supported Beatus of Liébana in the debates on Adoptionism.⁶²

Thus the foundations for both the canonical consolidation of Compostela as one of the three *sedes apostolicae*⁶³ and for the pilgrimage *ad limina Beati Jacobi* were laid in the 11th century. In the 11th/12th century the lines of development and components discussed above coalesced. The Christian Occident will gain its own typical features, come of age and fashion a homogeneous and spiritual culture of its own. Supraregional cults of saints flourished, a magnificent program of church building materialized, it was a boom time. In that same period the structure which will make the pilgrim the outstanding feature of the arterial network of roads was being installed.⁶⁴ Those elements which helped turn *peregrinatio* into a mass movement may be epitomized briefly:

- 1) The econo-technical upswing of the second feudal period, which encouraged and aided the Reconquista. This was marked by repopulation policies which led to the foundation of monasteries and towns and long distant trade, encouraged by an improved network of roads and bridges.
- 2) Changes in society and law which promoted migration *ad loca sancta*, marked by the development of such institutions as hostel and hospital, the Peace of God movement (*Treuga Dei*), and the transformation of *peregrinatio* from the privileged journey of the nobleman and clergyman into a mass movement through the granting of privileges and shaping of international legal protection.
- 3) The cult of relics and the system of indulgences, the association of the crusades with pilgrimage, Cluny's imperialism, the formation of religious customs for pilgrims and the beginnings of confraternities all served as major integrating forces on the part of the church.

The increased mobility fed by these factors was further intensified by the propagation and elevation of the pilgrimage in literature and the development of

60 J. WILLIAMS, *Tours and the Medieval Art of Spain, Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum* (Stockholm 1987), p. 197-208.

61 See M. DEFOURNEAUX, *Charlemagne et la monarchie asturienne*, Mélanges Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), p. 177-184; idem, *Carlomagno y el reino asturiano*, Estudios sobre la monarquía asturiana (Oviedo 1949, 2. ed. 1971), p. 89-114.

62 Letter (original is lost) written in the spring or summer of 798: D. BULLOUGH, Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age, *Carolingian Essays*, ed. U.-R. BLUMENTHAL (Washington 1983), p. 7-69. See also J. FRANCISCO RIVERA, A propósito de una carta de Alcuino recientemente encontrada, *Revista española de teología* I (1940-41), p. 418-433.

63 The second chapter (Liber I) of the Codex Calixtinus mentions the missionary and burial places of Saints James, John and Peter: "Princeps Romana currit ab arce Petrus ... Precipuum meritis Ephesus ueranda Iohannem, ... Quem repetunt populi Iacobum natum Zebedei Gallicie tellus mittit ad astra poli" (WISTENBIL, *Liber Sancti Jacobi* [note 5] p. 34). Elsewhere the Codex Calixtinus refers only to the three "sedes principales" (ibid. p. 132, 135). See J. VAN HERWAARDEN, *Integrità di testo del Codex Calixtinus, Pellegrinaggio a Santiago* (note 37), p. 263-266.

64 PLOTZ, *Strukturwandel der peregrinatio* (note 13), p. 151; *Das Hochmittelalter*, ed. J. LE GÖFF, Fischer Weltgeschichte 11 (Frankfurt/Main 1965), p. 55-58.

pilgrimage churches.⁶⁵ The apostle's tomb in Compostela benefited from these developments to an extraordinary degree. Moreover, the attractiveness of James' cult was aided by the fact that he was the first apostolic martyr.

At the same time Compostela changed from a bishop's seat *de facto* as the site of the apostle's tomb to one *de iure*.⁶⁶ It was the moment James' cult and the *peregrinatio* were to achieve European dimensions, and to be connected, through Charlemagne, with the Frankish empire, a move which would strengthen the precedence of the tomb and through it the Compostelan church.⁶⁷

Charlemagne's actual historical connection to the Asturian kingdom would not have accomplished that, for his march to Spain proved a failure and depended on an alliance with Arabic enemies of Abdarraḥmān I (756-788) rather than a call for help from Spanish Christians.⁶⁸ Although there were contacts between Alfonso II and Charlemagne, these chiefly concerned questions of the true Christian faith.⁶⁹ In all probability the discovery of the tomb in Galicia occurred after Charlemagne's death, during the reign of Louis the Pious.⁷⁰

How, then, was Charlemagne linked with the tomb cult in Galicia? As late as the *Concordia* of 1077 it would have been unimaginable in clerical circles in Compostela to produce such a slanted account of history.⁷¹ Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1072-1109) encouraged the increasing infiltration of French influences, his mar-

65 See Plötz, *Strukturwandel der peregrinatio* (note 13), *passim*.

66 *Historia Compostellana*, sive de rebus gestis D. Didaci Gelmírez, primi Compostellani Archiepiscopi, in H. FLÓREZ, *España Sagrada* 20 (1765 reprint Madrid 1965), I, 2, 8-9; *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. FALQUE REY (Turnhout 1988). See VONES, *Die 'Historia Compostellana'* (note 50), p. 275f. The document of exemption was signed 5 Dec. 1095 (*Historia Compostellana*, *op.cit.*, I, 5, 22).

67 For the complex topic of Charlemagne and Spain see DEFOURNEAUX, *Charlemagne* (note 61), p. 177-184; C. HROUNET, *Les relations franco-ibérique au moyen âge*, *Bulletin philologique et historique* 1969 (Paris 1972), I, p. 3-16; J.M. LACARRA, *La proyección cultural del mundo carolingio sobre la cristianidad*, *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque espagnole* (Paris 1977-78, Madrid 1982), p. 13-24.

68 Charlemagne did not undertake his Spanish expedition of his own accord. At Paderborn in 777 he received at a request for help from Sulaimān, governor of Barcelona, who had risen against Abdarraḥmān I. Charlemagne went to Spain in 778, but had to retreat without remarkable success (*Annales Regni francorum*, ed. F. KURZE, MGH SS. rer. G. (6) [1895], 51; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, *ibid.*, 51). Sources of the middle of the ninth century first attribute his expedition to the appeal for help from Christians in Spain. See, e.g., *Annales Mettenses*, ed. F. KURZE (MGH SS. rer. G. (10), 1905), 66, and *Anonymi vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. G.H. PERTZ (MGH *Scriptores* II, 1839, 607-648). See also K. HERBERS, *Karl der Grosse und Spanien – Realität und Fiktion*, *Karl der Grosse und sein Schrein in Aachen*, *Festschrift* ed. H. Müllejan (Aachen-Mönchengladbach 1988), p. 47-55.

69 Einhard mentions in his *vita* a close relationship between Alfonso II and Charlemagne (*Vita Karoli*, note 68, c. 16, 19). See W. HEIL, *Der Adoptionismus, Alkuin und Spanien*, *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. BRAUNFELS (Düsseldorf 1965), p. 95-155.

70 LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (note 19), p. 110. He places the discovery between 820 and 830.

71 Three of the four texts which report the circumstances of the *inventio* connect the event with Charlemagne: *Chronicon Iriense*, ed. M.R. GARCÍA ALVAREZ (Madrid 1963), p. 110-111; Munio Alfonso (*Historia Compostellana*, note 66, I, 2, 9); Diego Gelmírez, "Privilegium" for the monastery of Martín Pinario from 1115 (LÓPEZ FERRERO, *Historia*, III, Append. 33, note 45, 97). Only the earliest text, the famous *Concordia de Antequares* (1077) avoids this chronological reference (F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La concordat de Antequares, Santiago de Compostela* [note 20], p. 203f.).

riage policy and the installation of bishops of French origin adding to it.⁷² This close relationship, especially with Burgundy, brought to Compostela influences from France,⁷³ and caused a number of its clergy to reorganize their church and involve Charlemagne in its history.⁷⁴ However, it was not until the first half of the 12th century that Charlemagne came to be incorporated into the Spanish tradition.⁷⁵

By 1115 the chronicler of the *Historia Silense* could write, "None of the foreign peoples freed Spain, nor did Charlemagne, whom the Franks falsely claim wrenched some towns on this side of the Pyrenees from the pagans."⁷⁶ These words mirrored the self-confidence of a Christian Spain which had gained strength in the 11th/12th century and credited itself with liberation from the Muslims.⁷⁷ Contrarily, in the epic literature of the 11th/12th century liberation was achieved by Charlemagne. Because of its many fictitious details, this epic view did not find acceptance in Spanish historiography, but it assumed major importance in central Europe.⁷⁸ Here Charlemagne was portrayed as a warrior in Spain, one of its first crusaders, a representation inspired by the *Gesta Karoli Magni* of the monk Notker Balbulus of St. Gall.⁷⁹ The *Pseudo-Turpin*, in all probability composed early in the 12th century, combined all epic-legendary elements and, by means of the *Vita Caroli*,⁸⁰ imparted to the tomb cult a European dimension right from the beginning. The Abbey of Saint-Denis is said to have played a part in composing the individual

72 See LÓPEZ ALSINA, La ciudad de Santiago (note 19), p. 110f.; B.F. REILLY, Santiago and Saint Denis: French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain, *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968), p. 467-483; M. DEFOURNEAUX, Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Paris 1949).

73 J. WILLIAMS, Cluny and Spain, *Gesta* 27, 1-2 (1988), p. 93-101; P. SEOL, Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien, Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenser in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts (Kallmünz 1974); PLOTZ, Santiago-peregrinatio (note 53), p. 48f.

74 See HERBERS, Karl der Grosse und Spanien, note 68, 50.

75 Within the European epic tradition Charlemagne ranks as a hero of Spain. Literarily this depended on the ninth chapter of Einhard's *vita*, which was extended considerably by Notker of St. Gall in the *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris* (ed. H.F. HAERFLE, MHG SS rer. G. n.s. 12, 1959). In the *Chanson de Geste* of the eleventh-twelfth century Charlemagne was transformed into the first crusader in Spain. The extreme example of this occurs in the *Pseudo-Turpin*, which became part of the *Codex Calixtinus* (*Historia Turpini*, *Liber Quartus*, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. WHITTHILL [note 5], p. 301-347).

76 *Historia Silense*, ed. J. PÉREZ DE URBEL and A.G. RUIZ-ZORILLA, Escuela de Estudios Medievales 30 (Madrid 1959), p. 129.

77 *Primera Crónica General*, ed. R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, et. al., I (Madrid 1955), p. 355. See R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Poesía juglaresca y juglares (Madrid, 1924), p. 368f.; DEFOURNEAUX, Carlomagno y el reino asturiano (note 61), p. 97, 100-105. The urge to find a Spanish counter-hero for Charlemagne produced the legendary figure of Bernardo del Carpio. See M. DEFOURNEAUX, L'Espagne et les épiques françaises, la légende de Bernardo del Carpio, *Bulletin hispanique* 45 (1943), p. 117-138.

78 For the importance of Charlemagne for Spain and the *Pseudo-Turpin* see J. BÉDIER, Les légendes épiques, III (3rd ed. Paris 1929); DEFOURNEAUX, Carlomagno y el reino asturiano (note 61), p. 92-97.

79 See note 75.

80 H.-W. KLEIN, Die Chronik von Karl dem Grossen und Roland, Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters XIII (Munich 1986), esp. p. 12-14, also: DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, El Códice Calixtino (note 4), p. 46 f. E.A.R. Brown argues against the participation of Saint-Denis (Denis and the Turpin Legend this in publication).

parts.⁸¹ The claims for Compostela's precedence corresponded to efforts made at Saint-Denis, above all under the direction of Abbot Suger, to have Dyonisius replace Martin as the patron of France.⁸² One of the most important consequences of integrating Charlemagne into the James tradition was the reconsideration of Carolingian-European traditions and the conception of the Reconquista as a crusade.⁸³ Sholod was right to identify Charlemagne as the "symbolic link between the eighth and the eleventh century."⁸⁴

In Germany at the time of the Hohenstaufen emperors the *Pseudo-Turpin*, probably copied in Compostela,⁸⁵ was of great importance for Frederick Barbarossa's efforts to canonize Charlemagne. The *peregrinatio ad limina Beati Jacobi* was never handicapped by the strategies employed by the clergy in Compostela. On the contrary, it owed its European dimension, revitalized today, to the incorporation of European and occidental elements in the tradition's final formation in the *Codex Calixtinus*.

81 HERBERS, Karl der Grosse und Spanien, note 68, 52f.; REILLY, Santiago and Saint Denis (note 72); DIAZ Y DIAZ, Códice Calixtino (note 4), p. 46f.

82 See R.N. Walpole, Sur la Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin', Travaux de linguistique et de littérature III, 2 (Strasbourg 1965), p. 327-440; A. DE MANDACHE, Naissance et développement de la Chanson de geste en Europe. I. La geste de Charlemagne et de Roland (Geneva 1961), p. 91-100.

83 See note 11.

84 B. SHOLOD, Charlemagne – Symbolic Link between the Eighth and Eleventh Century Crusades, Studies in Honor of M.J. Bernadete (New York 1965), p. 33-46.

85 I refer here to the manuscript HA (De Sanctitate ... beati Karoli), whose original version probably had been copied around 1165 for Aachen in Compostela. See KLEIN, Die Chronik von Karl dem Grossen (note 80), p. 15-26.

Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend

ELIZABETH A.R. BROWN

Archbishop Turpin's magical chronicle of Charlemagne's fabulous campaigns in Spain begins with Saint James's summons to the Emperor and ends, after Charlemagne's death, with what is presumably an addition describing Turpin's own death and translation.¹ The merry and gripping tale of strange times of yore has long been connected with the abbey of Saint-Denis.² This is chiefly because of the fabulous list of privileges which, as counterpoise to donations to the church of Compostela, the Turpin says Charlemagne bestowed on Saint-Denis.³ The privileges stretch the bounds of credibility but are very much a part of the Turpin's world, in which enemy fortifications wondrously crumble, a giant is bested, and a pagan king disputes complex and esoteric points of theology.

1 I should like to dedicate this paper, with great affection, to the memory of that arch-pursuer of deceit, John F. Benton. For their generous suggestions and encouragement I am grateful to François Avril, the late John F. Benton, Uta-Renate Blumenthal, William W. Clark, Michael W. Cothren, Georges Duby, Marc Du Pouget, Françoise Gasparri, Paula L. Gerson, Walter Goffart, William H. Hinkle, David Jacoby, Donald R. Kelley, Andrew W. Lewis, Charles J. Liebman, Jr., André de Mandach, Harvey Rosenberg, Richard H. Rouse, Robert Somerville, Gabrielle M. Spiegel, Alan M. Stahl, Harvey Stahl, Patricia Danz Stimmann, Alison Stones, Co Van de Kieft, Elisabeth van Houts, Nancy Ann Vighetti, Hans Voorbij, Thomas G. Waldman, and the late Ronald N. Walpole. I owe special thanks to Christopher Hohler, whose writings and letters have influenced my thinking at every stage and on virtually every point; long letters that he sent me on 16 June 1985 and 24 October 1988 have affected both the content and the phraseology of this article. Paula Gerson and Gabrielle Spiegel were kind enough to read final drafts and to offer a wealth of useful suggestions. Indispensable assistance was given by the staffs of the Archives nationales, the Bibliothèque Mazarine, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine in Montpellier, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Vatican City, the British Library in London, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library and Butler Library of Columbia University, and the New York Public Library. I acknowledge with deep gratitude the help of the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the PSC-CUNY Research Award Program of the City University of New York. The following abbreviations are used: AN: Paris, Archives nationales; BAV: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BN: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale; Maz.: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine.

2 See, most recently, R. N. WALPOLE, ed., *Le Turpin français, dit le Turpin I*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations, 3 (Toronto 1985) esp. p. xi, xv-vi, 193; and E. BOURNAZEL, *Suger and the Royal Familia in the Reigns of Louis VI and Louis VII*, in: Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium, ed. P. LIEBER Gerson (New York 1986) p. 55-72, which invokes arguments he and J.-P. POLY advanced in *La mutation féodale, X^e-XII^e siècles*, Nouvelle Clio, 16 (Paris 1980) p. 89-94. See also I. SHORT, *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William of Briane, Anglo-Norman Texts*, 25 (Oxford 1973) p. 1. Particularly influential has been A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe, I, La Geste de Charlemagne et de Roland* (Publications romanes et françaises, 69 (Geneva-Paris 1961) p. 85-87, 92-99, 367-68. Informative as it is, this book must be employed with extreme caution.

3 *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin: textes revus et publiés d'après 49 manuscrits*, ed. C. MEREDITH-JONES (Thèse, Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1936) p. 325-26, 331-32. See also *Die Chronik von Karl dem Grossen und Roland: Der lateinische Pseudo-Turpin in den Handschriften aus Aachen und Andemach*, ed. and trans. H.-W. KLEIN (Munich 1986) p. 86-91, 118-20.

To Compostela all Spain and Galicia were to be subordinated as an endowment (*in dote*); all householders were to be free of servitude in return for an annual payment of four coins (*nummi*); the site was named an Apostolic See; episcopal councils were to be held there; the bishop was to bestow episcopal rods and royal crowns; he was to reconcile the erring to the faith. As to Saint-Denis, all France was given to its patron in freehold (*in praedio*), as the Apostle Paul and Pope Clement had bestowed it on Saint Denis as an apostolate (*in apostolatu*); kings and bishops were to be obedient to the abbot, and kings were not to be crowned nor bishops ordained, received at Rome, or condemned there without the abbot's counsel. All householders of Gaul were to make annual payments of four coins for the construction of the church, and all serfs willingly donating the coins were freed. Saint Denis granted Charlemagne's prayer, gaining from God forgiveness of sins for all dying in the wars against the Saracens in Spain, and solace "for their graver wounds" for those contributing four coins to the construction of the church. All who willingly offered the coins were called the free (or *Franci*) of Saint Denis, and the kingdom, before called Gaul, was thenceforth known as France, free from all servitude to other peoples; the Franks were owed glory and domination over them all.⁴ The two sets of privileges were similar, although as befitted an episcopal see, Compostela was finally the more favored.

Few scholars seriously suggest that the Turpin was composed at Saint-Denis.⁵ The Turpin's author was chiefly interested in Compostela, and in the twelfth century Saint-Denis was renowned enough to explain its selection as Compostela's French counterpart. Nonetheless, the privileges, as well as a number of explicit references to Saint-Denis in different redactions and translations of the Turpin, have fostered the belief that the abbey's monks were taken with, endorsed, and exploited the outlandish story from the beginning. This seems to me unlikely. Here I should like to re-examine and reassess the evidence that exists and then attempt to show how slowly and cautiously the monks grafted the Turpin's fabulous tales into the body of Dionysian traditions. The monks' attitude changed once the Turpin had been accepted as true history. Won over, they came to cherish the narrative and elaborated the sections featuring Saint-Denis. These portions became in the end so important to them that they waged a last-ditch struggle to avoid jettisoning the Turpin after it was finally unmasked as a romantic invention rather than the credible antique narrative the monks had long considered it. As has long been realized, the evidence is slippery, and the documentary and pseudo-documentary sources merely complicate the problem. Particularly bothersome is a diploma, closely connected with the Turpin and various Dionysian sources, which Charlemagne allegedly issued for the abbey in 813 but which has apparently been

4 MEREDITH-JONES (note 3) p. 169-71, 217-21; and A. HAMEL, ed., *Der Pseudo-Turpin von Compostella* ..., ed. A. DE MANDACH, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (Munich, 1965) Heft 1, p. 69-71, 88-89. See also Appendix I, below.

5 See, however, SHORT (note 2), and note that WALPOLE (note 2, p. 193) believes that version E of Turpin I was "conçue et compilée à Saint-Denis[.] ... cette officine de propagande intéressée où les moines, à travers le faux Turpin-archevêque, se réclamaient de l'autorité de Charlemagne pour fonder leurs prétentions à l'hégémonie ecclésiastique et politique en France."

preserved only in the history of Saint-Denis by Dom Jacques Doublet published in 1625. I have found no trace of the text in any of the abbey's cartularies or in any of the numerous inventories of its muniments, of which the earliest that still exist date from the fourteenth century.⁶ Not until 1625 did the diploma surface,⁷ in Doublet's ebulliently partisan and often untrustworthy history of the abbey.⁸ A number of modern historians nonetheless maintain that the diploma was confected in the twelfth century, that it manifests the abbey's early admiration for the Turpin, and that the monks genuinely believed the diploma would gain them the privileges it lists.⁹

6 On these sources, see A. Giry, *Notices bibliographiques sur les archives des églises et des monastères de l'époque carolingienne*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 132 (Paris 1901) p. 51-60; and R. Barroux, *L'anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII^e siècle: charte inédite de l'abbé Adam*, Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1942-43) p. 131-32. Particularly useful is the monumental inventory that Dom François Thomas compiled in the seventeenth century and that was continued to 1728 after Thomas' death: AN LL 1189-1202, with tables in LL 1203-08.

7 This fact has often been disregarded, in good part because of the "critical" edition in MGH, *Dipl. Karolinerum* (1906) I p. 428-30, and because the diploma is there said to have been created in the twelfth century. Two additional sources are given, with no indication that both took the texts of the diploma from Doublet. No reference to the document appeared in J.F. Böhm, ed., *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Karolorum ...* (Frankfurt am Main 1883), but six years later it was cited in *Regesta Imperii*, I, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*, ed. J.F. Böhm and E. Mühlbacher (Innsbruck 1889) no. 482 (469).

8 J. Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denis en France. Contenant les antiquitez d'icelle, les Fondations, Prerogatives & Priuileges, Ensemble les tombeaux et epitaphes des Roys, Reynes, Enfans de France ... Le tout recueilly de plvsievs histoires, Bulles des Papes, & Chartes des Roys, Princes, & autres documens Autentiques* (Paris 1625) p. 725-27. For the text, see the Appendix, VII. According to the later and far soberer historian of the abbey, M. Félibien (who does not refer to the forged diploma), Doublet lived at Saint-Denis under six abbots and was almost ninety when he died in 1648; thus he was no more than sixteen when he entered Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Charles of Lorraine (1557-74): *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de saint-Denis en France ...* (Paris 1706) p. 445, and 477-78; see also the excellent introduction by H. Pinoteau to the rpt. edition published in Paris in 1973. For Doublet's position as "grant prieur et gardien des chartes" of the abbey, see his copy of a charter of Dagobert: AN K 1, no. 8.

9 For a review of the literature to 1958, see R. Barroux, *L'abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124: la levée de l'oriflamme, la Chronique du pseudo-Turpin et la fausse donation de Charlemagne à Saint-Denis en 813*, *Le Moyen Âge* 64 (4th ser., 13) (1958) p. 15-16 n. 43, and 23 n. 58; and C. Van der Kieft, *Deux diplômes de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XII^e siècle*, *ibid.*, p. 417-24, 433-35. See also G.M. Smeoll, *The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship*, *Journal of Medieval History* I (1975) p. 43-69, at 59-61, rpt. in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. S. Wilson (Cambridge, 1983) p. 141-68, at 154-56; J. Petersohn, *Saint-Denis – Westminster – Aachen: Die Karls-Translatio von 1165 und ihre Vorbilder*, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 31 (1975) p. 420-54, esp. 436-44. Like Bournaziel (note 2), M. Groten attributes the forgery to Suger and dates it ca 1127-29; he believes that Suger created the document in an attempt to secure for Saint-Denis the right to crown the kings of France: *Die Urkunde Karls des Grossen für St.-Denis von 813 (D 286), eine Fälschung Abt Sugers?* *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988) p. 1-36, esp. 9. M. Du Pouget has revived and defended the hypothesis that the diploma predates the Turpin, in *La légende carolingienne à Saint-Denis: la donation de Charlemagne au retour de Roncevaux*, in: *Actes du Colloque de Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port (12 Août 1978)*, *La Bataille de Roncevaux*, special number of the *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne*, n. s., 135 (1979) p. 53-55. According to him, the author of the Turpin simply divided the privileges that the false diploma gave to Saint-Denis between the abbey and Compostela. His hypothesis seems to me questionable, since it does not explain why the Turpin's author would have adulterated and omitted some of the diploma's alleged benefactions to the abbey. Du Pouget believes that the

Having long considered the Doublet diploma a red herring, I will discuss it only after having considered the other evidence concerning Saint-Denis and the Turpin. Still, given its notoriety and, more important, its close relationship to other Dyonisian sources to be treated here (see the Table), it seems best to describe its contents at the outset. The privileges the diploma bestows on Saint-Denis are far grander than those found in the Turpin. The diploma affirms the abbey's status as head of all churches of the realm, as well as its abbot's primacy. It prohibits any king's being crowned except at Saint-Denis (rather than, as in the Turpin, requiring the abbot's counsel for coronations). In it Charlemagne lays the crown of the kingdom on the saint's altar and surrenders the regalia to the saint. In an unusual discourse in which Charlemagne, speaking in the first person singular, addresses Saint Denis, the emperor says that he is offering four gold bezants to witness that he holds France from God alone and Saint Denis, and that he defends it, relying on the help of the saint and his holy companions, with double-headed sword. He commands his successors to proffer the coins each year, touching their heads, in testimony of divine rather than human servitude, the highest liberty, since to serve God is to reign. Further, all leading men of the kingdom are to tender four gold coins a year for each household they own in order to augment the abbey "from the building of Dagobert, the most excellent king, up to the crucifix"; all those bound to servitude (*servituti addicti*) who willingly (*libenter*) give four gold coins each year will be emancipated and called the free (*Franci*) of the blessed Denis. Finally, the emperor declares, he leaves France to the protection, after God, of Saint Denis and his companions. This document, closely linked to the Turpin, is clearly an audacious and unmitigated hoax, inspired by even greater flights of fancy than the pseudo-history and focused far more centrally than that narrative on France's patron saint. When and why it was created are perplexing questions that admit no simple answers. To consider them, the connections between Saint-Denis and the Turpin must first be examined in light of more reliable and more easily datable evidence that witnesses the presence of the Turpin at the abbey and, even in the absence of the diploma, reveals how and why the fable influenced the abbey's traditions and ceremonies.

The earliest text of the Turpin that can with any confidence be associated with Saint-Denis is a radically truncated and corrected version that consists of eleven of the lengthy work's initial chapters. These uncontroversial portions describe Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain (omitting the episode of the Saracen Aigoland's conversion and recantation); they break off long before the chapters awarding

Turpin's allusion to Saint-Romain of Blaye as Roland's burial place demonstrates the Dyonisian influence on the pseudo-history, since relics of Saint Romain were preserved at the abbey; note, however, that the belief regarding Roland's sepulture was well enough established by 1110 (perhaps in an early version of the Turpin?) for H. DE FLEURY to mention it in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*: MGH, SS IX, p. 361. For convincing arguments that the diploma postdates the Turpin, see MEREDITH-JONES (note 3) p. 323-33; BOURNAZEL (note 2) p. 63-65; WALFOLLE (note 2) p. 188-90; and K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der "Liber Sancti Jacobi"*: Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter, Historische Forschungen, 7 (Wiesbaden 1984) p. 41.

privileges to Compostela and Saint-Denis.¹⁰ The manuscript containing this short Turpin is an unimpressive and rather scruffy miscellany, difficult to date precisely.¹¹ Of northern provenance, it is linked to Saint-Denis through some of the texts it includes, which appear to have been copied by religious from the Premonstratensian house of Saint-Feuillien du Roeulx in Hainaut who were doing research in the Paris region sometime before 1180.¹² As to the chapters of the Turpin, the north-erners doubtless copied all they were shown; they would hardly have omitted the gripping scenes that followed had they seen them. If they indeed transcribed their Turpin at Saint-Denis, it is difficult to say how the abbey came to possess such an abridged version of the history, although one of the abbey's monks might have produced it to ensure that the house's library possessed some record of the history in a version devoid of the blatant exaggerations and embarrassing fantasies of the

10 BN lat. 12710, ff. 69v-70v; the many corrections reflect changes introduced in the *De sanctitate Karoli*, composed following Charlemagne's canonization in 1165. The sections correspond to chs. I-IV, VI-VIII, XII-XIV, and XVII of The Pseudo-Turpin, Edited from Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656 with an Annotated Synopsis, ed. H.M. SMYER (Cambridge, Mass. 1937) p. 55-73. Thus the selections include the letter of Turpin to Leoprand: cf. C. HOHLER, A Note on *Jacobus*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 65-66.

11 On the manuscript, see the controversial and often misleading article of J. LAIR, *Mémoire sur deux chroniques latines composées au XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 35 (1874) p. 543-80, esp. 570-71; and, far more reliable, E.M.C. VAN HOUTS, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen, 1982) p. 69-71, 219-21. For the contents of the manuscript, see LAIR, p. 545-49; and VAN HOUTS, p. 219-21. I thank François Avril, Françoise Gasparri, Elisabeth van Houts, Richard H. Rouse, and Patricia Danz Stimmann for their advice on the hands and date of the manuscript.

12 For the provenance of the manuscript, see LAIR (note 11) p. 545-49; HOHLER (note 10) p. 65; G. WYMANS, *Manuscripts des XII^e et XIII^e siècles ayant appartenu à l'abbaye du Roeulx en Hainaut*, *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 32 (1966) p. 75-81, esp. 80. Selections that were almost surely transcribed at Saint-Denis are found in the first through the third and the tenth through the twelfth quires (ff. 1-25, and 67-83, 88). The first group is copied in a mid-twelfth-century hand (except for a later hand on the inserted f. 7, like that on f. 35, col. B, ll. 1-24); the different hand of the second group is slightly later, and perhaps as late as 1180, the date of a notice on fol. 35v. The likely source of the material on ff. 1, 5-12, 59-65, and 70v-83v, is the twelfth-century Dyonisian historical miscellany, Maz. MS 2013 (ff. 229v-30v, 222v-23, 225v-28v, 158v-75v, 133v-35, 223-24, 47-52v); on the Maz. manuscript, see E.A.R. BROWN and M.W. COTHREN, *The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praetorium enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) p. 14-15 n. 65; for Guillaume of Jumièges (ff. 70v-83v), see VAN HOUTS (note 11), and eadem, *Quelques remarques sur les interpolations attribuées à Orderic Vital dans les Gesta Normannorum Ducum de Guillaume de Jumièges*, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (1978) p. 215-22, esp. 216. Note also that on ff. 51-52 (copied in a different mid-twelfth-century hand, also found on ff. 36-43) are the only surviving segments of Suger's life of Louis VII, on which see J. LAIR, *Fragment inédit de la Vie de Louis VII préparée par Suger*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 34 (1873) p. 583-96. The incomplete copy of Suger's life of Louis VI in lat. 12710 (ff. 12v-25) derives not from that at the end of Maz. 2013 but rather from another copy, almost certainly used by the compiler of the late-twelfth-century manuscript of Bois-de-Vincennes that also contains a version of the Turpin and the *De sanctitate Karoli*, BN lat. 17656: see H. WAQUET, ed., *SUGER, Vie de Louis VI le Gros Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge*, 11 (Paris 1964) p. xviii-xxi; on the Bois-de-Vincennes manuscript, see below at note 22. The *Gesta Dagoberti* in BN lat. 12710, ff. 65-68v, was copied in the later Dyonisian manuscripts, BAV Reg. lat. 550, ff. 76-90, and BN lat. 5925, ff. 73-86v; the story of the dedication of Saint-Denis in BN lat. 12710, ff. 68v-69v, is found in twin Dyonisian manuscripts of ca 1233, BN lat. 2447, ff. 123-31, and n. a. lat. 1509, p. 249-261/71; on them, see n. 31 below. The presence of these two texts in undisputedly Dyonisian manuscripts supports the likelihood that the copies in BN lat. 12710 were made at the abbey.

full original. The introductory letter of Turpin to Leoprاند, dean of Aachen, found at the beginning of the selections in the northern manuscript, suggests why Saint-Denis might have wished to have the narrative. The letter says that the archbishop was writing the account because the "royal chronicle" of Saint-Denis lacked any full account of Charlemagne's deeds in Spain.¹³ The shortened and emended version would have filled that gap without overly shaming the abbey.

The abridged copy of the Turpin in the northern manuscript¹⁴ may well have been used by the author of the *De sanctitate Karoli*, written between Charlemagne's canonization in 1165 and 1179. This work contains the same excerpts found in the northern manuscript, with corrections that are recorded in that text. Christopher Hohler may be correct in hypothesizing that the *De sanctitate Karoli* was put together on the initiative of Baudouin V of Hainaut, whose daughter's marriage to Philip Augustus is mentioned in glowing terms in the northern manuscript. The *De sanctitate* pays homage to the abbey, stating that "the chronicles of the Franks at Saint-Denis" revealed that Turpin had sent the letter to Leoprاند and altering the introductory epistle to indicate that before Turpin wrote no chronicles at all had satisfactorily recounted the emperor's Spanish exploits.¹⁵ The statement provides an additional link between the Turpin and Saint-Denis, although since poets and chroniclers regularly invoked the abbey to lend credibility to their accounts, the assertion must be treated with some skepticism.¹⁶

13 "Magnalia enim diuulgata que rex gessit in hispania in dyonisi kronica regali ut scripsistis reperire plenarie uestra nequiuu fratemitas": BN lat. 12710, f. 69v. A corrector expuncted the *ne* of *nequiuu* in a clumsy effort to suggest that the Dyonisian chronicle did contain the account. A marginal addition ("in nullis plene cronicis sufficienter inueniuntur digesta sed nec Ma") shows how the sentence was revised to remove the abbey's name entirely. See MEREDITH-JONES (note 3) p. 86-87; Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi: texte revu et complété d'après sept manuscrits, ed. F. CASTETS (Paris 1880) p. 1-2; and note 15 below.

14 The same excerpts are found in BN lat. 5943B, ff. 26-30v, the rest of whose contents (Einhard, the Astronome's *Life of Louis the Pious*, and the history *Ex genere Priami*) link it closely to BN lat. 12710, and possibly to Saint-Denis. The manuscript is roughly contemporary with lat. 12710; it is also of northern provenance and may possibly have been written and decorated in Flanders. I am grateful to Harvey Stahl and François Avril for their counsel. BAV lat. 10688, ff. 135v-40, contains the same chapters; I have been unable to examine the manuscript myself, but it appears to be later in date.

15 The full title of the work is *De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Karoli magni ad honorem et laudem nominis dei*. For the text, see Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, ed. G. RAUSCHEN, Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, Publikationen, 7 (Leipzig 1890) p. 17-93, esp. 66-74; see also KLEIN (note 3) p. 28-35; and HOHLER (note 10) p. 65. See RAUSCHEN p. 67-68, for the crucial phrases, "epistola ... quam Tulpinum ... Leobrando ... transmisisse in cronicis Francorum apud sanctum Dyonisium in Francia repperimus," and "Magnalia enim, que rex gessit in Hispania, in nullis pene cronicis sufficienter inueniuntur divulgata et, ut michi scripsistis, ea plenarie repperire uestra nequiuu fratemitas"; see note 13 above. For the reference to Baudouin's daughter, see BN lat. 12710, f. 35v; LAIR (note 11) p. 548. The chapters of the Turpin in the *De sanctitate Karoli* are precisely those copied in lat. 12710, omitting the sections published by SMYER (note 10) as chs. XIII-XIV and XVII (p. 67-69, 73). The *De sanctitate* also contains most of the *Descriptio* of Charlemagne's alleged journey to Constantinople and Jerusalem (RAUSCHEN, p. 45-66, 100-25), which was also copied in lat. 12710, ff. 1v-5.

16 See A. TRIAUD, A propos du boniment du jongleur en tête du manuscrit d'Oxford de Girart de Roussillon, Mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire, 2 vols. (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982) II p. 737-66, at 754-59; and note 17 below.

Baudouin of Hainaut managed with difficulty to obtain a full copy of the Turpin, as well as the miracles of Saint James and accounts of his translation, all of which are included in the *Codex Compostellanus*. He sent a copy of these texts to Frederick Barbarossa sometime after 1171, telling him that the work he was offering had been *compositum* (composed? brought together?) partly at Cluny, partly at Tours, and partly in the library of the Blessed Denis.¹⁷ Like contemporary poets and chroniclers, Baudouin may have fabricated the provenance of his texts. Even if he was telling the truth, this does not mean that his full Turpin necessarily came from Saint-Denis, since he was forwarding three texts. If the Turpin is to be associated with one of the three sites, there is reason to opt for the Burgundian house of Cluny. When, around 1200, Nicolas de Senlis (or Saint-Lis) translated Baudouin's full Turpin for the count's sister, he declared that the text had been discovered at "Sanz en Borgognie," probably the city of Sens, which is located on the northeastern border of Burgundy.¹⁸ Tours, however, is also a possibility; between 1177 and 1187 Guibert of Gembloux secured a copy of the Turpin (as well as the miracles of Saint James) from Abbot Hervé of Marmoutier

17 Baudouin's letter to Frederick appears in the fourteenth-century manuscript of the miracles, the translation, and the Turpin (the second, third, and fourth books of the *Codex Compostellanus*, excluding the saint's liturgy and the Pilgrim's Guide, books one and five) in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 1617; it is published in SMYSER (note 10) p. 110, who gives variants from the Madrid manuscript in his edition of the Turpin; see also 6-8. See the Madrid manuscript, ff. 38v-39, for Turpin's letter, and f. 66, for the privileges of Saint-Denis. SMYSER argues (p. 8) that Baudouin dispatched the manuscript in 1184, but as HAMEL points out, it could have been sent any time after Baudouin became count in 1171: A. HAMEL, *Die Entstehungszeit der Aachener Vita Karoli Magni und der Pseudo-Turpin*, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 32 (1942) p. 243-53, at 247, 252. No significance can be attributed to the allusion to Saint-Denis in the preface to the Johannes translation of the Turpin that includes Pierre de Beauvais' translation of the *Descriptio*, since the reference to the abbey was taken from Pierre's prologue to the *Descriptio*. Pierre often invoked Saint-Denis in his works, and in this case he may have been telling the truth, for by the mid-twelfth century Saint-Denis had a copy of the *Descriptio*. See R.N. WALPOLE, *The Old French Johannes Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: A Critical Edition, and Supplement* (Berkeley 1976), Translation, p. 3, 11-12, 52-53, 58, 60-61, 85, 93-96; idem, *Charlemagne's Journey to the East: The French Translation of the Legend by Pierre de Beauvais*, in: *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 11 (1951) p. 445; M.L. BERRY, Jr., *Pierre de Beauvais: An Introduction to his Works* Romance Philology 18 (1964-65) p. 387-98, esp. 390-91; BROWN and COTHREN (note 12) p. 25-26, 32-33.

18 A. DE MANDACH, ed., *Chronique dite Saintongeaise. Texte franco-occitan inédit "Lee": à la découverte d'une chronique gasconne du XIII^e siècle et de sa poitevinisation*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 120 (Tübingen 1970) p. 5, 18, 142, 256-57, 332; see 142-48, for the relationship of the translation to the text that Baudouin sent to the Emperor; cf. HOHLER (note 10) p. 69. See MANDACH (note 2) II, *Chronique de Turpin: texte anglo-normand inédit de Willem de Briane* (Arundel 220), *Publications romanes et françaises*, 77 (Geneva 1963) p. 13-14, for the argument that the reference to "Senz" is a mistake for Cluny. J.M. WALLACE-HADRIEL arrived at a conclusion similar to mine in his review of R.N. WALPOLE, *Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* University of California Publications in Modern Philology 26/4 (1947) p. 327-440 (and apart), *Medium Aevum* 17 (1948) p. 37-45, at 40-41. Sens-sur-Seille (Saône-et-Loire, arr. Louhans, c. Saint-Germain-du-Bois) lies only about 75 kilometers from Cluny, but I have seen no evidence revealing the presence of any library there.

near Tours;¹⁹ before 1225 the Turpin was incorporated into the Great Chronicle of Tours.²⁰

The truncated version of the Turpin in the northern manuscript is the only one that can with any confidence be connected with Saint-Denis.²¹ On the other hand, the abbey's monks in all probability had access to a more complete Turpin. A far less radically abridged version of the Turpin, which included the chapter describing Compostela's privileges but excluded the one devoted to Saint-Denis, was known in the Paris region shortly before 1179. It is found in a manuscript (also containing the *De sanctitate Karoli*) that belonged to the Grandmontine house of Bois-de-Vincennes. The monks of Saint-Denis could have seen the text there; it is also possible that their house possessed the exemplar from which this copy immediately or proximately derived. It so, this would again suggest that the monks were reluctant to associate the abbey with the pseudo-history.²² In any case, the

19 *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, pt. 1, I, *Codices Latini Membranei*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 3-5 (Brussels 1886) p. 537-38; see HÖHLER (note 10) p. 66.

20 The chronicle (to 1225/27) depends on the work of Robert of Auxerre; it is attributed to Péan Gatineau, a canon of Saint-Martin of Tours: A. SALMON, ed., *Recueil de chroniques de Touraine and Supplément*, Société archéologique de Touraine, *Collection de documents sur l'histoire de Touraine*, 1-2 (Tours-Paris 1856) I p. xvi-xxix. The most complete copy of the manuscript (to 1227) (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 145 [Phillipps 1852]) was made for Saint-Julien of Tours in the second quarter of the thirteenth century: *ibid.* I p. xxxii-v. Another copy (BN lat. 4991), made at the end of the thirteenth century, belonged to the chapter of Saint-Martin of Angers: *ibid.* I p. xxxv-vi. A mid-thirteenth-century copy (to 1225) is in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 90. In the Berlin MS the Turpin is on ff. 148r-60v, in the Bern MS on ff. 81r-88r, in the BN MS on ff. 103v-105. The pseudo-history is used only through the chapter, preceding Charlemagne's final return to France, that enumerates his benefactions to the poor in memory of the dead of Roncevaux; later (Berlin MS, ff. 165r-66r; Bern MS, ff. 90v-91r; BN MS, ff. 114v-145v) the chronicler included the sections of the Turpin dealing with Turpin's vision of Charlemagne's death and with Turpin's own death and translation.

21 I am skeptical of HÖHLER's hypothesis (note 10, p. 35, 67-68) that the *Codex Compostellanus* was actually at the abbey for a time and that, embarrassed by the more flamboyant portions of the Turpin (including the chapters describing the councils at Compostela and Saint-Denis), the monks removed certain quires before having the manuscript shipped to Compostela to be "discovered" there in 1173. It is certainly true that at some point in the twelfth century the manuscript's Turpin lacked a number of quires, but they are likely to have been detached because of illustrations they contained. They were soon replaced by folios containing the missing text, although a gap remained at the end of the chapter enumerating Saint-Denis' privileges, which was not filled until sometime in the thirteenth century. See HÄMEL (note 4) p. 21-22, 29, 89-91; and *idem*, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (Munich 1950) Heft 2, p. 1-75, esp. 19, for the different quires and hands in the manuscript. For the manuscript's presence in Santiago in 1173, see HÄMEL (note 4) p. 20-21; and MANDACH (note 2) p. 393-94. I am grateful to Alison Stones for comments regarding the provenance of the Santiago text; see *eadem*, *Four Illustrated Jacobus Manuscripts*, in: *The Vanishing Past: Studies in Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Höhler*, ed. A. BORG and A. MARTINDALE, *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, 111 (Oxford 1981) p. 197-222. See also J. HORRENT, *Notes de critique textuelle sur le Pseudo-Turpin du Codex Calixtinus et du MS. B. N. nouv. fonds lat. 13774, Le Moyen Âge* 81 (4th ser., 30) (1975) p. 37-62.

22 BN lat. 17656, whose Turpin has been edited by SMYSER (note 10). For the contents, see *ibid.*, p. 52-53; and VAN HOUTS (note 11) p. 215-17. For the manuscript's provenance, see F. DOLBEAU, *Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979) p. 230-31. An exact copy was made not long after 1179 for the

absence of the Dyonisian privileges in a codex owned by the royally favored house of Bois-de-Vincennes indicates that the manuscript's copyist or patron was sensitive to the exaggerations in the chapter dealing with Saint-Denis. No works produced at Saint-Denis before the end of the twelfth century mentioned Turpin's pseudo-history, but this is not surprising. Suger wrote royal biographies and accounts of his stewardship, and Rigord produced only a short account of the history of the kings of France. In this period Fleury and Saint-Germain-des-Prés outshone Saint-Denis as centers where new histories of France were prepared. At the turn of the thirteenth century Saint-Denis was renowned as a repository of historical works, not as the premier site for synthetic writing on the sweep of French history that it later became.²³

The Turpin began to gain respectability after 1173, when the codex that contained it and four other books concerning Saint James came to light in Compostela. At the turn of the thirteenth century numerous translations of the pseudo-history were made for important noble families of northern France, and the prose renditions insisted on the truth of the narrative they presented.²⁴ Although the skeptical

house of Saint-Yved of Braine (London, British Library, Add. MS 39646), on which see M. DE LA CURNE, Notice d'un manuscrit intitulé *Vita Caroli Magni*, in: *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, avec les Mémoires de littérature tirez des Registres de cette Académie, depuis l'année M. DCCXXVI, jusques et compris l'année M. DCCXXX VII (1735)* p. 280-86; and HOSLER (note 10) p. 64 n. 121, 69. For a copy of the first portions of these manuscripts made in the thirteenth century, probably in Normandy, see BN lat. 6187. See also H. TREUILLE, Les églises fondées par Charlemagne en l'honneur de saint Jacques d'après le Pseudo-Turpin, in: *Mélanges René Louis* (note 16) II p. 1151-61, esp. 1157-58, whose ideas about the Dyonisian attitude to the Turpin are similar to mine.

- 23 For a review of the literature regarding historical writing at Saint-Denis, see G.M. SPIEGEL, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey*, *Medieval Classics, Texts and Studies*, 10, (Brookline-Leyden 1978) p. 44-92. For RIGORD, see *ibid.* p. 56-63. In the chronicle of French kings that he wrote in the 1190s, RIGORD devoted considerable attention to Charlemagne (and particularly his testament, death, and burial) but he did not mention any pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Constantinople. Of the emperor's exploits in Spain he said, "In hispaniis contra sarracenos frequenter pugnauit. & dei gratia in omnibus victor extitit. & ad christianam fidem conuertit": Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 129, f. 136v. For Fleury and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see R.-H. BAUTIER, La place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire dans l'historiographie française du IX^e au XII^e siècle, in: *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales: mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969*, (Auxerre 1975) p. 23-33; F. BÉTHUNE, Les écoles historiques de Saint-Denis et Saint-Germain-des-Prés dans leurs rapports avec la composition des Grandes Chroniques de France, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 4 (1903) p. 24-38, 207-30; J.-F. LEMARIGNIER, Autour de la royauté française du IX^e au XIII^e siècle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 113 (1955) p. 25-36 ("La Continuation d'Aimoin et le manuscrit latin 12711 de la Bibliothèque nationale"); J. DÉRÈNS, Gislemar, historien de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Journal des Savants* (1962) p. 228-32; C. LE STUM-CONSTANT, L'Historia Francorum d'Aimoin de Fleury: étude et édition critique, *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes* (1976) p. 89-93; M. DU POUGET, Recherches sur les chroniques latines de Saint-Denis: édition critique et commentaire de la Descriptio Clavi et Corone Domini et de deux séries de textes relatifs à la légende carolingienne, *ibid.* (1978) p. 41-46; M. MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury, a Provisional List of Manuscripts*, *Middleleeuwise Studies en Bronnen*, 3 (Hilversum, 1989). I am deeply grateful to M. Du Pouget for permitting me to consult his thesis and for discussing his ideas with me.

- 24 See MANDACH (note 2) p. 367-98; WALPOLÉ (note 18) p. 347-48, 364-66, 389-90; *idem*, ed., *An Anonymous Old French Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: A Critical Edition of the Text Contained in Bibliothèque Nationale MSS fr. 2137 and 17203 and Incorporated by Philippe*

Robert of Auxerre had no use for the tale and treated Charlemagne as if he had never heard of Turpin's account, the usually critical Hélinand de Froidmont relied on it (and the *Descriptio* of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Constantinople and Jerusalem) in his chronicle to 1204. The Turpin's narrative was also featured in the *History of the Kings of France* that originally terminated in the same year and that gained enormous popularity through the vernacular works, first, of the so-called Anonymous of Béthune and, later, of the Menestrel of Alfonse of Poitiers.²⁵ Scenes from the Turpin and the *Descriptio* were included on the chasse for Charlemagne's remains created at Aachen between 1200 and 1215²⁶ and in the stained glass window in Charlemagne's honor installed at Chartres around 1225.²⁷ What had hitherto been treated as dubious if not incredible was fast gaining credence.

Under these circumstances, the Turpin's fortunes rose at Saint-Denis. An approved commodity was scarcely to be rejected when it enhanced the antiquity of the abbey's reputation.²⁸ The monks determined to have the best possible text, and

Mouskès in his *Chronique rimée*, Medieval Academy Books, 89 (Cambridge, Mass. 1979) p. 28-30; idem, *Prolégomènes à une édition du Turpin français dit le Turpin I*, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 10 (1980) p. 199-230, and XI (1981) p. 325-70; Short (note 2) p. 2; G.M. SPIEGEL, *Forging the Past: The Language of Historical Truth in [the] Middle Ages*, *The History Teacher* 17 (1984) p. 267-83; and eadem, *Pseudo-Turpin, the Crisis of the Aristocracy and the Beginnings of Vernacular Historiography in France*, *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986) p. 207-23. I am grateful to G.M. SPIEGEL for permitting me to see in advance of publication the chapter on the transmission of the Turpin from her forthcoming book on vernacular historiography in thirteenth-century France.

- 25 For Hélinand, see MPL CCXII, cols. 837-39, 845-51, and esp. 846, for his expression of surprise that no reference to Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem appeared in other histories; on him, see M. PAULMIER-FOUCART, *Ecrire l'histoire au XII^e siècle: Vincent de Beauvais et Hélinand de Froidmont*, *Annales de l'Est*, 5th ser., 33 (1981) p. 49-70, at 52, 54-55. On the *Historia Regum Francorum* and the histories deriving from it, see BÉTHUNE (note 23), p. 27-28; and WALPOLE, (note 18) p. 346-72. Also important is the history in Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 869 (522) XVIII D 3, which Gabrielle M. Spiegel and Gillette Labory consider the first French vernacular history; I was fortunate enough to hear preliminary announcements of their conclusions in talks given in 1983. For the Chantilly chronicle's treatment of Charlemagne, see f. 176v, where the author invokes the histories of Saint-Denis and refers to Turpin's account as an eye-witness record of the emperor's exploits in Spain but pays far more attention to the alleged pilgrimage to Jerusalem.
- 26 For the shrine, see H. SCHNITZLER, *Rheinische Schatzkammer: Die Romanik*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf 1959) II p. 19-21 and pls. 26-45; P.E. SCHRAMM and F. MÜTHERICH, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, I, Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl des Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768-1250*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1981) p. 188-89 no. 195; E. ARENS, *Die Inschriften am Karlsschrein*, *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsverein* 43 (1921) p. 159-94.
- 27 C. MAINES, *The Charlemagne Window at Chartres: New Considerations on Text and Image*, *Speculum* 52 (1977) p. 801-23; BROWN and COTTEREN (note 12) p. 37-38 note 152.
- 28 HOHLER (note 10) p. 63, suggests that the same late-twelfth-century scribe who transcribed for Clairvaux the history of Louis VII's crusade by Odo of Deuil may have copied the version of the *Jacobus* which, now bound with it, is in Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine, MS H 39; see ff. 15v-41, for Odo, following a description of the Holy Land on ff. 1-15v; ff. 42-111v, for the *Jacobus* (and esp. ff. 70-97v, for the Turpin, and 92v-93, for the chapter concerning Saint-Denis). On the manuscript, see V.G. BERRY, ed., *Odo of Deuil. De profectone Ludovici VII in Orientem ...* (New York 1948) p. xxxii-xl; and, for the text of its Turpin, CASTETS (note 13) esp. p. vi and 56-57. Since Odo was abbot of Saint-Denis, his account may well have been copied at the abbey, but the folios containing the Turpin are the work of another scribe; there is no evidence that the texts were bound together while they were at Clairvaux: see A. VERNET and J.-F. GENEST, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle, I, Catalogues et répertoires* (Paris 1979) p. 241, 297-98, 448, 490, 677, 700-701, 703-4, 760. On the other hand, although the scripts

in the early thirteenth century the house obtained a copy of the Turpin as it then existed at Compostela.²⁹ Because the *Codex Compostellanus* at that point lacked a crucial bifolium, probably detached because of its illustrations, the copy contained only the first portion of the privileges Charlemagne bestowed on the abbey. It omitted the section in which Saint Denis promised the emperor forgiveness of sins for those dying on the Spanish campaigns and an indulgence to those donating four coins a year, and in which the appellation "free of Saint-Denis" and the transformation of *Gallia* to *Francia* were explained.³⁰ In the first decade of the thirteenth century this form of the text was incorporated into a Dyonisian compilation of sources narrating the history of France, which begins with Aimoin's account of the Trojans and terminates with Suger's life of Louis VI.

By 1233 the monks possessed an even more elaborate rendition of the Turpin than the original full version. The expanded Turpin survives only in French, in a late-fourteenth-century copy, but its presence at the abbey is attested by the Latin *Vita et actus sancti Dyonisii*, completed at the abbey ca 1233. This work includes a selection from the elaborated Turpin, here solemnly presented in Latin, that credits Saint Denis with a central role in Charlemagne's escape from the pains of Hell.³¹ The critical chapter describing Charlemagne's visit to Saint-Denis and the

and quality of parchment of the two portions of the manuscript are different, the formats are similar, and in both texts the name of Saint Denis is spelled *dyonisius*, the usage characteristic of the abbey.

- 29 "Et ne quis ammonitu suspicionis super hoc dubius habeatur testimonio auctentice uetustatis suffulti. quemlibet fidelium credere monemus. Hec omnia deseruire ueritati. Quicumque enim pagine quam pre manibus habemus continentur gremio ab antiquissimis hystoricis libris ecclesie beati iacobi de gallicia habita sunt & extracta. proinde huic opusculo non est fides deneganda quam & eorum calamus huius hystorie interpret extitit. in quorum partibus istarum rerum contigit euentus, Quibus auctoribus cerciores effecti hystoriam diligentius exequamur": BAV Reg. lat. 550 f. 138, where Turpin's history is found on ff. 138-55v. On this historical compendium, made at or for Saint-Denis at the beginning of the thirteenth century, see B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Ein Geschichtskompandium des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts aus Saint-Denis* (Vat. Reg. Lat. 550) als Vorläufer der Grandes Chroniques, *Quellen und Forschungen* 67 (1987) p. 447-59; see also the thesis of M. DU POUËT (note 23) p. 15-20; and LE STUM-CONSTANT (note 23) p. 89-93. A copy of this manuscript was made ca 1250 at or for Saint-Denis (BN lat. 5925, esp. ff. 132-47). I have found no trace of the codex from which the compilation's Turpin was copied.
- 30 BAV Reg. lat. 550, f. 153, where the text breaks off at "hos nummos libenter dabant liberos fecit," after which a slightly later hand added "et catelonie gerunde anpurda et omnes partes hispaniarum." The rest of the column and the first column on the reverse of the page were left blank. See BN lat. 5925, f. 147, where the text is similarly treated; here, following the text and before the break, a fourteenth-century scribe added, "Hiis igitur deuotissime sic peractis rursum cunctis audientibus sic ait / Vt habetur in paruis cronicis." For the omitted text, see HAMÉL (note 4) p. 22, 29-31, 89-93; see also the Appendix, I, below.
- 31 BN lat. 2447, ff. 134-35, and n. a. lat. 1509, p. 267/77-269/79; cf. WALPOLE (note 2) p. 194 n. 7, who treats the two manuscripts as different compilations. On the manuscripts, see C. J. LEBMAN, Jr., *Étude sur la vie en prose de saint Denis* (Geneva, N. Y. 1942), p. xiii n. 6, xxi-vi; and R. BRANNER, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley 1977) p. 224. See the Appendix, II B, for BAV Reg. 610, ff. 32v-33r (Walpole's Turpin P); and II C, for BN lat. 2447, ff. 134-35; cf. the account in BAV Reg. lat. 550, ff. 153v-54, copied in BN lat. 5925, ff. 147v-48, both of which follow closely the version in the *Codex Compostellanus*, ed. HAMÉL (note 4) p. 92-93. It seems likely that the Latin account in the twin Dyonisian manuscripts was translated from the French. As Christopher Hohler has kindly pointed out, two phrases (*obsecrationes* & *preces* and *bene secures*) do not appear in the French text and seem to

privileges he granted to the abbey was even more significantly and dramatically expanded to glorify Saint Denis. In it Charlemagne speaks directly to the saint; he mentions Roland when interceding for the war dead; he surrenders the crown of France to Saint Denis and pledges that he and his successors will hold the crown of the saint and that his successors will tender four gold coins as a head-tax; he abandons to the saint "all the earthly honor" and the lordship of France; he blesses France before leaving the abbey.³²

This dramatized version of the Turpin is particularly important because of striking parallels that exist between it and the forged diploma, and especially because of the ceremony of the four coins that it describes, which is also featured in the diploma. The royal ritual of proffering four bezants a year to Saint Denis was surely observed at the abbey by the mid-thirteenth century, and the elaborated Turpin could well have inspired it. Philip Augustus may possibly have performed the ritual at the abbey early in the thirteenth century; a brief and enigmatic entry in a royal register compiled between 1204 and February 1212 records that the king took four bezants with him "when he went to Saint-Denis."³³ The money may, of course, have been intended simply for the collection plate, but I am inclined to think that the bezants were proffered in a ceremony instituted, perhaps on royal initiative, in imitation of the Turpin's rite. Such a ceremony would have demonstrated that as Charlemagne's successor, Philip Augustus was more rightfully his heir than any of the nobles, including Baudouin of Hainaut, who cultivated the Turpin because of the blood ties to the Carolingians they boasted of possessing.³⁴ No reference to any such ceremony, however, appears in the *Vita et actus sancti Dyonisii* of ca 1233, where the monks might be expected to have featured it as evidence of royal regard for their patron saint.

Perhaps the monks were still hesitating to draw attention to the inflated privileges that the Turpin assigned to the abbey. When at mid-century the collection of historical texts compiled some fifty years before was recopied at the abbey, no attempt was made to supply the gap in the Turpin's description of Charlemagne's visit to Saint-Denis. Nonetheless, by this time the royal ritual of the four gold coins, mandated by Charlemagne in the elaborated Turpin, is known to have been

have been added as embellishments. See note 5 above, for WALPOLE's belief that this elaborated version of the Turpin was composed at Saint-Denis.

- 32 WALPOLE (note 2) p. 198-200; for the manuscripts of this family of translations, none of which is earlier than the mid-thirteenth century, see WALPOLE, *Prolégomènes* (note 24) (1980) p. 199-230. Especially important for our purposes is the late-fourteenth-century manuscript, BAV Reg. 610 (Walpole's Turpin I^a), on which see *ibid.*, 214-17. This manuscript was copied ca 1370, but as the appearance of the Latin text in the *Vita et actus sancti Dyonisii* shows, the version was composed before ca 1233. For the text, see the Appendix, II A.
- 33 A. MARTELLI and L. DELISLE, *Le premier registre de Philippe Auguste: reproduction héliotypique du manuscrit du Vatican* (Paris 1883) p. 8. See SPIEGEL (note 9) p. 60-61 (rpt. 156); DU POUËT (note 9) p. 54-55; and H.-F. DELABORDE, *Pourquoi saint Louis faisait acte de servage à saint Denis*, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1897) p. 254-57.
- 34 See SPIEGEL as cited in the preceding note; and E.A.R. BROWN, *La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste*, in: *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, ed. R.-H. BAUTIER, *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 602 (Paris 1982) p. 77-110.

performed at Saint-Denis. So seriously did Louis IX take his obligation to offer the coins each year that, following his return to France from his first crusade in 1252, he presented to Saint Denis all the gold coins – bezants – that he had been unable to offer while he was abroad.³⁵

The Turpin's legends were becoming fully respectable. By mid-century the pseudo-history had taken its place in numerous vernacular histories, and the esteemed Vincent de Beauvais, whom Louis IX patronized, endorsed the Turpin by incorporating the portions found in Hélinand de Froidmont (including the chapter on Saint-Denis) in his *Speculum historiale*.³⁶ Hence it is scarcely surprising that the Dyonisian historian Primat, who began his vernacular history of the kings of France at Louis IX's request, included the legend of Turpin in the work he completed in 1274.³⁷ For his account of Charlemagne's visit to Saint-Denis he relied both on the truncated chapter copied from the *Codex Compostellanus* and on the dramatized version whose text the abbey possessed. After enumerating the basic privileges described in the Compostelan text, Primat himself declared that the general payment of four coins was a sign of freedom rather than servitude and invoked an exemplum from the life of Alexander the Great, who, Primat said, after conquering the East relieved of all other charges those who paid four coins to him. In terms reminiscent of the elaborated Turpin he noted that each year the kings of France thus tendered four gold bezants from their heads in recognition that they held France of God and Saint Denis – which they would never do, Primat commented, if it were a servile payment. Finally he said that Charlemagne placed his crown on the altar and delivered it to the saints to guard, stripping himself of all earthly honor.³⁸ In view of Louis IX's practice of presenting bezants to the abbey, Primat's use of that term to describe the coins is understandable.

35 BN fr. 4976, ff. 23v-24; fr. 5716, pp. 72-73; fr. 5722, f. 22; Vie de saint Louis par GUILLAUME DE SAINT-PATRUS, confesseur de la reine Marguerite, ed. H.-F. DELABORDE, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 27 (Paris 1899) p. 44; and in Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. BOUQUET et al., 24 vols. (Paris 1728-1904) XX p. 76; see also the account by YVES, MONK OF SAINT-DENIS, composed in the early fourteenth century, in BN lat. 13836, ff. 108v-109; and DELABORDE (note 33) p. 254-57. For the proffer of gold coins in coronation *ordines* composed during Louis' reign, see R.H. JACKSON, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill 1984) p. 49-50, 223. M. BLOCH notes the similar annual *chevage* tendered by the kings of England at the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, which he believes Edward II may have instituted: *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris 1924, rpt. 1962) p. 240-41 n. 2, where BLOCH voices his conviction that the forged diploma is "notre plus ancien témoignage" of the French ceremony.

36 V. DE BEAUVAIS, *Speculum historiale*, ed. THE BENEDECTINES OF SAINT-VAAST (JOHN JONES [P. LEANDER OF SAINT-MARTIN]) (Douai 1624) p. 962-71 (bk. 24, chs. 1, 2, 4-5, 10, 12-25); see PAULMIER-FOUCART (note 25) p. 63-66. On the abbey's acquaintance with the *Speculum historiale* after Vincent completed the work in the 1250s, see E.A.R. BROWN, Vincent de Beauvais and the *Reditus Regni Francorum ad Stirpem Caroli Imperatoris*, in: Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d'une œuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Âge, ed. S. LUSIGNAN, M. PAULMIER-FOUCART, A. NADRAU (Montreal 1990), p. 167-96. Vincent did not follow Hélinand in recounting the miracles of Saint James, which he treated in bk. 26, chs. 30-41 (p. 1065-68); cf. MPL CCXII cols. 1023-28. For vernacular histories, see WALPOLE (note 18) and SPIEGEL's forthcoming book on French vernacular historiography (note 24).

37 For Primat, see SPIEGEL (note 23) p. 81-92.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 782, f. 157; see the Appendix, III, and also Les

Guillaume de Nangis presented a condensed version of the episode, dependent on Primat, in the abbreviated French chronicle that he wrote at Saint-Denis in the early 1290s. The general obligation to offer the coins and the kings' similar donation were the only privileges that Guillaume mentioned. The legend was too valuable to reject, but Guillaume evidently had qualms about deluding his readers. Thus he volunteered the comment that despite the universal obligation imposed by Charlemagne, "many people" had ceased offering four *deniers* from their heads so they would not be considered serfs.³⁹ Guillaume's Latin universal chronicle contained an expanded account, clearly derived from a full copy of the Turpin. Here he recounted all the privileges enumerated in the Turpin; his account includes the statement missing from the Dyonisian copies of the Compostelan Turpin that those who paid the money, since free of all servitude, would be called the free of Saint Denis. Guillaume introduced the notion that Charlemagne himself offered four bezants to the saint before commanding his successors to do likewise.⁴⁰ A version of Guillaume's Latin chronicle composed shortly after Guillaume's death in 1300 adds the phrase *cooperante gladio* in describing Charlemagne's tenure of France from God and Saint Denis. Like Primat, the author of this recension says that Charlemagne deposed the royal diadem on the altar. He also portrays Charlemagne imploring Saint Denis' intercession for Roland and others who died in the war against the pagans. This element – as well as the reference to the deposition of the crown – suggests that he was employing the elaborated Turpin that the monks of Saint-Denis had known since at least the 1230s.⁴¹

The influence of this Turpin is even more apparent in the work on Saint Denis that the monk Yves completed ca 1316.⁴² Closely following the account in the

Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. J. VIARD, 10 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 395, 401, 404, 415, 418, 423, 429, 435, 438, 457 (Paris 1920-53) III p. 288-90. Hans Voorbij, a member of the group at the University of Groningen that is studying the medieval Alexander legend, has kindly suggested that the unusual allusion to Alexander may be based on the episode in JUSTIN's *Epitome* in which, having conquered the Orient, the emperor promised to pay his soldiers' debts: M.I. IUSTINUS, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Troici*, ed. F. RUEHL and O. SEHL (Stuttgart 1972) p. 116 (XI. 1-2).

39 BN fr. 10468, f. 96v, written ca 1292-93; see the Appendix, IV A. On this manuscript, one of a number presenting the original version of the translated chronicle, see L. DELISLE, *Mémoires sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 27/2 (1873, *sic* for 1878) p. 351-64, esp. 351-53. The passage concerning Saint-Denis did not appear in the original Latin abbreviated chronicle: see BAV Reg. lat. 574, f. 10; BN, lat. 6184, f. 9; and on this chronicle, H. MORANVILLE, *Le texte latin de la chronique abrégée de Guillaume de Nangis*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 51 (1890) p. 652-59. On Guillaume and his works, see SIBBOLD (note 23) p. 98-108.

40 BAV Reg. lat. 544, f. 266; see the Appendix, IV B. See WALPOLI (note 2) p. 207, variants to line 78, for the manuscript of ca 1278 (BN fr. 17177) that has Charlemagne offering the bezants himself.

41 BN lat. 4918, f. 289v; this manuscript ends at 1297 since the last quire is lost; see the Appendix, IV C. The addition is not found in BAV lat. 4598, f. 143, a fourteenth-century copy of the second recension, ending in 1307.

42 BN lat. 5286, f. 178v; lat. 13836, f. 38, which lacks the last part of the passage because of a missing folio; see the Appendix, V. The duplication of one phrase in the former manuscript suggests that it was copied from the latter text. So too does the haplographical omission on f. 207r, in the account of Louis IX's offering at the abbey; cf. lat. 13836, f. 108v-9r. However, other differences (see the notes to the Appendix, II B) suggest the reverse and indicate that the copyists

revised version of the universal chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, Yves added to it two elements that depend directly on the elaborated Turpin: first, the address in which Charlemagne despoiled himself of the honor of France; second, Charlemagne's lengthy and impassioned blessing of France.⁴³ Yves also included a passage inspired by the original long Turpin describing Saint Denis' assurance to the emperor that those who had died in the war against the Saracens would be forgiven their sins; he prudently limited this indulgence to the past and omitted any reference to those offering coins.⁴⁴

At the turn of the fifteenth century the so-called Religieux de Saint-Denis, generally following Yves's account, made two unprecedented additions to the story – and one sage modification. Thus, although all serfs who willingly gave coins would be free and would be called the free of Saint Denis, there was no indication that they would be released from all "servitude." As to the elaborations, the Religieux said that in offering the bezants from their heads, the kings were bound not to human servitude but to divine, which is "perfect freedom," since to serve God is to reign. This dictum, found in the mass for peace and in other sources connected with the abbey, appears in no versions of the Turpin – although it is found in the forged diploma. So too is a second addition, which specified that the annual offerings of four coins were to be made to expand the saint's church "from the construction of Dagobert to the Crucifix."⁴⁵ The phrase was evidently considered important, for it was squeezed into the text and margin over an erasure obliterating what was surely Yves's simpler phrase, "to build the church of the same saint" (*ad edificandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam*). The elaborate new phrase may have been added some years after the original text was transcribed – although the hand seems to be the same and is surely contemporary. The phrase does not

were working from a common exemplar. See Spiegel (note 23) p. 114–15. For recent views concerning the relationship between the two manuscripts, see C. LACAZE, *The 'Vie de St. Denis' Manuscript* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrit français 2090–2092), *Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts*, (New York 1979) p. 355–68; and I. BÄHR, *Saint Denis und seine Vita im Spiegel der Bildüberlieferung der französischen Kunst des Mittelalters*, *Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft*, 1 (Worms 1983) p. 143–45, 182–96. A.D. HEDEMAN believes that lat. 13836 was used to correct lat. 5286, whose illustrations she finds stylistically similar to those of a manuscript of the *Grandes Chroniques* illuminated in 1335–40: *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley 1992).

43 After this passage Yves recounted an anecdote, taken from the history *Antenor et alii*, which emphasized that the Franks, bound to fight for the king, were exempt from the tributes owed by others. See BN lat. 13836, ff. 39r–41r; lat. 5286, f. 179r. The anecdote appears in the twelfth-century Dyonisian historical miscellany (note 12) Maz. MS 2013, f. 223v; see MPL CLXIII cols. 925–26. In one version of Walpole's revised Turpin I, the freedom gained by those making payments to the abbey is said not to include immunity from defending the realm: WALPOLE (note 2) p. 207, variants for line 101, from Cambridge, University Library, II. vi. 24, copied ca 1256.

44 This passage does not appear in the elaborated Turpin. See the Appendix, I, and II A; and also WALPOLE (note 2) p. 200.

45 Maz. MS 2016, pp. 130–32; see the Appendix, VI A. On the history, see SPIEGEL (note 23) p. 123–24. As BARROUX (note 9, p. 20) points out, the maxim appears in the service for the ordination of sub-deacons and also in a charter of Louis VI regarding the serfs of Saint-Denis. It is found as well in the forged first charter of William the Conqueror for Westminster Abbey: *Calendar of Charter Rolls 9 Edward III*, p. 330. See below at note 62 for the significance of the phrase concerning construction. Both statements appear in the forged diploma, which, like the history of the RELIGIEUX, terms Charlemagne's council "general."

appear in the second recension of the history, written shortly after the first. If the text of the first edition had already been altered, the addition may have seemed too cumbersome to the new editor, who did adopt the first recension's reference to the increase rather than the construction of the church and its explication of the divine nature of the royal offering. Additional modifications were introduced. Most important, Charlemagne was said to have deposed on the saint's altar his arms and the victorious *vexillum*, in addition to his crown; the diploma has him laying down "regia insignia & ornamenta." Further, here (as in the diploma) the *serui* who were to give coins are termed "additos seruituti." Joined to them (betraying the influence of the *Descriptio*) were "those who had disdained to participate in the emperor's expeditions"; by offering the coins "most devoutly" they are not said to be made free but simply to merit the name of the free of Saint Denis.⁴⁶

Over the centuries the abbey's historians had integrated Charlemagne's privileges into the store of legends elevating Saint-Denis and increasing the venerableness of its fame and reputation. What purpose did the privileges serve? In point of fact, none at all. The inflated privileges were obsolete and they were too exaggerated to be credible, as Primat recognized in the thirteenth century. The situation, however, was one in which ordinary standards of veracity and even utility hardly applied. Considered individually, the claims were profitless; for this reason they were perfectly harmless. Their grandiosity made even more compelling and inspirational the story of Charlemagne's visit and munificence. It was, as Doublet said, "a lovely little lesson for kings," showing "the great humility and devotion of Saint Charlemagne to Saint Denis."⁴⁷ It buttressed Saint Denis' standing as peculiar protector of the realm and encouraged generosity to his church. But the story had one serious flaw, depending as it did on a fabulous source, whose authenticity was sure, sooner or later, to be questioned. Rumblings began in the late fifteenth century; they became increasingly insistent in the 1500s.⁴⁸

46 BN n. a. lat. 1789, ff. 210v-11; see the Appendix, VI B. The *Descriptio* stated that Charlemagne imposed on those refusing to join his expedition (as well as on their sons) the payment of four coins a year from the head, like serfs: "Alioquin quicumque huius edicti mandata non perageret, ipse in vita sua et filii eius similiter ex regis decreto quattuor nummos de capite quasi servi solverent." See RAUSCHEN (note 15) p. 108. Note too that according to the Turpin, Charlemagne promised freedom to serfs participating in his campaigns against the Saracens in Spain: "Et praecepit mandans per totam Galliam, ut omnes servi, qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur, solita servitute proprii capitis, et venditione deposita, cum omni progenie sua praesenti et ventura usque in sempiternum liberi permanerent." See HAMIL (note 4) p. 52; and MEREDITH-JONES (note 4) p. 120-21, 326. On the *vexillum*, see SPIEGEL (note 9) p. 58-59, 64 (rpt. 153-54, 159).

47 See DOUBLET (note 8) p. 725-26, marginal notations to his edition of the forged charter of 813, for which see the Appendix, VII. Cf. *ibid.* p. 717.

48 See J. MONFRIN, La figure de Charlemagne dans l'historiographie du XV^e siècle, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1964-1965) p. 67-78; I. SHORT, A Study in Carolingian Legend and its Persistence in Latin Historiography (XII-XVI Centuries), *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1972) p. 127-52; D. MÉNAGER, Charlemagne dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle entre l'histoire et la légende, in: *Mélanges René Louis* (note 16) II, p. 1277-95, esp. 1278, 1291; and J. CÉARD, L'histoire écoutée aux portes de la légende: Rabelais, les fables de Turpin et les exemples de saint Nicolas, in: *Études seiziémistes offertes à Monsieur le Professeur V.-L. Saulnier par plusieurs de ses anciens doctorants* (Geneva 1980) p. 91-109, esp. 95-98, 106-109. On f. 218 of BN lat. 14663, a late-fourteenth-century Victorine manuscript of the *Gesta Regum*

One of the Turpin's chief critics in France was François de Belleforest.⁴⁹ In 1575 he denounced as folly the belief that Archbishop Turpin, who had died in 813, could have written of Charlemagne's death in 814;⁵⁰ he openly questioned the Turpin's reliability in his *Grandes Annales* of 1579.⁵¹ Thus it is all the more surprising that he there recounted the story of Charlemagne's privileges for Saint-Denis, and that he emphasized two novel elements – the duty of all France to imitate Charlemagne in doing homage to the abbey, and the obligation of both kings and queens to receive the crown at Saint-Denis after their consecration. For his statements he claimed to be relying on “the letters patent with the donations, franchises, immunities and privileges granted to this church.” These “letters patent” he claimed to have seen and held in his hand, and he asserted that this documentation was supported by “the old chronicles of France.”⁵²

Francorum to 1204/14 (see note 25) (which, like other manuscripts and like the translation by the Menestrel of Alfonse of Poitiers, contains the Turpin) appears the following sixteenth-century marginal notation: “Haec ex falsa Tulpini seu Turpini Historia usque ad # signum Inferius,” although the # on f. 226 was inserted before the end of the Turpin, which terminates on f. 226v.

- 49 In 1568 BELLEFOREST denounced the legend of Charlemagne's crusade in the East in a work in which he relied on sources other than the Turpin for the Emperor's Spanish campaigns: F. DE BELLEFOREST, *Histoire des Neuf Roys Charles de France ...* (Paris 1568) p. 79-81, at 81. Five years later, editing the *Annales* of NICOLE GILLES (d. 1503), he deleted the two chapters that Gilles had devoted to the eastern crusade. Although he retained the story of the Spanish campaigns derived from the Turpin, he added a note advising readers that the account was “fort fabuleux”: N. GILLES, D. SAUVAGE, and F. DE BELLEFOREST, *Les chroniques et annales de France, des l'origine des francoys, et levr venvue es Gaules ...* (Paris 1573) ff. 66-67; cf. f. lii of the edition of 1566. On BELLEFOREST, see B.L. RICHTER, *François de Belleforest: un des pamphlétaires fulminants du XVI^e siècle*, *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises* 36 (1984) p. 97-110; idem, *Ronsard and Belleforest on the Origins of France*, in: *Essays in History and Literature Presented by Fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, ed. H. BLUM (Chicago 1965) p. 65-80; and G. ATKINSON, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris 1935).
- 50 F. DE BELLEFOREST, ed., S. MUNSTER, *La Cosmographie vniuerselle de tout le monde ...*, 2 vols. (Paris 1575) I p. 242, 360. BELLEFOREST did not reject all legends connected with Charlemagne. He accepted the story that Charles the Bald transferred to Saint-Denis the Lendit fair that Charlemagne instituted at Aachen, a legend founded on the *Descriptio*; ibid. I p. 282, II p. 1046; cf. I p. 923-24; on the fairs, see A. LOMBARD-JOURDAN, *Les foires de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis: revue des données et révision des opinions admises*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 145 (1987) p. 273-338, esp. 284-94. BELLEFOREST (I p. 418) also endorsed Charlemagne's institution of the twelve peers and foundation of the University of Paris.
- 51 F. DE BELLEFOREST, *Les grandes Annales, et histoire generale de France, des la venvue des Francs en Gavlle, iusques au Regne du Roy Tres-Christien Henry III ...* (Paris 1579) ff. 202v-203.
- 52 “Charles le Grand à S. Denys. Charles de retour en Gaule fut passer son hyuer à Aix, mais auant vint il à Paris, d'où auant il alla à saint Denys, où il assembla les Prelats, & Seigneurs de France pour assister à ce qu'il vouloit faire, le tesmoigner, & confirmer: d'autant que ayant faict ses prieres, & remercié Dieu de tant de belles & grandes victoires qu'il luy auoit donnees, & recogneu (comme bon Catholique) qu'il auoit esté assisté des saints Martyrs gisans en l'Eglise Royale dudict lieu, voulut, ordonna, & establir que tout le pays de France fait hommage à ce saint lieu, comme luy mesme le fait, dequoy l'en ay eu en main les patentes avec les donations, franchises, immunité, & priuileges octroyez à celle Eglise, & notamment quant à ce que les Roys & Roynes y doiuent prendre la couronne apres leur sacre. Voulut outre ce, que les Roys de France ses successeurs donnassent chacun un quatre pieces d'or à ladite Eglise & les offrisent sur l'autel des saints Martyrs en recognoissance de ce qu'ils tiennent de Dieu, & de ces saints leur couronne, comme aussi il mit sa couronne sur l'autel, l'a laissant en garde aux Martyrs, suyuant que depuis l'ont eu les Roys François de bonne, & loüable coustume, & outre ce que l'en ay veu (comme dist est) les lettres tresanciennes, encore les vieilles Chroniques de France tesmoignent ceste submission du Roy à la susdicte Eglise, voire y adioustent que par l'ordonnance de Charles

Belleforest had viewed this material, he said, in October 1573. While working on his edition of Sebastien Munster's *Cosmographie universelle*, he went to Saint-Denis at the invitation of the abbey's librarian and chanter, who were eager to elevate their house's reputation after the catastrophes inflicted by the Huguenots in 1567.⁵³ There, in the librarian's lodgings, Belleforest was shown many documents that he published or cited in the *Cosmographie*. One of these was a lengthy excerpt from a Latin source enumerating the privileges that Charlemagne bestowed on the abbey; Belleforest said that he had found it in "a book and very old history written by hand," "a manuscript book that is at the abbey of Saint-Denis." In fact the source was an excerpt from the first recension of the history of the Religieux de Saint-Denis.⁵⁴ Belleforest considered Charlemagne's "ordonnance" and "constitution" a cornerstone of the abbey's reputation and fortune, showing as it did that the emperor had performed homage to Saint Denis for the kingdom of France, instituted the payment of an annual tribute to the abbey, and "singularized" it above all the churches of Gaul. Charlemagne's ordonnance was, he concluded, "the cause of the great property and revenues that the abbey formerly possessed, since what it now has is only the hundredth part of the riches it had in former times."⁵⁵

le Grand toutes les maisons de France deuoyent quatre deniers à ceste Eglise, non par maniere de seruitude, ains plustost en signe d'affranchissement: ce que je croiray aisément, puis que le Roy mesme s'y obligea, & voulut que ses successeurs, & leur couronne recogneut ce saint lieu comme le domicile de ceux qui des premiers auoyent semé l'Euangile en Gaule": BELLEFOREST (note 51) I f. 204v. In 1575 BELLEFOREST (note 50, I p. 293) stated that at Saint-Denis "les Roys sont le plus souuent couronnez" and asserted that the kingdom was "homageable a saint Denys." In the *Grandes Annales* (note 51, I f. 206) he said that after the Emperor's death his followers wondered whether his body should be carried to Saint-Denis "où ses pere & mere reposoyent, & où il auoit vne si grande deuotion," but in the end concluded that he should be buried "où ... il auoit fait bastir si magnifiquement." BELLEFOREST may well have seen the charter of 769, printed by DOUBLET and FELIBIEN, in which Charlemagne expressed his wish to be buried in the church where his father lay: DOUBLET (note 8) p. 704; FELIBIEN (note 8) *preuves*, p. xxxij, no. XLVII. BELLEFOREST's statement regarding royal coronations apparently misled A. FAVYN, whose history of Navarre was published in 1612. FAVYN was as skeptical of the Turpin as was Belleforest. Nonetheless he said that after Philip Augustus bestowed the right of unction on Reims in 1179 (a date taken from J. DU TILLET's *Recueil des Roys de France*), "tous nos Roys ont esté Sacrez à Reims, car quant à leur Couronnement, il se faisoit à leur retour à Saint Denys en France": A. FAVYN, *Histoire de Navarre* ... (Paris 1612) p. 999; E.A.R. BROWN, "Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians" and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France (forthcoming). The ceremony at Saint-Denis, Favyn said, had not been performed since the consecration of Henri II, although queens were regularly crowned at Saint-Denis. For the post-consecration coronations at Saint-Denis of Louis XII (1498) and François I^{er} (1515), see *Le Ceremonial François*, ed. TH. and D. GODEFROY, 2 vols. (Paris 1649) I, p. 236, 265.

53 BELLEFOREST (note 50) I p. 279, 283, 288-89, 293; for the problems faced by the abbey, L. CAROLUS-BARRÉ, *Pillage et dispersion de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, 1^{er} octobre-10 novembre 1567*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 138 (1980) p. 97-101.

54 "... & laquelle est extraite d'un liure, & histoire fort ancienne escrite a la main, ... d'un liure escrit a la main qui est en l'Abbaye de S. Denys": BELLEFOREST (note 50) I p. 293. For the text, see the Appendix, n. 90, to VI, A.

55 "Voyez que Charlemagne fait hommage du royaume de France a saint Denys, luy paye tribut annuel, astraint les Roys a faire le semblable, & singularise ce lieu sur toutes les Eglises de Gaule, & cognoissez par experience que cecy n'est pas mensonge, puis que les Roys de France, ont de bonne coustume que lors qu'ils vont faire quelque loingtain voyage, ils vont visiter les corps saint [sic] des Martirs, prennent congé d'eux, & leur payent certaine offrande, leur donnans la garde, & commettans la deffence de leur royaume. Cecy a esté cause des grands biens, & reuenuz qu'auoit

Did Belleforest actually see "letters patent" in addition to the chronicle, as he indicated in 1579? Perhaps. If he did, he was the first non-Dyonisian to lay eyes on the notorious diploma of Charlemagne of 813. His reference in 1579 to royal coronation at Saint-Denis, recalling the false diploma's precept, sounds suspiciously as if this was the case. His insistence on the duty of homage may reflect the diploma's requirement that kings and prelates honor, revere, and venerate the abbey as head of all churches of the kingdom; his statement that Charlemagne's council was convened to witness his acts recalls the diploma's use of the word *testimonium*; his allusion to Charlemagne's "belles & grandes victoires" is close to the diploma's "infinitas victorias"; his reference to the assistance of the abbey's holy patrons is reminiscent of the diploma's allusion to their merits and intercession.⁵⁶ To impress Belleforest the abbey's officials may indeed have produced a diploma. Equally plausibly – and perhaps more likely – they may simply have recounted to him information they ascribed to a charter, information that he later incorporated into his book. The diploma, note, does not actually mention homage or refer to queens and prior consecration. Whatever Belleforest saw or heard, the librarian prudently provided him simply with a transcription of a passage from the history of the Religieux de Saint-Denis, the evidence that he published in 1575.⁵⁷ These tactics enabled the librarian and chanter of Saint-Denis to convince at least one avowed anti-Turpinist that Charlemagne had indeed granted the abbey privileges exceeding those enumerated in the pseudo-history.

The rage for authenticity that flourished in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was making the Turpin a distinct embarrassment, but Dyonisians were unwilling to jettison beliefs they had cherished for ages. The abbey's good name required defense, and in 1625 Dom Jacques Doublet published the diploma of 813. He treated the text with deadly seriousness and insisted on all its idiosyncratic elements: the abbey's primacy; the kings' obligation to deposit their regalia (not just their crowns) at Saint-Denis; and even, *pace* Reims, their obligation to be crowned there (at least after consecration at Reims), as well as the ancillary but more modest right of the abbot to authorize coronation elsewhere.⁵⁸ Because of the

iadis ceste Abbaye, car ce de quoy elle iouyt maintenant, n'est la centiesme partie de ce que le temps passé elle auoit de richesses, ainsi que i'en ay veu le denombrement en vn vieux liure de parchemin escrit a la main que me monstra l'an 1573, au moys d'Octobre le susnommé Veelu en son logis en l'Abbaye": BELLEFOREST (note 50) I p. 293.

56 See note 52 above, and cf. with the text of the diploma, in the Appendix, VII.

57 See BELLEFOREST (note 50) I p. 279, 283, for copies that the librarian gave him.

58 For the charter, see DOUBLET (note 8) p. 725-27 (see the Appendix, VII), where it is followed (p. 727-29) by the forged charter involving the Berry. Note esp. DOUBLET's unusual preamble, which presents a detailed summary of the charter. For the regalia and *vexillum*, see *ibid.* p. 299-301, 1208, 1213; for Saint-Denis' primacy and the duty of obedience, *ibid.* p. 393, 409-10, 1212-13. Understandably, DOUBLET had difficulty proving Saint-Denis' right to serve as coronation site. For the chapter dedicated to the subject he devised the somewhat guarded title "Comment la Royale Abbaye de saint Denys est depositaire des Couronne, Sceptre, main de Iustice, vestemens, & ornemens Royaux, qui seruent aux Sacres & Couronnemens ... aussi comment les Roys y ont esté couronnez pour la pluspart": *ibid.* p. 366. Having said that the deposition of all the regalia "s'est tousiours pratiqué ainsi & observé depuis le tres grand Empereur & Roy de France S. Charlemagne," he referred his readers to the diploma of 813 and said "& mesme vne bonne partie des Roys de la seconde lignee, & aussi de la troisieme apres auoir esté sacrez à Rheims, venoient faire vne

diploma Doublet attributed all these prerogatives to "Saint Charlemagne," to whom he assigned the "third building" of the church.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Doublet clearly had some doubts about the diploma. He took pains to avoid linking it to the Turpin, even though in other parts of his work he cited the derivative account of the Religieux de Saint-Denis and quoted the Turpin's strikingly similar description of Charlemagne's donations to Compostela.⁶⁰ His caution was expended in vain. By going public with what should have been kept a private text, Doublet exposed the abbey to ridicule and attack. The idea that Charlemagne could have given Saint-Denis the prerogative of coronation was too much for the supporters of Reims, and in 1643 Dom Guillaume Marlot denounced the diploma as "entirely false" and obviously dependent on the Turpin.⁶¹ Other more detailed and devastating assaults followed, and by the end of the century Doublet's diploma was completely discredited.⁶²

Doublet may possibly have invented the diploma himself. If he did not, when and why was it created? Whoever fabricated it was, as others have shown, intimately

seconde ceremonie en l'Eglise de saint Denys qu'ils appeloient le Couronnement": *ibid.* p. 367. He asserted, with more restraint, that Charlemagne had ordered that none of his successors "ne fust couronné ailleurs qu'en ladicte Eglise sans le consentement dudit Abbé": *ibid.* p. 1212. See note 52 above.

- 59 DOUBLET (note 8) p. 163-65, 205, 1212, and see 394 for the donation of bezants. DOUBLET (*ibid.* p. 205) also credited Charlemagne with "le deuxiesme bastiment" of the church, signaling a donation of property in the eighth year of his reign.

- 60 For Compostela, see DOUBLET (note 8) p. 1214-15; the excerpt is virtually identical with the text in the *Codex Compostellanus* in BAV Reg. lat. 550, f. 147v, and BN lat. 5925, f. 141v; see HAMEL (note 4) p. 70. For DOUBLET's comments on Archbishop Turpin, see DOUBLET (note 8) p. 207-8; see p. 1212, for a description of Charlemagne's donations to Saint-Denis that is dependent on the RELIGIEUX; see also 205 and 208. However carefully DOUBLET avoided the Turpin and Charlemagne's alleged Spanish campaigns, he dedicated much space to the Emperor's pilgrimage to Constantinople and Jerusalem and defended the reliability of the *Descriptio*: *ibid.* p. 1204-12; and SHORT (note 2) p. 150. To support his position DOUBLET cited N. GILLES (evidently in a version unemended by BELLEFOREST), as well as the fact that the work was published in Paris in 1573 with the approval of two doctors of theology and a privilege from Charles IX: *ibid.* p. 1211, and see above, note 49.

- 61 Le theatre d'honneur, et de magnificence, préparé av sacre des Roys. Auquel il est traité de l'Inauguration des Souverains; du lieu où elle se fait, & par qui; de la Verité de la Sainte Ampoule ... (Reims 1643) p. 164, where MARLOT compared the diploma to the alleged charter of Charlemagne for Aachen (DK 295). MARLOT wrote that the charter "est vn pressis d'une ancienne Histoire apocriefe, que les simples gens ont attribué à l'Archevêque Tilpin; en laquelle, outre quantité de discours qui ressemblent la fable, & le Roman, il est dit ..." He returned to the attack in his history of Reims, which appeared in 1666: *Metropolis Remensis Historia* ... (Lille 1666) I p. 315. Understandably, when in 1646 DOUBLET, then dean of Saint-Denis, published a book defending the reputation of Saint Denis, he was far more reticent than before concerning the diploma: *Histoire chronologique pour la verité de S. Denys Areopagite apostre de France* ... (Paris 1646) p. 289-91. Dom G. MILLET of Saint-Denis quoted extensively from the charter in his *Vindicta Ecclesiae Gallicanae de svo Areopagita Dionysio Gloria* (Paris 1638) p. 216-20, and esp. 218, for his assertion that Charlemagne gave the abbey not only his golden crown, but also his sceptre, *main de justice*, and sword. References to the diploma appear in the various editions of MILLET, *Le Tresor sacré ou Inventaire des Saintes Reliques, et autres precieux loyaux qui se voyent en l'Eglise, & au Thresor de l'Abbaye Royale de S. Denys en France* ...; see, e.g., 3rd ed. (Paris 1640) fol. [B-v].

- 62 CH. LE COMTE, *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*, 8 vols. (Paris 1665-83) VII p. 282-88; G. DUBOIS, *Historia Ecclesiae Parisiensis*, 2 vols. (Paris 1690-1710) I p. 311.13.

familiar with the abbey's muniments and texts.⁶³ If the forger worked in the twelfth or thirteenth century, he had a keen sense of humor and took pleasure in poking fun at the pretensions of the house and its abbots, going so far as to assert that no kings should be crowned save at the abbey. The flagrant ostentatiousness of the claims it contained would explain why it was not directly invoked and extensively quoted in Dyonisian compilations and histories. On the other hand, a forger who produced the masterpiece for Belleforest's visit would have been trying to impress that author; if afterwards, to validate claims made on that occasion that Belleforest had subsequently published. Any of these hypotheses is arguable.

The diploma's reference to the extension of the church from Dagobert's building to the Crucifix might initially suggest that the forger worked at a time when such construction was planned, between the last years of Suger's abbacy and 1240.⁶⁴ The phrase simply shows, however, that the forger realized (as the Turpin's author did not) that Charlemagne was not responsible for the church; he knew the works of Suger. The insertion of the statement in the first recension of the history of the Religieux de Saint-Denis (the only place in Dyonisian literature where it appears) does not necessarily mean that it was taken from the diploma, for the reverse could equally well be true. The two recensions of the history could have served as major sources for a diploma created as the Turpin's fortunes waned.

So ended with a burst of bravado the alliance between Saint-Denis and the Turpin. For some four centuries the privileges enshrined in the pseudo-history served Saint-Denis by elevating the abbey's reputation in the eyes of the wishfully and deliberately uncritical. The Turpin was not invented at Saint-Denis, but as others accepted its veracity, it came to be treasured there. Finally forced to abandon the work as a support for their status and claims, the Dyonisians nonetheless clung to the legend, for fifty years invoking a fifteenth-century history and a diploma whose connections with the Turpin were unrecognized or, more likely, piously disregarded. Finally, however, nostalgia was bested. The denizens of Saint-Denis were in the end forced to relinquish their fabulous privileges and insist on those that were legitimately theirs – and those whose spuriousness had not yet been revealed.

63 For parallels between the diploma's phraseology and Dyonisian sources, such as the *Descriptio* and the forged charter of Charlemagne for the Berry (DK 282) (which VAN DE KIEFT links with the abbacy of Odo of Deuil and 1156), see BARROUX (note 9) p. 19-24; VAN DE KIEFT (n. 9) p. 424-29. Also relevant are the extraordinary powers exercised by Suger as regent of France, recorded by his biographer GUILLAUME: see SUGER, *Œuvres complètes* ..., ed. A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 139 (Paris 1867) p. 394-96. See also the privileges that Alexander III bestowed on Guillaume de Gap in 1179: E. BERGER, *Annales Sancti Dionysii généralement connues sous le titre de Chronicon Sancti Dionysii ad Cyclos Paschales*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 40 (1879) p. 279; cf. 268, where the entry is repeated; for the bull, see FELIBIEN (note 8) *preuves*, p. cxj-ij, no. CXLVII; AN L 231, nos. 61-bis. Under the same year the annals report that following the consecration of Philip Augustus the abbot received from the king his crown, shirt, and other royal garments.

64 SUGER (note 63) p. 215-17, 194-96; Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures, ed. E. PANOFKY, 2nd ed., ed. G. PANOFKY-SOERGEL (Princeton 1979) p. 27, 56-71, 86-89, 180, 224-25; S. M. CROSBY, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger*, 475-1151, ed. P.Z. BLUM, Yale Publications in the History of Art, 47 (New Haven 1987) p. 267-77; C.A. BRUZELIUS, *The 13th-Century Church at St-Denis* (New Haven 1985) p. 34-38, 82-83, 124-28.

Appendix

I.

The Pseudo-Turpin's Account of Charlemagne's Visits to Compostela and Saint-Denis in the Collection of Texts in BAV Reg. lat. 550, ff. 147v, 153r

Tunc dimissis maioribus suis karolus in hispania? beati iacobi limina adiit. & quos in illa patria habitantes repperit christianos edificauit? illos uero qui ad perfidiam sarracenorum reuertebantur? aut gladio peremit aut in galliam exulauit. Tunc constituit per ciuitates antistites & presbiteros. & adunato in urbe compostella episcoporum & principum concilio. instituit amore beati iacobi quod cuncti presules & principes & reges christiani. hispani scilicet & galleciani. presentes & uenturi. episcopo sancti iacobi obedirent. Apud hyriam presulem minime instituit? quia illam pro urbe non reputauit. sed uillam subiectam sedi compostellanensi esse precepit. Tunc in eodem concilio ego turpinus remensis archiepiscopus beati iacobi basilicam. & altare cum .lx. episcopis karoli rogatu kalendis. junij. honorifice dedicaui & subiugauit rex eidem ecclesie totam terram hispanicam & gallecianam. deditque ei in dote precipiens ut unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus. totius hispanie & gallecie .iiii^o. nummos annuatim ex debito daret. & omni seruitute rege precipiente liberi essent. Et constituitur die illo ut illa ecclesia amplius uocitetur sedes apostolica eo quod ibi apostolus iacobus requiescat? & in ea episcoporum totius hispanie crebro concilia⁶⁵ teneantur. & uirge episcopales & regales corone per manus episcopi eiusdem urbis ad decus apostoli domini prebeantur. & si fides in aliis urbibus peccatis populorum exigentibus uel dominica precepta defecerint? ibi consilio⁶⁶ eiusdem episcopi reconcilientur. & merito in illa ecclesia uenerabili fides reconciliari & stabiliri perhibetur. quia sicut per beatum iohannem euangelistam beati iacobi fratrem. in orientali parte apud ephesum christi fides & apostolica sedes instituitur? sic per beatum iacobum in occidentali parte regni dei apud galleciam fides eadem & apostolica sedes constituitur ...

Post hec uiennam simul perreximus? & ibi uulnere cicatricibus uerberibusque & percussionibus. multisque alapis quas in hispania sustuli angustatus remansi? & rex aliquantulum debilitatus cum suis exercitibus parisiacam adiit urbem. Tunc coadunato episcoporum & principum concilio: in basilica sancti dyonisii.⁶⁷ agens deo & illi grates. qui sibi uim dederat gentem paganam uincendi. omnem franciam ecclesie eius in predio dedit. sicut beatus paulus apostolus & clemens papa beato dyonisio [in] apostolatu antea illam prebuerat. Et precepit ut omnes francie reges & episcopi presentes & futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obedientes in christo.

65 *concilia* is repeated and the first appearance canceled by a vertical line.

66 In BN lat. 5925, f. 141v, *concilio*.

67 Here, in BN lat. 5925, f. 147r, appears the thirteenth-century marginal notation, *de sancto Dyonisio*. Next to the text is a mark designed to call attention to it.

nec reges sine⁶⁸ eius consilio essent coronati: nec episcopi ordinati nec apud romam recepti essent. aut dampnati. Rursum post plurima dona eidem ecclesie in predio dedit: precipiens ut unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus totius gallie. quatuor nummos annuatim ad edificandam ecclesiam daret. & omnes seruos qui hos nummos libenter dabant liberos fecit.⁶⁹ [Tunc beatum Dionisium, iuxta eius corpus stans, imploravit ut pro salute illorum qui libenter illos nummos dabant, Domino precem funderet, et pro Christianis similiter qui propria sua pro divino amore dimiserant et in Hyspania in bellis Sarracenorum martirii coronam acceperant. Iccirco nocte proxima regi dormienti beatus Dionisius apparuit, eumque excitavit, dicens ei: Illis qui tua ammonitione et exemplo tuae probitatis animati in bellis Sarracenorum in Hyspania mortui et morituri sunt, delictorum omnium suorum veniam, et illis qui nummos ad haedificandam ecclesiam meam dant et daturi sunt, gravioris sui vulneris medicinam a Deo impetravi. His a rege relatis, populi nummos saluberrimae promissionis suae ex more dabant, et qui libentius reddebat Francus sancti Dionisii ubique vocabatur, quoniam liber ab omni servitute, rege praecipiente, erat. Hinc mos surrexit ut terra illa quae antea vocabatur Gallia, nunc vocatur Francia, id est, ab omni servitute aliarum gentium libera. Quapropter Francus liber dicitur, quia super omnes gentes alias decus et dominatio illi debetur.]

II.

A.

Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis in BAV Reg. 610, ff. 31r-32r (Walpole's Turpin I^B)

Après ce venismes ensemble a vienne. & je turpins arceuesques remes & greuez⁷⁰ de coups & de plaies que iauoie receu. en espaingne. Adonc proiai ie a Karlemainne [kl'm]. mon seignour. & requis par celle foiz que il me deuoit. & ie a lui. Que se il auenoit que se il trespasast aincois de moi. que il le me feist sauoir. par tel qui leust oi & veu & lore & le ior de son trespasement. & ie li mis en couenant que se ie trespasoi aincois de lui. Je li feroie asauoir lore & le ior dou mien par autretel forme. Einsinc me promist mes sires & ie lui. & nos entrebaisames & en plorant me proia. que il me souenist de larme de Rollant son neueu & de touz ceuls qui en reinceuaus auoient receu martire. & en espaingne dont il sen repairoit Seuz de⁷¹ sa compaingne en france sen repaire mes sires a paris. & la tint en sa venue .i. grant concile de ses arceuesques & de ses euesques. & de ses abbez. & dou remanant de ses barons & ala li rois & si baron o lui a mon seignour saint denis. Nus piez & en

68 In the margin, in a thirteenth-century hand, *Nota bene*.

69 In both this manuscript and BN lat. 5295, f. 147, the passage breaks off here; the remainder of the passage is taken from the edition of MEREDITH-JONES (note 3) p. 219, whose orthography, capitalization, and punctuation are here reproduced.

70 For *agreuez*.

71 For &; WALPOLE (note 2, p. 198, l. 29) reads "et descompaigniés."

langes. Senvint ou mostier deuant le mestre autel. & deuant le cors mon seignor saint denis & dist oiant touz tiex paroles comme vos porrez oir. – Sire sainz denis qui en ceste nostre terre aportastes la loy nostre seignor ihesu crist. nostre foi. nostre creance. qui en estes nostre auoez. vers dieu qui nos cria. Sire ie sui venuz a vous rendre loenges & graces et mercis. des victoires que ie ai aues. par la volente nostre seignor ihesu crist. & par laide de mon seignor saint iaque. & de vous biax sire sainz denis. en espaigne contre la gent mescreant. Si en sui venuz rendre graces a deu par deuant le cors de vous Sire sainz denis. qui a la gent francoise deuez estre pleges vers nostre seignor de lor sauueement. qui sa foi tiennent & sa creance. Sire souiengne vous de lame Rollant. mon neveu. que iai lessie por la foi nostre seingnor ihesu crist essaucier & acroistre morir en estranges pais. & de touz ices vous souiengne qui avec lui recurent martire en reinceuaus et de touz les autres qui pour dieu & por sa foi essaucier sont ocis en autres batailles. Sire por les armes de ceuls vous rent la coronne de france. & de vous la tenra des ore en auant. Li sire qui la gardera sera rendanz a vous. .iiij. deniers dor.⁷² de son cheuaige. Adonc mist li rois. karles [kl's]. la corone dou regne seur lautel⁷³ & dist. Sire sainz denis ci vous deguerpiz toute terrienne anor. ci me despeul de toute la terriane honor de france. des ore en auant en aiez la seignorie. Ci commant ge & establis que nuns arceuesques de france. ne nuns euesques ne puisse estre sacrez sanz lassens de vostre pastor. & que nuns ne apostres ne autres ne le puisse ordener sanz son assen. Ci establis ie & commant que tuit cil qui des ore en auant. vos rendront .iiij. deniers de cheuaige. Soient quite. & franc. de touz autres seruises. por cest affaire fu touz iorz la terre apellee franche. qui deuant estoit apelee galle. & la genz fu puis apelee francoise. Apres dist li rois tout en audience. Sire sainz denis a vous preing ie congie. de vous me depart. En [sic] france vous lais. & vous en soiez garde apres damedieu. Il leua son visaige en haut. & esgarda uers lou ciel. & sagenoilla deuant lautel. & touz li pueples. [sic] Quant loroison ot finee. il se leua & se seigna & dist. France tu soies beneoite. & cil qui en toi habitent. Tu aies seignorie sor toutes autres terres. Tu soies noble. Tu soies beneurouse. Adonc sen issi li rois fors de leglise. & ploroit durement & monta sor son cheual. & sen issi fors de la vile. & touz li barnaiges le conuoioit. Il sen ala a ais sa chapele ou il demora puis ...

B.

The death of Charlemagne in BAV Vat. Reg. 610, ff. 32v-33r (Walpole's Turpin I^E)

Et en icele ore que mes sires li empereres trespasa. Je turpins arceuesque de Reins estoie a vienne. & auoie chantee la messe. en mon oratoire. & estoie remes touz souz por mes psialmes dire en ma chapele. & auoie commence vne psialme qui

⁷² WALPOLE (note 2, p. 199, ll. 79-81) proposes the emendation "li sire qui la gardera par quatre deniers d'or rendans."

⁷³ WALPOLE (note 2, p. 199, l. 83) incorrectly indicates that the phrase "la coronne ... seur l'" is missing from the text.

auoit nom. Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Lors oi passer par deuant moi vne route de malignes esperiz & fesoient molt grant noise. Je [mis] mon chief a vne fenestre petite. ai esgarde que ce estoit. Lors vi que ce estoient deable. & tant en iauoit que nuns nen sauoit le nombre. Il passoient molt en haste. Mes ie en choisi .i. tout deriere mont grant & mont hisdous. Celui coniurai par le creator & par la foi crestienne que il me deist ou il aloient. Nous alons dist il por larme de Karlemainne qui orendroit est trespassez. or ten va dis li ge. et par le coniurement que ie tai fait te coniur. que tu reuiengnes par moi. & conteras comment vos aurez ouure. Cil sen ala suigant les autres. & ie pardi la psialme que ie auoie commencie. Aincois que fine leusse oi les deables repairier. Je remis mon chief ala fenestre. & esgardai mont que il faisoient. Il sembloient estre dolent & triste. Je choisi celui qui deuant auoit parle amoi. & li demande comment il auoient exploitie. Mauuaiseement dist il. quar quant assemble fumes dautre part vint Mychiels li archanges. o toute sa legion. & quant nos chalengions larme de karlemainne. La vindrent dui home sanz testes. Jaques de Galice. & denis de france qui ieterent en balances .Karle. aueques les biens que il auoit fait. tantes eglises & tantes anmones. & tant daornemenz deglises. que li mal ni porent monteplier. & nos ont apres tant batu de la ioie quil en orent que nos nos en repairons triste & dolenz que de nostre domaige. que de nostre mal. Je turpins fui se faitement seurs de la mort⁷⁴ mon seignor quele fu portee en paradis par les mains des anges dieu. por la merite de ses biens. par laie des sainz que il auoit seruis. Tantost apelai mes clers & fiz par toute la vile sonner & chanter messes des feelz dieu. & faire aumosnes & oroisons par same. & contai que bien estoie seurs de sa mort. & .x. iorz apres sa mort me vint vns messaiges que il menvoia qui tout me conta. En foiz fu li rois a ais la⁷⁵ chapele que il auoit fondee.

C.

The death of Charlemagne in BN lat. 2447, ff. 134r-135r.⁷⁶

Visio Turpini Remensis archiepiscopi qualiter animam karoli magni demonibus abstulerunt duo acephali beatus scilicet iacobus apostolus. & macharius ariopagita dyonisius.

Ego turpinus Remensis archiepiscopus eram apud viennam. & in meo oratorio missa cantata & celebratis diuinis mysteriis solus remanseram pro psalmis dicendis & inceperam unum psalmum qui incipit deus in adiutorium meum intende. Tunc audiui coram me pertransire magnam cohortem spirituum malignorum cum magno clamore & strepitu. Quo audito caput posui ad quandam paruum⁷⁷ fenestram ut

⁷⁴ WALPOLE (note 2, p. 205, l. 280) suggests the emendation "l'arme."

⁷⁵ Here Walpole (note 2, 205, l. 296) suggests the addition "en leglise."

⁷⁶ The passage is copied with only minor differences in BN n. a. lat. 1509, pp. 267/77-269/79, and also in the account of the episode given by YVES, MONK OF SAINT-DENIS, for which see BN lat. 13836, ff. 41v-42v, and lat. 5286, f. 180; on the relationship between these manuscripts, see note 42 above.

⁷⁷ This word is omitted in BN lat. 13836, f. 41v, and lat. 5286, f. 180r.

quid esset inspicerem. & uidi quod erat demonum errantium multitudo. & tot erant quod nullus eos numerare ualeret. Ipsi cum magna celeritate transibant. sed unum nimis grandem & ualde horribilem intuitus sum & percepi retro alios uenientem? illum adiurare incepti per creatorem & per fidem christianam. ut quo abirent michi dicere non tardaret. Nos inquit abimus pro anima karoli magni tollenda? qui modo ex hac luce migrauit. vade inquit. & per adiurationem quem tibi feci iterum te coniuro. quatinus redeas per me. ut quid egeritis michi enarres. Ille abiit & recessit. sequens alios abeuntes. Quo recedente? psalmum quem incepteram decantabam. antequam illum finissem? audiui demones redeuntes. Quorum strepitum audiens & fragorem? ad fenestram dictam caput reposui. & perpendens aspexi quod habebant faciem tristium atque dolentium. Percepi illum qui antea mecum fuit locutus. & quesui ab eo qualiter ipsi egissent? & suum negotium quomodo procurassent. Ille respondit quod male. quia quando inquit fuimus congregati. contra nos ex altera parte uenit michael archangelus. & tota legio eius. Et cum animam regis rapere & nobis uendicare uellemus? uenerunt duo homines acephali⁷⁸ scilicet iacobus galiciensis & dyonisijs de francia. & in stateram miserunt cum bonis operibus que in uita sua rex fecerat. tot ligna. lapides⁷⁹ & structuras. ornamenta⁸⁰ ecclesiarum & cultus. quod mala superare & multiplicari minime potuerunt. & nos adeo ceciderunt flagellis pregaudio quod de confusione nostra & de ereptione anime regis habebant. quod⁸¹ nos tristes & dolentes redimus. tam de nostra iactura. quam de malis nobis inflictis. Ita ego turpinus securus fui de anima domni mei regis quod fuit deportata in celum per manus angelorum sanctorum meritis bonorum que fecit. & sanctorum auxilio quibus uiuens seruierat. Statim accersiui clericos meos. & per totam ciuitatem feci pulsare campanas. & missas pro fidelibus celebrare. elemosinas impertiri pauperibus. & fieri orationes pro anima ipsius obsecrationes & preces. & omnibus enarraui quod de morte eius certus eram & bene securus. Post decem dies uenit nuntius quem ad me miserat. qui totum michi retulit per ordinem. Tumultus fuit rex apud aquisgranum in ecclesia quam ipse fundauerat.

III.

Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis in Primat's Chronicle, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 782, f. 157

QVant kallemaines fu retornez en france il uint a .S. denyse. la fist asembler concile des prelaz. & parlement des barons. a Dieu & aus glorieus martyrs rendi graces & merciz de ce que ili auoit done force & pooir de uaincre & de confondre la gent sarrazine la fist un tel establissement que il dona toute france a leglise pour lonor

78 Above this word is inserted *.id est. sine capitibus*, which is not found in either BN lat. 13836 or lat. 5286.

79 *tot* is inserted before *lapides* in BN lat. 13836, f. 42v, although no addition is found in BN lat. 5286, fol. 180v.

80 *ornamenta que* in BN lat. 13836, f. 42v, although not in lat. 5286.

81 *et ita* is substituted for *quod* in BN lat. 13836, f. 42v, although there is no such change in lat. 5286.

des martyrs ausi come .S. pol li apostres & .S. climentz la li auoient iadis livree pour conuertir a la foi crestiene. & uot & ordena que tuit li roi de france. & tuit li prelat present & auenir fussent obeissant en nostre seigneur au pastor de leglise. & que nus rois ne peust estre coronez sanz son assentement & sanz son conseil. ne euesques ordenez alacort de rome ne dampne. ne receu sanz sa uolente. & sanz son assent. a la parfin apres plusieurs dons. & privileges que il dona a leglise establi il & commanda que chascune persone chies dostel de tote france rendist chascun an a leglise .iiij. deniers. non pas par seruitute. mais par⁸² franchise. & que cil qui serf estoient deuant ce fussent franchi partant. si ne doit on pas cuider que ce soit seruages ainz est droiz establissemenz de franchise. Car ensit le fist alixandres li granz. quant il ot conquis tout orient. que tuit cil qui li rendoient .iiij. deniers. fussent quites de toutes autres costumes dont li roi de france paient chascun an .iiij. besanz dor & les offrent de sus lor chies aus martyrs en recognoissance que il tienent de dieu. & de li le roiaume de france que il ne feissent en nule maniere se ce fust en non de seruage: Apres prist li rois sa corone. & la mist sus lautel. la corone de france liura en la garde diev & de .S. denise. & se demist de toute honeur terriene.

Congie prist aus martyrs & au roisaume de france A es la chapele sen ala la parfist le remanant de sa uie ...

IV.

A.

Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis in the Abbreviated French Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, in BN fr. 10468, f. 96v

La sainte terre de iherusalem que sarrazins auoient prinse Restabli a la chretiante par laide de constantin lempereur de constantin noble. Souuentesfois se combati en espaigne contre sarrazins. et conquist toute la terre despaigne iusques a cordes. et fist baptizier les sarrazins / puis li vaillans Roys vint en leglise monseigneur saint denis en france. et Rendit graces a dieu et au glorieux martir des victoires quil auoit eues. et establi que quiconques luy Rendroit chascun .iiij. deniers de son chief quil fust frans tous les iours quil viuroit. mais moult de gens ont laisse ce a faire pource que len ne les tenist a sers. Et des lors acoustumerent li Roys de france a Rendre quatre besans dor au glorieux martir mon seigneur saint denis tous les ans en signe et en memoire quilz tenoient de dieu et de monseigneur saint denis Leur Royaume.

82 *par ... tuit cil* written over erasures.

B.

The Account of Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis in the Universal Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, in BAV Reg. lat. 544, f. 266r

Post hec karolus in franciam reuersus. apud sanctum dyonisiu uenit: ut ibi deo et beato dyonisio patrono regum francorum gracias ageret de subiugata sarracenorum gente. et omnem franciam eiusdem sancti ecclesie dedit in predio. sicut antea beatus clemens papa apostolatui ipsius prebuerat. Et precepit ut omnes francie reges et episcopi presentes et futuri. pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obedientes in christo: nec reges sine eius consilio essent coronati. nec episcopi ordinati. nec apud romam recepti aut dampnati. Rursum que post plurima dona eidem sancti dyonisij ecclesie collata. quatuor bisancios aureos beato dyonisio super altare ipsius obtulit. in signum quod regnum francie a deo solo et ipso sancto tenebat: et constituit ut omnes successores sui reges francorum consimiliter facerent annuatim. Precepit etiam ut vnusquisque possessor cuiusque domus tocius gallie quatuor nummos annuatim ad edificandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam daret: et omnes seruos qui hos nummos libenter dabant liberos fecit. et quod daturi in posterum ab omni seruitute liberarentur constituit: francique sancti dyonisij uocarentur.

C.

Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis in the Revised Universal Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, in BN lat. 4918, f. 289v

After "sarracenorum gente," the remainder of the passage, which is virtually identical to the preceding text (IV, B), is canceled by a hand different from that of the original scribe; in a later, far more studied hand, in brown rather than the black ink of the text, the second scribe added the following section at the bottom of the folio. Portions added are italicized in the following edition; the passage "ut omnes francie reges ... in christo," found in IV, B, seems to have been omitted from the revised text by homoeoteleuton.

ante altare sanctissimi dyonisii flexis genibus deuocius orans eundem que sanctum regni patronum & aduocatum precipuum humiliter recognoscens ac eius precibus tam rollandi quam eorum qui in bello contra paganos pro christi nomine decesserant animas recommandans [sic] omnem franciam eiusdem sancti ecclesie dedit in predio. sicut antea beatus clemens papa apostolatui ipsius prebuerat. Et precepit ut omnes francie reges sine eius consilio [non, inserted] essent coronati nec episcopi ordinati. nec apud roman recepti aut dampnati. Rursum que post plurima dona eidem sancti dyonisij ecclesie collata. regali dyademate super altare deposito. quatuor bisancios aureos beato dyonisio super idem altare obtulit. in signum quod regnum francie a deo solo & ipso sancto gladio cooperante tenebat: & constituit ut omnes successores sui reges francorum consimiliter facerent annuatim. Precepit etiam ut unus quisque possessor cuiusque domus tocius gallie quatuor nummos annuatim ad edificandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam daret: & omnes

seruos qui hos nummos libenter dabant liberos fecit. & quod daturi in posterum ab omni seruitute liberarentur constituit: francique sancti dyonisiij uocarentur.

V.

Charlemagne's Visit to Saint-Denis as Recounted by Yves, monk of Saint-Denis, in BN lat. 13836, f. 38, and lat. 5286, f. 178v⁸³

Quomodo karolus in franciam reuersus quatuor bizantijs aureis sancto dyonisio oblati regnum in manu sancti dyonisiij reddidit ecclesiamque eius quamplurimum sublimauit.⁸⁴

Post hec in franciam reuersus karolus apud sanctum dyonisium uenit ut ibi deo et beato dyonisio patrono regum francorum gratias ageret de subiugata sarracenorum gente. Et ante altare sanctissimi dyonisiij flexis genibus deuotius orans eundemque sanctum regni patronum et aduocatum humiliter recognoscens eiusdem sancti ecclesie dedit in predio sicut antea beatus clemens papa apostolatui eius eam⁸⁵ prebuerat. eiusdem sancti dyonisiij. precibus rotholandi⁸⁶ eorumque animas qui in bello contra paganos pro christi nomine decesserant recommendans Ipsi uero sequenti nocte dormienti sanctus dyonisius. apparuit dicens se illis qui in bello sarracenorum mortui fuerant omnium delictorum suorum ueniam impetrasse. Precepit etiam imperator karolus ut omnes francie reges [et] episcopi presentes et futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obedientes in christo. nec reges sine eius consilio essent coronati nec episcopi ordinati nec apud romam recepti aut dampnati. Rursum⁸⁷ post plurima dona eidem sancti dyonisiij ecclesie collata regali dyademe super altare deposito sancto dyonisio dixit.⁸⁸ Domine sancte dyonisi honore

83 On the relationship of the manuscripts to each other, see note 42 above. A French translation of the text appears in the margins of BN lat. 13836, f. 38, the presentation copy:

"Comment charles retourna en france. & offri a .Saint. denis .4. besans dor. et li bailla en sa main le roiaume de france. et son eglise essauc moult hautement. Post hec in franciam. et cetera.

Après ce charles est uenus en france et uint en leglise .Saint. denis pour rendre graces a dieu et a .Saint. denis des sarrazins quil tues [sic] & leur terre prise et sagoilla deuant lautel. .Saint. denis en priant dieu et le corps saint & patron dou roiaume de france et li recommanda le pape climent [sic] tout le roiaume aussi comme le pape climent deuant li auoit recommandee & li recommanda les ames de .Saint. roulant & des autres cheualiers qui en la bataille estoient mort pour la foy de dieu. & celle nuit .Saint. denis li apparut et li dist quil auoit empetre grace enues [sic] dieu pour touz ceux qui estoient mort en la bataille pour la foy de dieu et si commanda lempereire charles que tous les roys de france et touz euesques presens & auenir fussent obeissant au prelat de leglise .Saint. denis. & que les roys ne fussent point coronnes sans son conseil ne les euesques ordenes ne quil ne fussent a romme receus ne condempnes. Item apres plusieurs dons que il donna a leglise .Saint. denis sa coronne mise dessus lautel. il dist a .Saint. denis. chier pere .Saint. denis ie me despoille du Roiaume de france et uous pri que vous en aiez la seignourie. & .iiij. besans dor offri dessus lautel en signe quer il tenoit le Royaume de france seulement de dieu. et par les merites de .Saint. denis ..."

84 BN lat. 5286, adds to the rubric, *et alia satis pulcra*.

85 In BN lat. 5286, *ipsius*, omitting *eam*.

86 In BN lat. 5286, *Rothlandi*.

87 In BN lat. 5286, *Rursumque*.

88 In BN lat. 5286, *sanctoque dyonisiij dicens*.

regni francie me spolio ut uos domine de cetero eius dominium habeatis quatuor-
que bisancios aureos beato dyonisio super idem altare obtulit in signum quod
regnum francie a deo solo et ipso sancto cooperante gladio tenebat. Et constituit ut
omnes successores sui reges francorum consimiliter facerent annuatim. Precepit⁸⁹
etiam [*sic*] unusquisque possessor cuiusque domus totius gallie quatuor nummos
annuatim ad edificandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam daret & omnes seruos qui hos
nummos libenter dabant liberos fecit & qui daturi in posterum ab omni seruitute
liberentur constituit francique sancti dyonisij vocarentur. Hijs igitur deuotissime
sic peractis rursus cunctis audientibus karolus sancto dyonisio sic ait. Domine
sancte dyonisi a uobis nunc licenciam accipio franciamque uobis relinquo ut post
deum sitis eius dominus atque custos. Erectaque superius facie karolus genua
iterum flectit coram altari sancti dyonisij. Surgensque illud deuotissime cunctis qui
aderant lacrimantibus osculatur. Deinde erigens se et signo crucis se muniens ita
dixit. O francia semper sit [*sic*] a deo cum tuis habitatoribus benedicta. Esto semper
nobilis et felicitate bona semper polleas. Estoque domina super mundi huius
ceteras nationes. Tunc karolus rex francorum & imperator magnanimus romano-
rum ecclesiam et uillam beati dyonisij egressus non multo post tempore aquisgrani
proficiscitur in illis partibus quod uite et imperij supererat completurus.

VI.

A.

Charlemagne's Benefactions to Saint-Denis in the First Recension of the History
of the Religieux de Saint-Denis, in *Maz. MS 2016*, pp. 130-32⁹⁰

Quomodo karolus in fra[n]ciam reuersus celebrauit consilium baronum & prelato-
rum in ecclesia beati dyonisii graciasque ibidem deo & beato dyonisio reddens

89 BN lat. 13836 breaks off at this point, since one page has been extracted. The remainder of the text is supplied from BN lat. 5286, f. 178v.

90 The text that F. DE BELLEFOREST saw at Saint-Denis in October 1573 and published in his edition of MUNSTER, *Cosmographie* (note 50, I, p. 293) is virtually identical with this passage. In the following transcription of Belleforest's text, variants in phraseology are indicated in brackets.

"Praecepit etiam Imperator, ut omnes Franciae reges, & Episcopi praesentes, & futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesiae essent obediens in Christo, nec reges sine eius consiliis essent coronati, nec Episcopi ordinati, nec apud Romam recepti aut damnati [*dampnati*]. Rursusque post plurima dona eidem ecclesiae sancti Dionysii collata, regali diademate super altare deposito, eidem martyri cunctis audientibus dixit: Domine sancte Dionysi, honore regni Franciae me spolio, ut vos [*Maz., MS 2016 adds domine*] de caetero eius dominium habeatis, & tunc quatuor Bisancios aureos beato Dionysio super altare obtulit, in signum quod regnum Franciae a deo solo, & ipso sancto, gladio cooperante, tenebat. Et constituit ut omnes successores sui reges Franciae [*Francorum*] consimiliter facerent annuatim in oblatione tangendo caput proprium, non tamen astricti seruituti humanae, sed diuinae, quae summa ingenuitas debet dici, cum Deo seruire, sit regnare. Praecepit etiam Imperator ut unusquisque possessor cuiusque domus totius Galliae quatuor nummos annuatim ad ampliandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam, ab aedificio Dagoberti vsque ad Crucifixum, daret, & omnes seruos qui hos nummos libenter darent, liberos fecit, & qui daturi erant in posterum Francos sancti Dionysii vocari perpetuo iussit. His [*Hijs*] deuotissime peractis Carolus [*Karolus*] cunctis audientibus Dionysio sic tunc dixit: Domine sancte Dionysi a vobis nunc licenciam accipio, Franciamque vobis relinquo, ut post deum sitis eius dominus atque custos."

quatuor bizanteos idem offerens regnum ipsi martiri in custodia relinquit coronam auream super altare ipsius offerendo

[T]unc karolus imperator coadunato episcoporum & baronum generali consilio apud sanctum dyonisiu[m] uenit ut ibi deo & beato martiri patrono regum francorum gratias ageret de gente sarracenorum subjugata Ante quoque altare ipsius gloriosi martiris deuote orans & gloriosum martirem patronum & aduocatum francie humiliter recognoscens ac eius precibus animam⁹¹ rotholandi eorumque qui in bello contra paganos pro christi nomine decesserant recommendans [*sic*] omnem franciam ecclesie eius in predio dedit sicut antea beatus clemens papa apostolatus ipsius illam prebuerat Regi autem sequenti nocte dormienti sanctus dyonisius apparuit dicens se illis qui in bello sarracenorum mortui fuerant omnium delictorum suorum ueniam impetrasse Precepit etiam imperator ut omnes francie reges & episcopi presentes & futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obediens in christo nec reges sine eius consilio essent coronati nec episcopi ordinati nec apud romam recepti aut dampnati Rursum que post plurima dona eidem ecclesie sancti dyonisi collata regali dyademate super altare deposito eidem martiri cunctis audientibus dixit Domine sancte dyonisi [*sic*] honore regni francie me spolio ut vos domine de cetero eius dominium habeatis / & tunc quatuor bisantios aureos beato dyonisio super altare obtulit in signum quod regnum francie a deo solo & ipso sancto gladio cooperante tenebat Et constituit ut omnes successores sui reges francorum consimiliter facerent annuatim in oblatione tangendo caput proprium non⁹² tamen astricti seruituti humane sed diuine que summa ingenuitas debet dici cum deo seruire regnare sit Precepit etiam imperator ut unusquisque possessor cuiusque domus tocius gallie quatuor nummos annuatim ad ampliandam⁹³ eiusdem sancti ecclesiam⁹⁴ ab edificio dagoberti vsque ad crucifixum⁹⁵ daret et⁹⁶ omnes seruos qui hos nummos libenter darent liberos fecit & qui daturi erant in posterum francos sancti dyonisi uocari iussit perpetuo Hiis deuotissime peractis karolus cunctis audientibus dyonisio [*sic*] sic tunc dixit Domine sancte dyonisi a vobis nunc licenciam accipio franciamque vobis relinquo ut post deum sitis⁹⁷ eius dominus atque custos Erecta que superius facie karolus genua iterum flectit coram altari surgens que cum illud cunctis qui aderant lacrimantibus osculasset erigens se et signo crucis se muniens dixit O francia semper sis a deo cum tuis habitatoribus benedicta Esto semper nobilis et felicitate bona semper polleas Esto que domina super mundi huius ceteras naciones Quibus rite & deuotissime peractis non multo post rediit aquis grani quod uite & imperij supererat completurus

91 This word is inserted.

92 *non ... regnare sit* underlined, apparently in the hand of the corrector.

93 The first five letters of this word are written over an erasure.

94 *ecclesiam ... vsque ad cr* added in margin.

95 *ucifixum* added over an erasure.

96 *e* written over an erasure.

97 *t* corrected to *b* in a later hand.

B.

Charlemagne's Benefactions to Saint-Denis in the Second Recension of the History of the Religieux de Saint-Denis, in BN n. a. lat. 1798 (Phillipps MS 238), ff. 210v-11r

Quomodo Karolus post victorias beato dionisio gracias egit ei que totam galliam subiecit

Circa finem huius anni karolus Imperator coadunato episcoporum et baronum generali consilio apud sanctum dionisium venit vt Ibi deo et beato dionisio martiri regum francorum patrono gracias ageret de gente sarracenica subiugata Ante quoque altare Ipsius gloriosi martiris deuotissime orans et gloriosum martirem patronum et aduocatum francie humiliter recognoscens ac eius precibus animam rotolandi eorum que qui in bello contra paganos pro christi nomine decesserant recommendens omnem franciam ecclesie eius subdidit sicut antea beatus clemens papa appostolatus Ipsius Illam prebuerat Regi autem sequenti nocte dormienti sanctus dyonisius apparuit dicens se illis qui In bello sarracenorum mortui fuerant omnium delictorum suorum veniam Impetrasse precepit etiam Imperator vt omnes francie reges et episcopi presentes et futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obediens In christo neque reges sine eius consilio essent coronati nec episcopi ordinati nec apud romam recepti aut dampnati rursumque post plurima dona et priuilegia eidem ecclesie sancti dionisii collata regali dyademate armis et victorioso vexillo super altare depositis eidem martiri cunctis audientibus dixit Domine sancte dionisii honore regni francie me spolio vt vos domine de cetero eius dominium habeatis et tunc cunctis videntibus quatuor bisancios aureos beato dyonisio super altare obtulit In signum quod regnum francie a deo solo et ipso sancto gladio cooperante tenebat Et constituit vt omnes successores sui reges francorum consimiliter facerent annuatim In oblatione tangendo caput proprium non tamen vt astructi [*sic*] seruituti humane sed diuine que summa ingenuitas debet dici cum deo seruire regnare sit Precepit etiam Imperator vt vnusquisque possessor unius cuiusque domus totius gallie quatuor nummos argenti annuatim ad ampliandam eiusdem sancti ecclesiam daret et omnes additos [*sic*] seruituti et qui prius contempserant In expeditionibus suis bellicis Interesse qui hos nummos deuotissime offerrent In posterum francos sancti dionisii vocari In perpetuum ordinauit. Hiis deuotissime peractis Ipse karolus cunctis audientibus dionisio sic tunc dixit Domine sancte dionisii a vobis nunc licenciam accipio franciam que vobis relinquo vt post deum sitis eius dominus atque custos erecta que superius facie karolus genua iterum flectit coram altari surgens que cum illud cunctis qui aderant lacrimantibus obsculasset erigens se et signo crucis se muniens dixit O francia semper sis a deo cum tuis habitatoribus benedicta Esto semper nobilis et felicitate bona semper polleas Estoque domina super mundi huius ceteras nationes quibus deuotissime peractis non multo post cum Iam vernalis temperies arrideret quod vite et imperii supererat completurus aquis grani speciale regale domicilium peciit

VII.

Doublet's Edition (*Histoire*, 725-27) of Charlemagne's Diploma of 813 for Saint-Denis⁹⁸

CArolvs Serenissimus Augustus à Deo coronatus, magnus, ac pacificus Imperator, Romanorum gubernans imperium, quin etiam per misericordiam Dei Rex Francorum & Longobardorum. Omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibus, Comitibus, Optimatibus, caeterisque regni nostri proceribus, salutem in vero salutari.⁹⁹

Minimè decet regiam sublimitatem beneficia quae à Deo omnipotente est consecuta obliuioni tradere, sed potius rationi conuenit, & est aequum, per aliquam erga sanctorum loca bonorum operum exhibitionem, aliquod¹⁰⁰ reddere testimonium. Quapropter cognoscat magnitudo seu nobilitas vestra, quod euocatis nobis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibus, Comitibus, Principibus, ac regni nostri Proceribus, in generali Concilio, in Monasterio ter beati Dionysij peculiaris Patroni nostri, multis de causis & rationibus celebrato, sed praecipuè quia eiusdem sanctissimi Martyris ac praecellentissimi, sociorumque eius Rustici & Eleutherij meritis & intercessionibus, nos ad summa regni imperiique fastigia conscendisse confidimus, & fatemur, sed & quàmplurima vitasse pericula, ac inimicorum nostrorum superasse tela, infinitas & victorias de ipsis illorum Sanctorum protectionum alis

98 In DOUBLET's ed. (note 8, p. 725) the charter is preceded by the following introduction:

"Autre Charte de sa Majesté, portant tesmoignage qu'en faueur des saints Martyrs saint Denys & ses compagnons (pour auoir senty leur aide & secours en beaucoup de perils & dangers, auoir recognu leur assistance en plusieurs occasions & occurrences, mais principalement pour estre parueni par leurs prieres & intercessions au souverain degré de l'Empire, & dignité de la Royauté) ayant assemblé les Archeuesques, Euesques, Abbez, Ducs, Comtes, & grands Seigneurs du Royaume, en leur sacree Eglise, ordonna qu'elle fust tenuë pour la premiere des Eglises de France, & que le venerable Abbé d'icelle fust reputé pour le premier des Prelats du Royaume.

Defendit que les Roys ses successeurs ne fussent desormais couronnez en autre Eglise qu'en icelle: que les Archeuesques & Euesques ne fussent confirmez, ny receus par le saint Siege, ou renouoyez, sans l'aduis & conseil de l'Abbé de saint Denys.

Ayant osté sa Couronne de dessus sa teste, & mise sur l'Autel des saints Martyrs, se despoüilla de ses oremens Royaux, & les deposa entre leurs mains, comme les tenans d'eux: en signe dequoy il leur offrit quatre besans d'or en hommage, pour le relief du Royaume de France: coniuant & priant tous les Roys ses successeurs de faire tous les ans la mesme chose, & en les offrant toucher d'iceux leurs testes.

Il affranchit de là en auant tous ceux qui feroient pareille offrande, lesquels seroient à raison de cela nommez les Francs de saint Denys: & prenant congé des saints Martyrs, les pria d'estre, apres Dieu, gardiens du Royaume de France, anatematissant tous ceux qui iroient à l'encontre de son ordonnance.

Ceste action tant sainte, tant memorable, & tant remarquable, estoit à la verité digne d'un saint Empereur, & d'un Roy grandement zélé enuers Dieu & ses saints seruiteurs: action laquelle doit à iamais seruir l'exemple à la posterité, aux Roys, & aux Princes, de l'honneur & de la deuotion qu'ils doiuent rendre à la Majesté diuine, & aux glorieux Apostres de la France."

99 Here DOUBLET (note 8, 725) adds the marginal notation, "Belle leçon pour les Roys."

100 In MGH (note 7) I, p. 429, l. 16, *aliquid*. In this edition MÜHLBACHER transformed each of Doublet's ampersands into *et*. The versions published by LE COMTE and DUBOIS both read *aliquid*: LE COMTE (note 62) VII, p. 282; DUBOIS (note 62) I, p. 313. Except for variations in punctuation and capitalization, the editions found in these two works are precisely similar to DOUBLET's.

euecti reportasse credimus. Igitur ob id ad honorem Dei, & tantorum Dominorum nostrorum reuerentiam, tale fieri decreuimus praeceptum, quod volumus imperpetuum esse mansurum, videlicet quod omnes Franciae Reges, omnes Archiepiscopi, & Episcopi, tam praesentes quam & futuri, ob amorem Domini Dei & nostri Saluatoris Iesu Christi, honorem ac reuerentiam deferant¹⁰¹ venerandae Matri Ecclesiae Domni Dionysij peculiaris Protectoris nostri, ac venerabili Abbati eiusdem¹⁰² sancti & sacri loci, eamque vt¹⁰³ caput omnium Ecclesiarum regni nostri, ab omnibus eiusdem regni nostri Christicolis venerari, & eundem Abbatem super omnes Praelatos primatem haberi & teneri volumus ac desideramus. Prohibemus insuper ne successores nostri Franciae Reges alibi quam in Ecclesia saepè fati Domni Dionysij sint coronati, nec Archiepiscopi & Episcopi confirmati, aut ad sacram beati Petri Sedem recepti & damnati, absque assensu & consilio Abbatis. Post verò multa eidem Ecclesiae bona per nos oblata, ac concessa priuilegia, Ego Karolus Francorum Rex deposito de capite meo regni diademate, & sanctorum Martyrum Altari superposito, talia, cunctis qui aderant audientibus, dixi:¹⁰⁴ Sanctissime Domine Dionysi, hiis regni Franciae regiis insigniis & ornamentis libenter me spolio, vt deinceps eius regale habeas, teneas, atque possideas dominium, & in signum rei quatuor modo aureos tibi offero bizancios, vt omnes tam praesentes quam & futuri sciant & agnoscant quod à Deo solo & à te regnum Franciae teneo, tuoque ac tuorum sociorum fretus auxilio, & suffragantibus meritis illud ancipiti gladio defendo: Obsecrans atque obtestans omnes successores nostros Reges, vt annuatim simile faciant, & in oblatione submittendo ac tangendo caput illos quatuor supradictos bysancios offerant, non proinde astricti humanae seruituti, sed potius diuinae, quae summa libertas appellari debet, quippè Deo seruire sit regnare: sed etiam omnes regni nostri Procures & Obtimates, pro qualicumque domo sua eidem Ecclesiae memoratae quatuor singulis annis aureos persoluant nummos, pro illius¹⁰⁵ augmento ab aedificio Dagoberti Regis excellentissimi vsque ad Crucifixum: similiter omnes homines seruituti addictos emancipans, & eos imperpetuum faciens liberos tam praesentes quam & futuros, qui libenter eosdem quatuor aureos nummos daturi sunt, quos beati Dionysij Francos proinde vocari volo, & appellari iubeo. Hiis ergo tam digne per me, in honorem Dei & Matris Ecclesiae praecellentissimorum Martyrum Dominorum meorum expletis, necnon¹⁰⁶ pro animae meae remedio, & regni stabilitate, ac¹⁰⁷ filiorum incolumitate, palam omnibus dico, quod à vobis nunc exeundi copiam peto, regnumque Franciae relinquo, vt post Deum sitis illius semper custodes ac Domini. Si quis autem contra hoc meae regiae Majestatis praeceptum aliquid attemptare praesumpserit, anatema sit, reusque

101 Here DOUBLET (note 8, p. 726) adds the marginal note, "Titre de l'Eglise de S. Denys."

102 Here DOUBLET (note 8, p. 726) adds the marginal note, "Titres de l'Abbaye de S. Denys."

103 Here DOUBLET (note 8, p. 726) adds the marginal note, "L'Eglise de saint Denys chef de toutes les Eglises de France."

104 Here DOUBLET (note 8, p. 726) adds the marginal notation, "Grande humilité & deuotion de S. Charlemagne enuers S. Denys."

105 Here DOUBLET (note 8, p. 726) adds the marginal notation, "Augmentation de l'Eglise de S. Denys par S. Charlemagne."

106 In MGH (note 7) p. 430, l. 4, *nec non*.

107 In MGH (note 7) p. 430, l. 5, *et*. Le Cointe and Dubois follow Doublet.

diuinae Majestatis & humanae censeatur, sciatque se in districto ac tremendo superni Iudicis examine rationem redditurum, & sanctos Martyres Dionysium, Rusticum, & Eleutherium aduersarios habiturum. Et vt haec auctoritas firmior habeatur, & ab omnibus certior credatur, manu propria eam subter signare decreui, & sigilli mei caractere sigillari iussi.

Actum in Monasterio sancti Dionysij, in Dei nomine feliciter, anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi octingentesimo decimo-tertio, praesentibus quorum nomina subtitulata sunt & signa.

Signum Caroli Serenissimi Augusti, & Francorum gloriosissimi Regis,

signum Turpini Remensis Archipraesulis,
signum Gosberti Bithuricensis Archiepiscopi,
signum Ioannis Lugdunensis Archiepiscopi,
signum Imberti Senonensis Archiepiscopi,
signum Arnulphi Turonensis Archiepiscopi,
signum Nicolai Viennensis Archiepiscopi,
signum Nescij Tolosani Archiepiscopi,
signum Seuerini Pictauensis Antistitis,
signum Stephani Lemouicensis Episcopi,
signum Erkauradi Parisiacae vrbis Episcopi,
signum Achilleae Alexandriae Antistitis,
signum Gerotini Papiae Episcopi,
signum Vvalchandi Leodiens. Episcopi,
signum Candulfi Metens. Episcopi,
signum Theodulfi Aurelian. Episc.,
signum Anselmi Mediolanensis Episcopi,
signum Vvolfoldi Cremonensis Episcopi,
signum Hilduini Abbatis Monasterij sancti Dionysij,
signum Floriani Abbatis Montis Cassini.

Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend

I Compostela Turpin	II Diploma	III Elaborated Turpin(E)	IV Primat	V Nangis French Chronicle	VI Nangis Universal Chronicle	VII Nangis Universal Chronicle Revised	VIII Yves of Saint-Denis	IX Religieux of I	X Saint-Denis II
concilium	generali concilio	grant concile victories in Spain over <i>gent mescreant</i>	concile & parlement x Saracens	x (Saracens)	x Saracens	x	x	generali concilio	x
victories over pagans	victories over enemies							x	x
donatio in predio	regale dominium	seignorie terriane honor	toute France		donatio in predio	x	x	x	x
Paul Clement kings and bishops obey	honor & reuerentia x assent		x x x x		x x	x x		x x	x x
abbot's <i>consilium</i>		x	x x		x	x	x	x	x
coronation by counsel	coronation		x		x	x	x	x	x
episcopal ordination		x & consecration	x		x	x	x	x	x

I Compostela Turpin	II Diploma	III Elaborated Turpin(B)	IV Primat	V Nangis French Chronicle	VI Nangis Universal Chronicle	VII Nangis Universal Chronicle Revised	VIII Yves of Saint-Denis	IX Religieux of I	X Saint-Denis II
reception damnation householders give serui	confirmation x x <i>proceres & obtinates</i> for houses serui & homines seruituti addi- tos	tuit cil	x x chies dos- tel serf	quiconques	x x householder serui	x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x omnes additos seruituti & contempen- tes in bellis interesse argenti
4 nummi	4 gold nummi Charlemagne gives 4 aureos bizan- cios successors tangendo caput	4 deniers	x	x	4 nummi x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x tangendo caput	x x x x x
to build church	to augment church Dagobert to Crucifix liberi, emanci- pens	4 deniers dor x de cheuaige	x	4 besans dor x de son chief	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x
serui liberi liberi ab omni seruitute		franchi	franchi	frans	liberi ab omni seruitute liberarentur	x x	x x	x x	

I Compostela Turpin	II Diploma	III Elaborated Turpin(E)	IV Primat	V Nangis French Chronicle	VI Nangis Universal Chronicle	VII Nangis Universal Chronicle Revised	VIII Yves of Saint-Denis	IX Religieux of I	X Saint-Denis II
Franci sancti Dyonisii recommends souls of dead of dying of paying coins indulgence France free of servitude	x	x x x			x	x x x	x x x	x x x	x x x
		x France blessed							
	primacy crown regia insignia & ornamenta	x	x			x	x	x	x arma & victoriosum vexillum
	ancipiti gladio					gladio cooperante	x	x	x
	divine servitude & freedom		denial that <i>servage</i>					divine servitude & freedom	x

Note to the Table

For the Compostela Turpin (col. I), see the Appendix, I, and, on BAV Reg. lat. 550, note 29.

For the Diploma (col. II), see the Appendix, VII, and note 7.

For the elaborated Turpin (Walpole's Turpin Ist) (col. III), see the Appendix, II, and, on BAV Vat. Reg. 610, notes 31-32.

For Primat (col. IV), see the Appendix, III, and notes 37-38.

For the abbreviated French chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (col. V), see the Appendix, IV A, and note 39.

For the Universal Latin Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (col. VI), see the Appendix, IV B, and note 40.

For the revised version of the Universal Latin Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (col. VII), see the Appendix, IV C, and note 41.

For the work of Yves, monk of Saint-Denis (col. VIII), see the Appendix, V, and note 42.

For the two recensions of the history of the Religieux de Saint-Denis (col. 9), see the Appendix, VI A and B, and notes 45-46.

Archeology and the Tomb of St. James

THEODOR HAUSCHILD

I shall discuss that important monument, the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela, from an archeological point of view, from a background of investigations in the architecture of tombs of the first century and of the late Roman constructions on the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Because of the fragmentary character of our picture of Early Christian building in the Iberian Peninsula, it is significant that the Apostolic tomb in Santiago has not yet been adequately represented in general works. Indeed, we do not find the monument in its present form either among those classified as Roman architecture, nor among those of the Early Christian era.² The groundplan of the tomb published in the *Historia de España*,³ based on investigations carried out in 1878 by LOPEZ FERREIRO,⁴ is obviously an imaginative reconstitution, and in a new book on Roman Spain by SIMON KEAY⁵ the building of Santiago is not even mentioned. Even HELMUT SCHLUNK in his survey of the Early Christian age in the northwestern peninsula⁶ does not refer to the construction of the tomb, although MANUEL GOMEZ-MORENO⁷ described the crypt in 1966 in his significant essay, 'Primicias del arte cristiano español', albeit without the illustration he used for other important buildings. However, the publication in 1982 by JOSÉ GUERRA CAMPOS of *Exploraciones Arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apostol Santiago*, based on the new excavations under the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, changed this situation.⁸ GUERRA CAMPOS was present during a great part of CHAMOSO LAMAS' archeological fieldwork between 1956-58.⁹ Because of their importance,

1 Excluding a few alterations, the text here published is the one delivered during the symposium on the *The Codex Calixtinus*. It contains only the most important notes. I hereby wish to express my gratitude to J. Williams, J. Carro Otero and Serafín Moralejo Álvarez for suggestions and information. My special thanks to J. Carro Otero and to the Cabildo of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela for the kind permission to study the tombs in the mausoleum. The German text was translated by Katharina Karrer.

2 *Ars Hispaniae* II (1947) p. 183 ff, also 382 f. P. DE PALOL, *Arqueología Cristiana de la España Romana* (1967) p. 105 ff. H. SCHLUNK, *T. HAUSCHILD, Hispania Antiqua, Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* (1978) 5. M. SOTOMAYOR, *La iglesia en la España romana y visigoda*, in *Historia de la iglesia en España I* (Madrid 1979) p. 150 f.

3 R. M. Pidal, ed., *Historia de España II* (Madrid 1955) p. 719.

4 A.L. FERREIRO, *Historia de la Santa M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela, I* (Santiago de Compostela, 1891) p. 280 ff. As for the bibliography of López Ferreiro, see: F. ACUÑA CASTROVIEJO, *A arqueología na obra de López Ferreiro*, *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos* 32 (1981) p. 59-80.

5 S.J. KEAY, *Roman Spain* (London 1988).

6 H. SCHLUNK, *Die frühchristlichen Denkmäler aus dem Nordwesten der Iberischen Halbinsel*, in *Legio VII Gemina, Instituto Leonés de Estudios Romano-visigóticos* (León 1970) p. 477 ff.

7 M. GOMEZ-MORENO, *Primicias del arte cristiano español*, *Archivo español de arte* 154/155 (1966) p. 101.

8 J. GUERRA CAMPOS, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apostol* (Santiago 1982), with an extensive bibliography.

9 M. CHAMOSO LAMAS, *Noticias de las excavaciones arqueológicas que se realizan en la Catedral de Santiago, Compostellanum* 1, no. 2, (1956), p. 5 ff.; M. CHAMOSO LAMAS, *Excavaciones arqueológicas en la Catedral de Santiago, Compostellanum* 2, no. 4 (1957), p. 225 ff.

my own presentation will make good use of José Guerra Campos' publications and of the many descriptions and opinions found in still older investigations. In some matters, however, especially those involving suggestions for reconstruction, it will differ in interpretation and lead to new questions that may some day be answered by analysis of what survives today of the monument.

The sequence of the church buildings erected over or beside the tomb shows important enlargements and renewals (fig. 1). After the foundation of the church under Alfonso II at the beginning of the ninth century, an enlargement took place with Alfonso III at the end of the same century. Yet the historical documents on which we depend do not mention that the tomb and the altar above it were touched.¹⁰ Although the reports of destruction perpetrated by Almanzor in 997 A.D. indicate that he spared the Apostolic tomb, it is not absolutely clear whether or not he left only the tomb untouched, or the surrounding constructions as well.¹¹ I think that there is no doubt the tomb existed in or under a room, and that the documentary evidence should not be questioned too strictly to determine whether the words *camara* or *tumulu* mean a real room (crypt) or if one expression signifies the part of a chamber on top of the tomb and the other one the burial pit.¹²

The first church of Alfonso II and the following one of Alfonso III were both built in the ninth century and their construction may be compared with churches of the same century in the Asturias.¹³ There is no mention in the documents about any transformations or improvements of the building before its destruction by Almanzor in 997 A.D., but a period of 100 years had passed since the foundation, during which the pilgrimage to the Apostolic tomb had increased.¹⁴ After the destruction by Almanzor, the church and presumably its apse with the Apostolic tomb were rebuilt. This should have taken a relatively short time, perhaps within the period of Bishop San Pedro de Mezonzo and King Bermudo.¹⁵ As for the reconstruction of the church, the question remains as to what extent the ruins were still standing and if, for instance, the floor was renewed. If the floor was reconstructed, it should be possible to date some of the graves under the pavement as early as the end of the tenth century.¹⁶

The decisive step was the erection of the large Romanesque church that enclosed the Apostolic tomb with its choir. It is remarkable that the tomb was not situated at the crossing point of the main axis and the transept, as at the tomb of Saint Peter in Rome, but was made part of the choir. This left the square bay of the crossing totally free.

10 With detailed mention of sources and discussion in J. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 96.

11 España Sagrada XX, 14. Also J. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 97.

12 España Sagrada XIX, 344. Extensive bibliography in J. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 95 f.

13 A comparison can be drawn only about details of the pilaster bases, as the structure of all the church is not the same.

14 It could be assumed that during that period also some small alterations had been made in the inside of the church.

15 Detailed in J. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 96 f.

16 A falling roof would certainly have destroyed part of the floor. It therefore can be assumed that the floor was renewed at the beginning of the eleventh century.

From the thirteenth century on the access to the tomb was closed.¹⁷ During the seventeenth century the floor level over the tomb was lowered and afterwards, at least from the eighteenth century on, there must have been under the altar an opening towards a cavity.¹⁸ The uncertainty concerning the location of the tomb led to the important investigation carried out by López Ferreiro in 1870.¹⁹

In our presentation only the essential results of the last century's investigations, especially the remains of the construction interpreted as the apostle James' mausoleum, will be examined. Our questions are quite simple: what was to be seen at the time of López Ferreiro's excavations, what was handed down in the form of descriptions and graphic documents, and what can we still see and verify today?

After a fruitless attempt to reach the presumed crypt through a lateral tunnel, López Ferreiro started to excavate directly under the altar.²⁰ This means that the altar was moved. After the removal of the floor slabs, there could be seen walls built with granite ashlar forming a room which was filled with rubble (fig. 2c). The ground-plan of these walls shows in the center a rectangle measuring 6.41 m from east to west and 4.69 m from north to south, the wall thickness being more or less 0.75 m.²¹ Inside, the construction was divided into two compartments, their dividing walls built of quarry-stones and bricks set in clay binding, and their thickness less than 0.50 m. The larger compartment measures 3.30 m from north to south and 2.60 m from east to west. The smaller compartment shows on both sides rectangular tombs built with bricks, with a length of 2 m and a width of 60 cm and a height of 45 cm, filled with soil. The upper border of these tombs is at the same level as the upper border of the standing ashlar walls, that is, immediately under the chancel floor. In the middle, between the brick constructions, a compartment with a width of 1.70 m and length of more than 2 m remains empty, having once been filled with soil and debris. Three sides (north, east and south) of this rectangular building are surrounded by narrow passages enclosed on the outer side by walls of granite ashlar about 0.50 m thick. These passages have a width of only approximately 1.20 m. There were no openings or entrances on any of these walls.²²

The great difficulty confronting all those who studied the excavation through the nineteenth century plans was that detailed drawings do not exist.²³ The longitudinal section drawing shows that all the walls stand on or in rocky ground (fig. 2a,

17 GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 97. The last report about the tomb being accessible is related to the removal of a relic sent by Gelmírez to the Bishop of Pistoia in 1138.

18 Already in 1572 it was reported that under the altar table there was a stone slab with an opening closed with mortar and connected with a compartment where the Apostle's body was kept. Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS, p. 102 f.

19 Cf. note 4 and GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 109 ff.

20 Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 111. López Ferreiro already had the idea of a crypt situated at a lower level, and therefore had opened a tunnel there.

21 The width of the walls can be indicated only approximately, for the ashlar protrude irregularly.

22 GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 128 ff.

23 To facilitate comparison, new drawings, which only coincide with regard to their main lines, were made to the same scale and in a simpler way, emphasizing the representation of the three strata found inside the compartment.

b, d) and that the rock surface has a slight inclination from east to west.²⁴ In the middle room the rock was covered with a layer of dark powdery soil that reached a height of 0.70 m at the center of the eastern room and 0.30 m at the sides. One has to imagine this layer as a dust heap or cone that has been piled up from the middle.²⁵ The heap was covered by a layer of debris mingled with brick fragments, bits of marble and charcoal and sand. A third layer consisted once more of debris of the buildings. As I have said, this is the largest room of the central part, in the top layer of which was seen a fragment of mosaic pavement when the floor of the chancel next to the altar was removed.²⁶ Therefore, this mosaic, interpreted by López Ferreiro as the original Roman pavement, of which only a drawing has been published,²⁷ must have been located on top of the mentioned layers, a very improbable situation, especially since in the underlying debris, apart from glass pearls, a small glass bell and a gold fragment, were found some coins covering the period from the ninth to the sixteenth century: coins of Charlemagne, dirhem of Córdoba, coins of France, of Alfonso VI (Toledo) and Philip II.²⁸ My question is: could these coins have fallen through the small opening beside the altar and into the tomb? Such an opening was mentioned in the eighteenth century and it would be most understandable if the dust had fallen through it and formed a cone. In the western part of the chamber, where the tombs built with bricks are located, some coins of the twelfth century were discovered on top of the westernmost tomb and, in the space between the tombs, a rectangular marble slab 6 cm thick, a fragment of a capital of the same marble 5 cm long, and a small fragment of a granite column were also found. López Ferreiro assumed that these were the remains of the ancient altar that was still standing when Gelmírez built the large altar.²⁹

In the narrow compartments at the north and south sides, only some 30 cm immediately beneath the chancel floor, was found a granite slab pavement ("*enlosado de granito*") that showed distinct traces of fire and ashes. Under the slabs López Ferreiro discovered some marble fragments and, lower, dispersed in compact soil, several human bones.³⁰ During more recent investigations in the narrow room of the eastern side, there was discovered a deep layer of stones as well as a reddish layer of clay. However, it should be mentioned that the excavation started only at a level under that of the slab pavement of the other two lateral rooms. Also, the discovery of some bones of three skeletons behind

24 The drawing of 1879 is reproduced in GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 157, fig. 27. The drawing of 1899 is shown in GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 156, fig. 26.

25 This layer is easily recognizable on both drawings. The text refers to it as "*capa de polvo fino y ligero, como de mina.*"

26 Unfortunately the designation of the finding place is not unequivocal. Compare GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 134.

27 A drawing can be found in GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 56, fig. 30. Other references and an attempt to date it are in F. ACUÑA CASTROVIEJO, *A arqueoloxía* (note 4).

28 Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 146 ff.

29 The fragments were too small to allow us to speak of an altar; moreover, surely it would not have been destroyed during the construction of the Romanesque church.

30 Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 141 ff.

the tomb prompted discussion, but I will not proceed further on this point.³¹ In summation, one could say that all the walls are foundations of a building in which two brick tombs were set.³² One should bear this very short description of the nineteenth century investigation in mind when I, again in summary form, mention the works carried out in the building by Chamoso Lamas and José Guerra Campos (about 1950).³³

It is important to note that the constructions were subjected to very decisive alterations and remodelling as early as 1880; the rooms were extended by letting down the floor level into the rock, transforming them into a crypt sufficiently high to permit one to stand.³⁴ The walls and the brick tombs were kept from falling by new granite ashlar, and doors were cut into the west and east walls. A ground-plan shows these alterations very clearly (fig. 3).

Only during the more recent investigations in 1950 was a more exact record delineated, including drawings of the ashlar walls which distinguished the old from the modern construction, by the architects Luis Menéndez Pidal and Pons Sorolla (fig. 4).³⁵ In these the system of the construction, with the ashlar stones, set alternately as stretchers and headers, is very clearly recognizable, with the upright rectangular stretchers receiving emphasis. But in comparing my own measurements with the published ones for the center part of the southern wall, I noticed some discrepancies; perhaps more ashlar of the lower layers should be considered as belonging to the nineteenth century. The walls do not form perfectly even surfaces (fig. 5), a fact particularly clear at the eastern external side and in the interior of the central building. Here, the surface of the irregularly protruding ashlar appears very darkened as if it had been exposed to air, or even smoke, for a long period of time. It was in this room that López Ferreiro found the heap of powdery soil. One would like to assume that this part of the room had an opening in the upper part, through which the chamber of the tomb of St. James could be seen.³⁶

Not very explicit in the drawings, but important for the understanding of the earlier constructions and the more recent transformations of the nineteenth century, are the reconstructed ashlar under the brick tombs, as they were not marked as reconstructed on the drawings (fig. 3).³⁷ If one looks carefully at a photograph (fig. 6), it is possible to observe that some of the ashlar forming the vertical pilasters

31 Due to its concealed location immediately behind the sepulchral building, this "osario" gave the impression that it was the place where the bones of the Apostle and his disciples had been hidden. Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 119 ff.

32 The height of the upper edges of the walls of the brick tombs signifies without doubt that the ashlar walls beside them were built as a foundation or base. This is especially demonstrated by the exterior, closed, wall line without a door. Curiously, J. Guerra Campos maintains that the passages on the western side were not closed.

33 Cf. note 9.

34 The works were started in 1879, therefore directly after the excavations that took place in 1878. Only in 1891 was the work finally concluded. Cf. GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 229 ff.

35 First presentation of drawings in CHAMOSO LAMAS, *Noticias* (note 9) p. 46.

36 Cf. note 18.

37 See L. Menéndez Pidal's drawing in GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 169, fig. 36.

reach back deep into the earth, that is, into the area under the brick tombs.³⁸ Thus are formed two horizontal mortar levels, one at the floor level of the brick tomb and the other at the lower level of the ashlar layer. They are by no means remains of pavements as it was erroneously assumed during Chamoso Lamas' more recent investigations.³⁹ With these pavements as proof, and other findings, José Guerra Campos propounded a theory of two different Roman pavements.⁴⁰ We have already remarked on the anomalous fact that the so-called Roman mosaic floor fragments appeared at a level above that of coins of more recent time. There is no doubt that under the brick tombs as well as in an area in the eastern part of the room, some stratifications still remain untouched, the investigation of which would possibly give some information about the age of the buildings. None of the existing findings used to establish a Roman period, allow, in fact, the determination of a date.

Commonly the wall structure of a monument can give an answer to its age. However, in our case we encounter problems, including the question of whether the structure of the foundations corresponds to the one of the standing walls. Be that as it may, all publications dealing with the tomb refer to the structure with granite ashlar as central to its historical identity. There are two main opinions. One, espoused by many authors, is that it is a Roman ashlar construction, more particularly a mausoleum.⁴¹ The other holds it to be a later building in ashlar technique, erected next to the ninth century church.⁴²

If we observe comparable funerary constructions from the first century A.D. built with ashlar, such as, for example, the Torre de los Escipiones near Tarragona,⁴³ or the two-storied mausoleum of Fabara,⁴⁴ we see major differences, especially in the employment of a wide base profile that considerably enlarges the thickness of the wall foundations. Worth mentioning is a building of ashlar construction at Almofala in the north of Portugal (fig. 7). It shows the base profile, and could perhaps be interpreted as a temple.⁴⁵ Another construction in São

38 GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 165, fig. 33.

39 CHAMOSO LAMAS, Noticias (note 9) p. 28ff. These results were adopted by E. KIRSCHBAUM, Die Grabungen unter der Kathedrale von Santiago de Compostela, Römische Quartalschrift 56 (1961) 243.

40 GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 139, 145, and 137 ff. His interpretation is obviously based on Chamoso Lamas' mistaken observations.

41 A. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, M. CHAMOSO LAMAS, J. GUERRA CAMPOS, E. KIRSCHBAUM, M. GOMEZ MORENO, also M. NÚÑEZ, Arquitectura prerrománica (Santiago de Compostela 1978) p. 140 ff. Also S. MORALEJO, Le lieu saint: le tombeau et les basiliques médiévales, in Santiago de Compostela: 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen (Gent 1985) p. 41 considers the different dates possible and supports the supposition of J. Guerra Campos.

42 F. ACÚA CASTROVIEJO (note 4) indeed dates the mosaic in the fourth century A.D., but he draws no conclusion about the age of the building. A date in the ninth or tenth century for the ashlar walls with headers and stretchers was especially defended by F. Iñiguez, as GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 180 f. mentions in his argument in favor of a Roman date.

43 T. HAUSCHILD, S. MARINER BIGORRA, H.G. NIEMEYER, Torre de los Escipiones, ein römischer Grabturm bei Tarragona, Madrider Mitteilungen 7 (1966) p. 162, plates 44, 45.

44 Ars Hispaniae (1947) fig. 34. J. LOSTAL, Arqueología del Aragón romano (Zaragoza 1980) p. 175 ff., fig. 17.

45 M.M. DA FONSECA ANDRADE MALA, Arqueología romana no Ribacor, o templo romano de Almofala,

Mansos, near Évora, a large Roman mausoleum built with granite ashlar once coated with marble slabs, also shows a profile at the base.⁴⁶ This building, perhaps two-storied originally and erected in the first century A.D., has been venerated as São Mansos' mausoleum since the Middle Ages and was, from the seventeenth century on, used as the apse of a church. This interesting construction is being excavated, but the results have not yet been published. It differs from our construction in Santiago in the relatively wide headers of its masonry, as well as in the presence of the profile at the base, which is lacking in Santiago. The wall thickness of 0.70 m at the foundation zone in Santiago would be too small for a two-storied construction.

I believe that the resemblance of the ashlar walls to the Mozarabic constructions of the end of the ninth or of the tenth century, already noticed in other publications, is fundamental for giving the building a date. We only have to look at the ashlar walls of Celanova (after 936),⁴⁷ Lourosa, in the north of Portugal,⁴⁸ and especially the church of San Martiño de Pazó⁴⁹ in the province of Orense (fig. 8), where almost the same technique with narrow headers can be seen, as well as the horse-shoe shaped arch with the alfiz over the entrance, the form of the tenth and eleventh centuries. That the alfiz was also used at the Santiago church is proved by the discovery, at the north of the baptistry, of a small horse-shoe shaped arch.⁵⁰ Perhaps we should imagine also horse-shoe shaped openings for the walls above the foundation walls of the tomb. In the meantime, for want of findings all attempts at reconstitution have to remain hypothetical.⁵¹

An important comparison can be made with San Salvador de Valdediós, from the end of the ninth century, where for the first time windows with horse-shoe shaped arch and alfiz can be observed in the walls of the church.⁵² The period of its construction, that is the end of the ninth century, would correspond to that of the new building at Santiago, during the reign of Alfonso III. We can be sure, moreover, that the central part of the tomb constructions and the surrounding passages belong to the same project. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the wall structure and the absolutely parallel walls are exactly alike. It is probable

Actas do II Congresso nacional de arqueologia, Coimbra 1970, vol. 2 (Coimbra 1971) II p. 471, fig. 2. The system of headers and stretchers can be clearly observed and also the fact that the stretchers are not very narrow.

46 This tower-type building was probably erected in the first century A.D. The investigations are not yet concluded.

47 *Ars Hispaniae* III (1951) fig. 445. Here the special type of the header and stretcher system is only partially perceptible.

48 *Ars Hispaniae* III (1951) fig. 419. They are very well built ashlar walls; here too the header and stretcher system is not executed with consistency.

49 *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos* 20 (1965) p. 180 ff. The narrow headers that appear here can be better compared to examples of the second half of the tenth century in Córdoba, as seen, for instance, in the enlargement of the mosque by Almanzor. In Santiago de Compostela one might also consider a date of construction at the end of the tenth century, perhaps in a rebuilding campaign after the destruction by Almanzor.

50 Photograph in M. Nuñez, *Arquitectura prerrománica* (note 41) fig. 42. 43.

51 The two horse-shoe shaped window openings leave no doubt about the Mozarabic influence.

52 *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid 1947) fig. 391. This church was probably erected by Alfonso III too.

that the middle room served as a kind of crypt and that it once possibly had a vault. The question remains as to whether the small wall which separates the brick tombs should be considered as the remainder of an older construction. Maybe new investigations will give us some answers here.

The ground-plan of the reconstruction (fig. 9) of the building shows that the large square central compartment and the lateral ones open into the church nave.⁵³ If the pavement of stone slabs found in the lateral rooms really coincides with the primitive floor level, it means that it was situated lower than the one of the central room. One should probably imagine the inside as a kind of canopy with columns and vaults. It is likely that a smaller canopy covered the altar.

During the excavations under the cathedral a relatively large number of Roman objects were found and, near the Apostolic tomb, constructions considered as Roman baths. However, Roman heating complexes (hypocaustum) have a very different configuration.⁵⁴ As there is the possibility of access to them and they are well-preserved, some excavations behind the wall could surely determine their age as well as that of the long wall east of the so-called thermal baths. Perhaps they are smaller buildings used for agricultural labour.

From the archeological point of view it means, therefore, that on the place where the cathedral stands, a Roman settlement can be proved, but not a monumental tomb construction. The architecture of the tomb is to be placed at the end of the ninth century, in the period of Alfonso III, when the church and baptistery were built (fig. 10), or, more probably, at the end of the tenth century, when the church was rebuilt.⁵⁵ No final decision can be made without further investigation.

53 In reconstructions of the building, it is assumed that all preserved walls of the tomb are foundations for rising walls or for bases for pilasters or columns. However, the walls are too weak to support a double-floor building as J. Guerra Campos suggested. His reconstruction was based on the supposition that it was a Roman building.

54 CHAMOSO LAMAS, *Excavaciones* (note 9) p. 257, plan 1. Also GUERRA CAMPOS (note 8) p. 512 f. Among the remains interpreted by the excavators as thermal baths, it is a striking fact that there are no water basins present.

55 Cf. note 49.

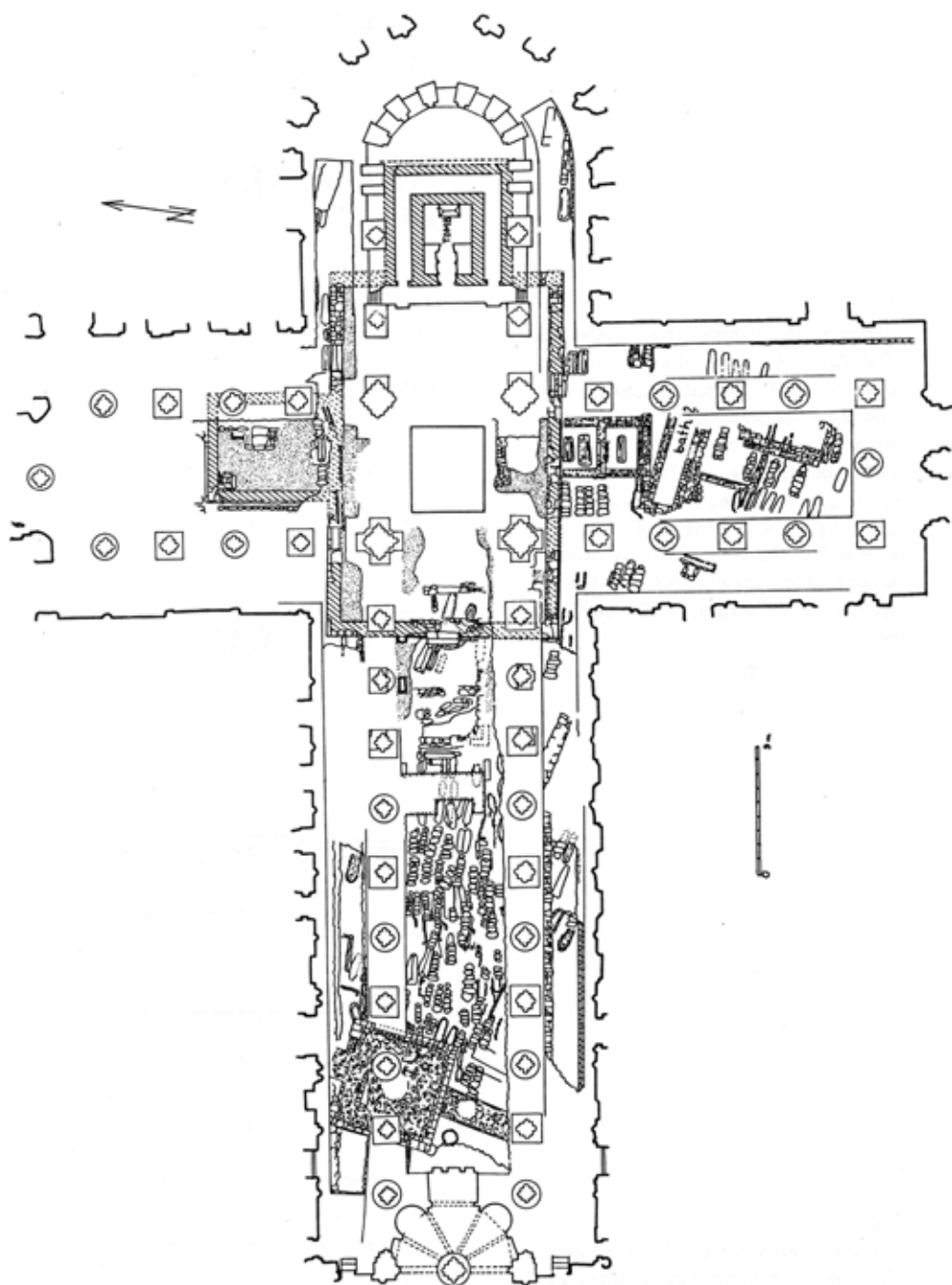


Fig. 1: Santiago de Compostela. Simplified ground-plan of the excavations in the inside of the Cathedral (according to M. Chamoso Lamas)

Fig. 2:
Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral.
The Apostolic tomb after the excavations of 1878. Simplified ground-plan and sectional drawings to the same scale: a section according to F. Fita and Fernández Guerra (1880); b section according to A. López Ferreiro (1898); c ground-plan according to F. Fita and Fernández Guerra (1880); d section according to a drawing published in the archivo de la Catedral (J. Guerra Campos).

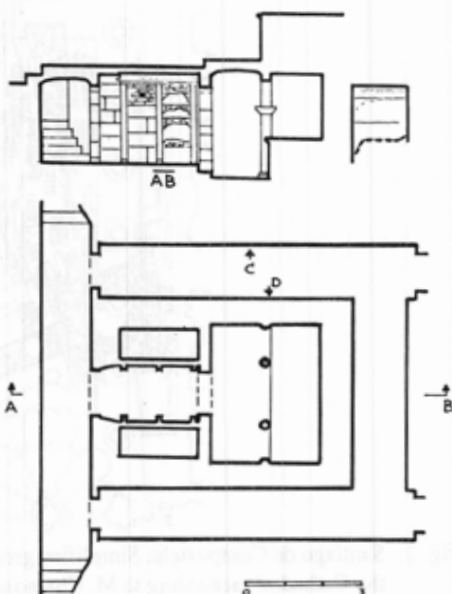
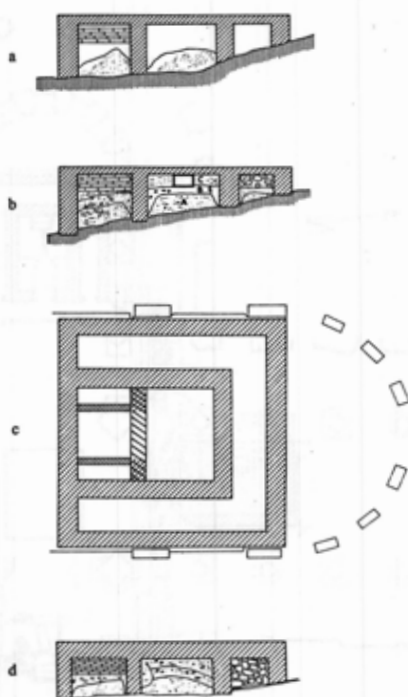


Fig. 3:
Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral.
The Apostolic tomb. Ground-plan and section (AB) of the crypt (1950) (according to L. Menéndez Pidal).

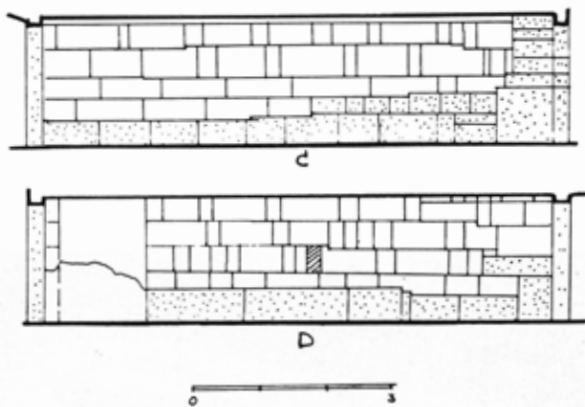


Fig. 4: Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral, Apostolic tomb, drawings of the walls (according to L. Menéndez Pidal). View C and D.



Fig. 5: Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral, Apostolic tomb. External view.

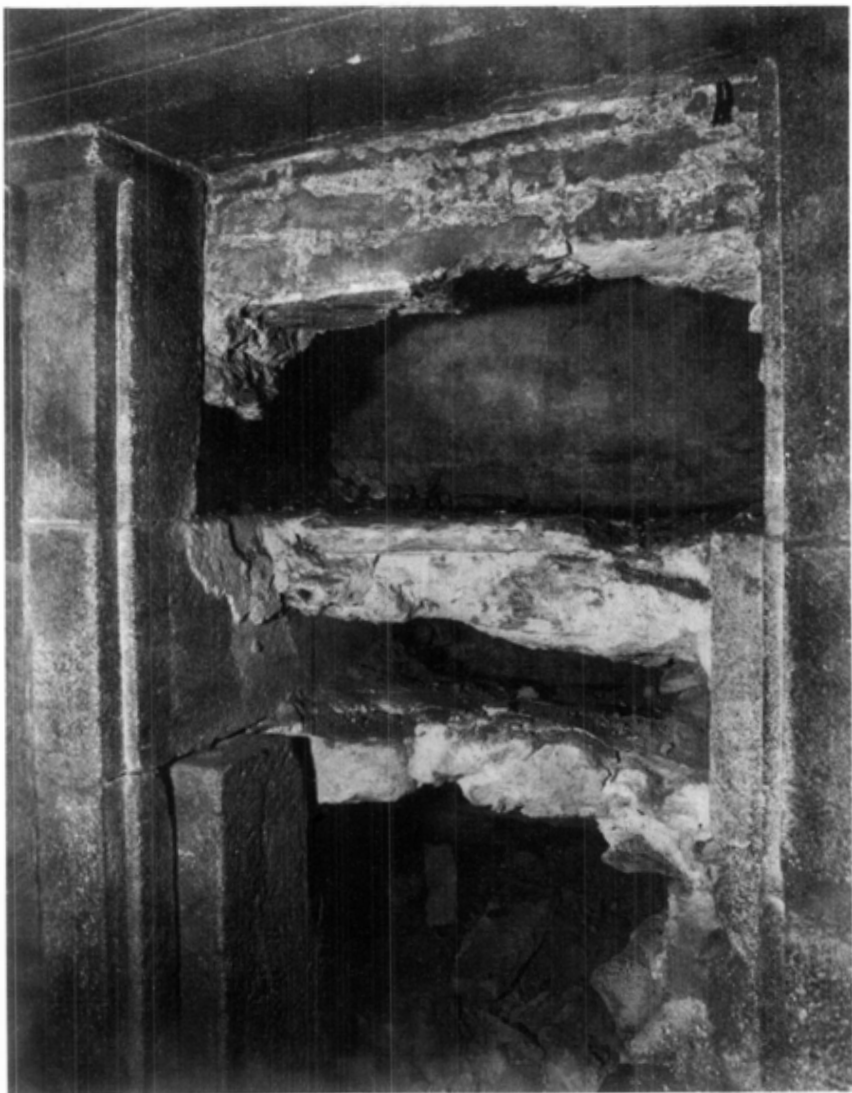


Fig. 6: Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral, Apostolic tomb, view of the brick tomb with the supporting constructions of the nineteenth century.

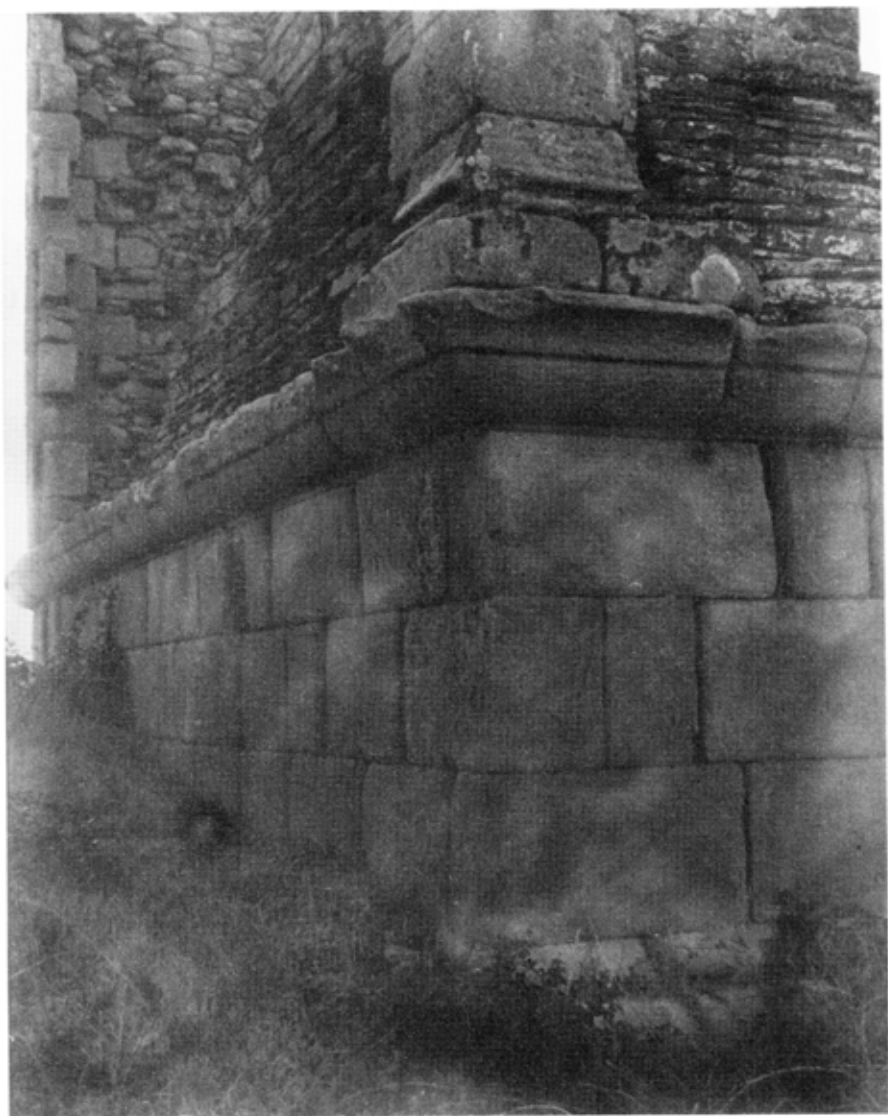


Fig. 7: Almofala (north of Portugal), Roman construction (probably first century A.D.).



Fig. 8: S. Martiño de Pazó (Orense), church (probably second half of tenth century or beginning of the eleventh century).

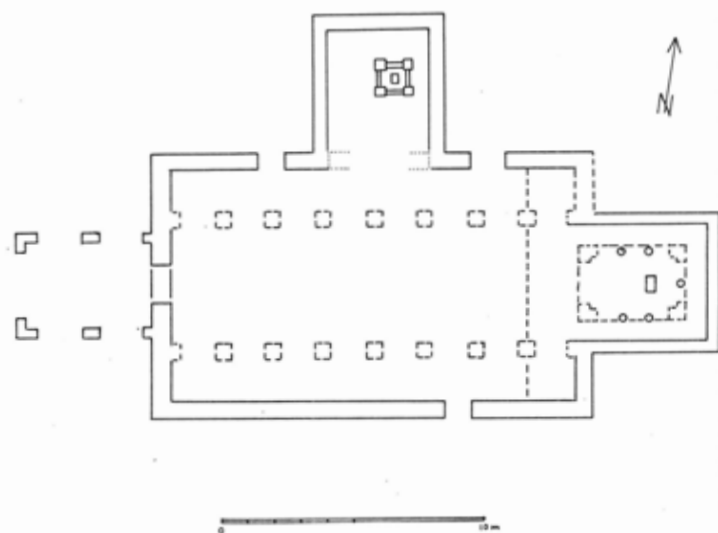


Fig. 9: Santiago de Compostela, hypothetic ground-plan of the Church of Alfonso III, with a suggestion for the form of the canopy in the compartment over the Apostolic tomb.

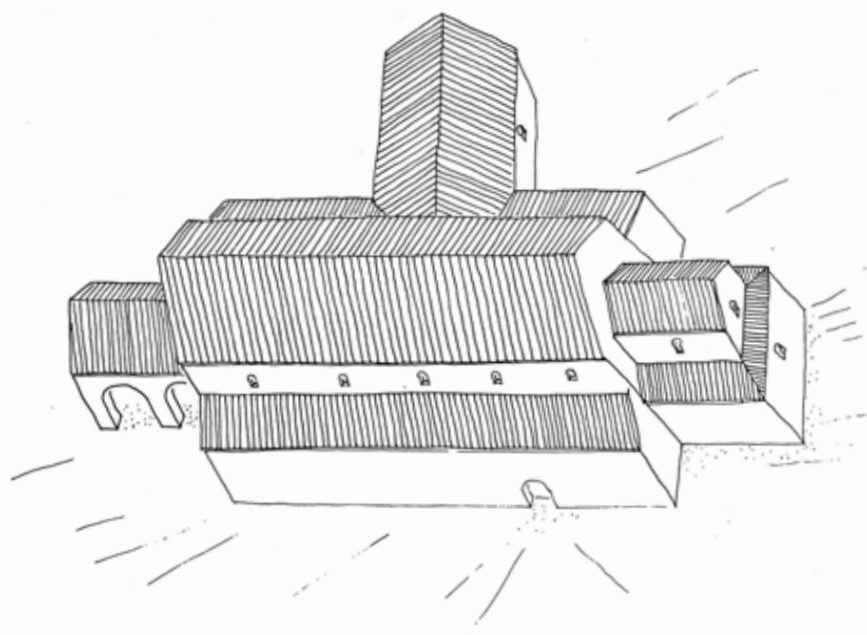


Fig. 10: Santiago de Compostela, hypothetical view of the Church of Alfonso III with the construction over the Apostolic tomb.

Les Pièces notées du *Codex Calixtinus*

MICHEL HUGLO

Le *Codex Calixtinus* conservé à St.-Jacques-de-Compostelle est le seul témoin noté du répertoire intégral monodique et polyphonique composé pour célébrer la gloire de l'apôtre "frère du Seigneur", enterré aux confins de la Galice. Les autres manuscrits connus de ce même office ne sont que des copies partielles ou des textes sans notation musicale.¹ Bien que ces pièces de chant aient été plusieurs fois publiées intégralement ou partiellement,² il reste encore bien des recherches à entreprendre sur le sujet: c'est justement au cours de ce symposium pluridisciplinaire que les analyses musicologiques, s'appuyant sur la codicologie et l'iconographie, ont le plus de chances de progresser.

Les pièces notées du *Calixtinus* peuvent se répartir en trois catégories différentes:

1. Les pièces chant grégorien, c'est-à-dire les antienne, répons et hymnes qui forment, avec les psaumes et les lectures, la trame de l'office canonique ou de la messe solennelle et qui ont une fonction liturgique bien précise.
2. Les compositions post-grégoriennes, c'est-à-dire les pièces greffées sur les précédentes, comme pour les gloses, ou bien pour les introduire ou encore pour conclure les Heures de l'office: tels sont les tropes de l'ordinaire de la messe, le trope d'introduction de l'introit, ceux du *Benedicamus Domino* – chant de sortie des Vêpres, – et enfin les versus et conduits de procession. La fonction de ces pièces en quelque sorte surnuméraires, n'est pas toujours clairement définie: elles ne sont pas en effet essentielles à la célébration d'un office. Certaines églises les chantent, comme par exemple Nevers; d'autres au contraire, plus conservatrices, telles Cluny et St. Denys, les ignorent totalement ou presque.
3. Les compositions "polyphoniques", c'est-à-dire les pièces liturgiques chantées à deux voix: le *cantus* ou *vox principalis* préexistante et l'*organum* ou seconde voix improvisée suivant des règles bien définies, puis un jour fixées par écrit.

Quelles que soit la catégorie à laquelle appartiennent toutes ces différentes pièces de chant, le système de notation demeure identique d'un bout à l'autre du *Calixtinus*. Les mélodies des chants sont notées sur portée de quatre lignes rouges tracées une par une et non au raster. Les notes et les chaînes de notes ou neumes ne sont pas

1 Par exemple le ms 99 du fonds de Ripoll à Barcelone, partiellement copié en 1173 par Arnaud du Mont avec conversion de la notation originale en notation aquitaine; ou encore le ms Add. 12213 de la British Library (non noté), signalé par C. HOHLER, *A Note on Jacobus*, *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 71-2. Pour la concordance du *Calixtinus* avec les autres manuscrits non notés, voir le tableau comparatif dressé par M.C. DIAZ Y DIAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 329 ss., sous les nn. 39-78 et 162-182.

2 P. WAGNER, *Die Gesänge der Jakobs-liturgie zu Santiago de Compostela aus dem sogenannten Codex Calixtinus*, *Collectanea Friburgensia*, Neue Folge, Fasc. XX (Freiburg/S 1931). – DOM GERMANO PRADO, *La Música in*: W.M. WHITEHILL, *El Libro de Santiago, Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago 1944) t. III, p. XLVII-LXV. – J. LÓPEZ CALO, *La Música medieval en Galicia* (La Coruña 1982). – P. HELMER, *The Mass of St. James*, *Musicological Studies*, Volume XLIX (Ottawa 1988).

formées de petits carrés séparés ou liés, fort répandus dans le nord de la France et en Italie dès le milieu du XII^e siècle. Au contraire, il s'agit d'une notation tracée au moyen d'une plume qui permet les pleins, les déliés, et les ondulations dans le tracé des parties horizontales des notes.

Ce tracé a été pratiqué surtout dans la zone de notation dite "messine" ou "lorraine", dans une des quatre branches de l'Ordre cistercien, celle de Morimond, mais encore – avec quelques variantes dans la graphie – sur la "route des foires", c'est-à-dire dans les régions qui relient la Lorraine à la vallée de la Loire: à Montier-en-Der et dans le diocèse de Langres – dont un manuscrit³ contient un conduit inédit pour la fête de st. Jacques, – à St. Laurent-de-Longré, à Troyes, à St. Florentin; enfin à Auxerre, Vézelay et Nevers.⁴

C'est précisément avec la notation de Nevers que la notation du *Calixtinus* présente les plus étroites relations morphologiques, ainsi que Peter Wagner l'avait déjà remarqué.⁵ Il faut tout de suite accentuer cette ressemblance par un remarque de détail sur le guidon ou *custos* qui, à la fin de chaque portée, indique au chantre la hauteur de la première note sur la portée suivante. En effet, ce signe indicateur, usité partout en Italie et dans le sud de la France est pratiquement inconnu dans le nord de la France. On ne le rencontre que dans les manuscrits notés sur portée de Nevers et, un peu plus au sud, dans ceux de Lyon. Paris a ignoré le guidon jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle et l'a finalement adopté, probablement à l'exemple des dominicains.⁶

Une seule pièce du *Calixtinus* est notée dans le système dit "à points superposés" du Midi de la France: c'est le chant de pèlerinage du f. 222, *Dum pater familias* (planche 3), qui n'appartient pas au répertoire liturgique.⁷ Par conséquent, le fait de l'adoption d'une notation non-aquitaine pour noter les chants du *Calixtinus*, prend un relief saisissant lorsqu'on a pris conscience que la seule notation qui ait été adoptée en Espagne après la suppression du chant mozarabe, est précisément la notation à points superposés dite aquitaine.⁸

3 Paris, BN lat. 2096 (Delamare, 17) qui porte au f. 92v un ex-libris du XVe siècle de Notre-Dame-de-Bonneval et, juste après, la pièce inédite *Columnarum trium*, conductus ad lectionem en dix strophes notées (cf. planche 1) de deux vers dodécasyllabiques: il convient de la rapprocher du conduit *Jacobe sancte tuum* du *Calixtinus*, qui se termine par une invitation analogue "*Lector lege et de rege...*" (WAGNER, *Die Gesänge...* p. 39, n. 4, LÓPEZ CALO, p. 45 [voir note 2]). *Columnarum trium* a été exécuté pour la première fois au cours du Symposium de Pittsburgh, le 4 novembre 1988, par la Pittsburgh Camerata sous la direction de Gayle Kirkwood.

4 Voir planche 2, la carte des notations, tirée de l'ouvrage de S. CORBIN, *Répertoire des manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales*, I- Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève-Paris (Paris 1965) p. 147.

5 WAGNER, *Die Gesänge* (note 2) p. 11, avec facsimilé de Paris, BN nouv. acq. lat. 1235, graduel de Nevers: l'auteur aurait pu y joindre l'antiphonaire de Nevers (Nouv. acq. lat. 1236), noté par la même main que le précédent.

6 M. HUGLO, *Règlement du XIII^e siècle pour la transcription des livres notés*, in: *Festschrift für Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag* (Kassel 1967) p. 129-130.

7 *Codex Calixtinus*, f. 222, voir planche III. Facsimilé dans LÓPEZ CALO, *Música* (note 2) p. 34. Cf. WAGNER, *Die Gesänge* (note 2) p. 126.

8 M. HUGLO, *La pénétration des manuscrits aquitains en Espagne*, *Revista de musicologia* 8 (1985) p. 249-255.

1. Les compositions grégoriennes:

Dans le catégorie des pièces de l'ancien style se groupent les antiennes et répons de l'office canonique et des messes en l'honneur de saint Jacques.

Les pièces de l'office (f. 101v = Wagner, pp. 55-77) sont composées pour la plupart en prose rythmique et dans l'ordre des huit tons du chant grégorien, suivant un procédé qui remonte à Hucbald et à Etienne de Liège: première antienne (et premier répons) du premier ton (f. 107, planche 4); deuxième antienne (et deuxième répons) du deuxième ton etc. Ainsi, jusqu'à la huitième pièce, du huitième ton, puis on recommence par le premier ton ou, ad libitum, par n'importe quel autre.⁹

La particularité de l'office de saint Jacques réside plutôt dans le fait qu'il est composé suivant le schéma monastique (13 antiennes et 12 répons).¹⁰ Cette singularité liturgique peut s'expliquer de deux manières: ou bien l'office a été composé par des moines à destination de leurs confrères galiciens, hypothèse qui présuppose l'existence d'un monastère auprès du tombeau de l'Apôtre; ou alors, l'office a été simplement copié sur un modèle monastique, quitte à laisser aux destinataires le soin de le réduire ensuite suivant les normes canonicales, comme cela s'est plusieurs fois produit au Moyen-Age pour d'autres offices propres.

Il faut remarquer ici que des offices séculiers à neuf répons pour st. Jacques existaient déjà à l'époque, par exemple dans l'église d'Angers¹¹ et que les destinataires auraient très bien pu se procurer un tel office s'ils en avaient eu besoin pour honorer l'Apôtre de la Galice. C'est donc en toute connaissance de cause que le compilateur du Livre I a fait copier cet office monastique.

Les textes des antiennes et des répons de l'office sont tirés de l'Ecriture ou de la *Passio major*. Ceux qui sont "de composition ecclésiastique", c'est-à-dire tirés de sources inconnues, sont, bien entendu, attribués au pape Calixte. On doit cependant remarquer que sous cette autorité se cachent des emprunts à d'autres offices: ainsi, le répons VIII, *Misit Herodes rex* (f. 109v, planche 5) emprunte texte et mélodie à un répons de la Décollation de st. Jean Baptiste,¹² tandis que l'antienne du Magnificat des secondes Vêpres *Ad sepulchrum beati Jacobi*¹³ (f. 103v, planche 6) est purement et simplement calqué sur un pièce propre de l'office de st. Germain, évêque d'Auxerre, non loin de Vézelay.

La mélodie des versets de répons est tantôt la mélodie standard indéfiniment applicable à tous les textes nouveaux (répons I, II et III de la Vigile; répons IV et VI de l'office de la fête), tantôt une mélodie nouvellement composée dans le style de celle des répons de sainte Madeleine, propres à Vézelay.¹⁴ Rien d'étonnant puisque la fête de la sainte précédait de deux jours les premières Vêpres de la saint Jacques:

9 Sur ce procédé, voir M. HUGLO, *Les tonaires* (Paris 1971) p. 122-128.

10 Tableau comparatif du schéma monastique et du schéma canonial dans M. HUGLO, *Les livres de chant liturgique, Typologie des sources historiques du Moyen-Age, Fascicule 52* (Turnhout 1988) p. 83.

11 Par exemple dans le bréviaire de la cathédrale d'Angers conservé à Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 299, ff. 490-493 (l'office est tiré de la *Passio major*). Je n'ai pu contrôler l'usage du même office dans les bréviaires d'Angers conservés à Paris.

12 R.J. HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 4 (Responsoria) n. 7167.

13 HESBERT (note 12) 3 (Antiphonae) n. 1252.

14 La mélodie de ces répons propres est connue par le ms. de la Vaticane, Archivio di Santo Pietro E

Suivant l'usage de l'époque, le traitement des répons en polyphonie¹⁵ concerne le répons prolixe des Premières Vêpres et le dernier de chaque nocturne (R/IV, VIII et XII, au rit monastique; R/III, VI et IX au rit canonial). C'est bien le cas ici, pour le répons des premières Vêpres *Dum esset* (f. 104v, planche 7; Wagner, p. 117), tandis que les trois autres répons à deux voix sont tous concentrés au IIIe Nocturne pour être chantés après les leçons IX, XI et XII, tirées d'une homélie sur l'évangile du jour attribuée à Bède le Vénérable.¹⁶ Remarquons au passage que cette même homélie se lisait encore à Vézelay au XV^e siècle.¹⁷

La messe propre (ff. 118-122 = Wagner p. 82-87; 91-92).

L'*Epistola beati Calixti*, au début du Livre I, fait état d'une grande variété d'usages dans le choix du répertoire adopté pour la fête de st. Jacques. Ce jugement, confirmé par l'analyse des graduels et missels, offre naturellement au compositeur du *Liber sancti Jacobi* l'occasion de présenter une messe propre nouvelle dont les textes ont été adaptés à des mélodies préexistantes du graduel grégorien.¹⁸

En 1173, un moine de Ripoll, Arnaud du Mont, vint à Compostelle pour transcrire la *Missa sancti Jacobi*; mais il transposa la notation de son modèle en notation aquitaine, alors partout répandue en Espagne à cette époque¹⁹ et il remplaça le titre de l'antienne de son modèle, *Communio*, par le terme catalan de *Combreganda* (f. 33, planche 8). Enfin, il laissa tomber les noms des "compositeurs": Calixtus en tête des deux premiers alleluia et Marcus devant le troisième *Vocavit*.

La comparaison des mélodies du Calixtinus à celles de la copie de Ripoll, entreprise par Peter Wagner, révèle un grand nombre de variantes mélodiques: il est cependant très délicat de porter un jugement sur ces variantes, faute de connaître la version mélodique des modèles musicaux de la *Missa sancti Jacobi*, tels qu'on les chantait à Ripoll...

2. Les compositions post-grégoriennes:

Les tropes, séquences, versus et conduits qui figurent dans le *Calixtinus* mériteraient à eux seuls une monographie. Il suffira seulement d'examiner quelques pièces en vue de tenter une approche des sources dont elles émanent.

25, dont l'ancêtre est un ms. de Conques (Paris, B.N. nouv. acq. lat. 443) qui groupe l'office de sainte Foy et celui de sainte Madeleine, deux saintes qui étaient titulaires d'un autel tout proche du maître-autel de la basilique de Compostelle. Pour plus de certitude, il faudrait pousser plus loin les sondages que j'ai entrepris pour comparer ces mélodies.

15 M. HUGLO, Règles pour le choix des répons à organiser à Notre-Dame, Das Ereigniss Notre-Dame, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 15.-19. April 1985 (Sous presse).

16 Liber primus, Capitulum VIII (WISTENBELL [note 2], p. 4).

17 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale 555, bréviaire de Vézelay. Je remercie M. Raymond Etaix, spécialiste des homéliaires latins, d'avoir bien voulu consulter ce manuscrit à mon intention.

18 Sauf pour le 2e alleluia et le 3e. Les modèles mélodiques des chants de la messe ont été signalés par WAGNER (note 2) p. 145, par PRADO, La Música (note 2), enfin par HELMER, The Mass of St. James (note 2) p. 65 ss.

19 Sur cette conversion de notations, voir les remarques pertinentes de P. DAVID, Études sur le Livre de st. Jacques attribué au Pape Calixte II, Bulletin des Études portugaises, N.S., t. 10 (1946) p. 29-30.

L'introit de la messe est précédé du trope d'introduction *Ecce adest nunc Jacobus* (f. 133, planche 9; Wagner, p. 97) qui est, du moins au début, un démarquage du trope de Noël *Ecce adest de quo prophetae*, fort répandu en Allemagne et en Aquitaine, ainsi qu'à Nevers.²⁰

Les tropes du Kyrie, du Gloria in excelsis et du Sanctus sont adaptés sur des mélodies très répandues: le texte du trope de l'Hosanna du Sanctus (f. 138v, planche 10) est répandu en Catalogne et à Moissac, tandis que le trope de l'Agnus Dei, *Qui pius ac mitis* (f. 139, planche 11), n'est connu que par une seule source, le graduel de St. Cyran-en-Braine (Paris, BN lat. 10511), proche de Vézelay.²¹

Pour le choix des séquences et des conduits, le compositeur de cet ensemble liturgique a opéré une sélection judicieuse parmi l'immense production que s'offrait à lui tant en Aquitaine qu'en Bourgogne. Mais pourquoi a-t-il retenu trois conduits *ad lectionem* et non un autre, tel celui du manuscrit de Paris (BN lat. 2096: *Columnarum trium*), directement inspiré du Nouveau Testament? On ne saurait le dire. Il faut peut-être supposer que, devant l'abstention des monastères clunisiens situés au nord de la Loire à l'égard des pièces du nouveau style, le compositeur a dû entreprendre sa quête dans le répertoires du Limousin et de l'Aquitaine – Ste Foy-de-Conques et surtout Moissac – en vue de sélectionner les pièces les plus aptes à honorer l'apôtre.

3. Les compositions "polyphoniques" (ff. 214-217).

Les chants à deux voix du *Codex Calixtinus*, bien que transcrits après le Guide des pèlerins (Livre V), sont en relations directes avec les pièces liturgiques du Livre I, comme nous l'avons constaté plus haut pour les répons. Par ailleurs, Hendrik van der Werf a montré au cours de ce Symposium que la contexture mélodique du troisième alleluia (*Vocavit Jesus*, f. 119v, planche 12) supposait une composition simultanée de la *vox principalis* et de la seconde voix.

Il faut encore rappeler que le contrepoint du conduit *Congaudeant catholici* (f. 214, planche 13) a été ajouté par une seconde main sur la même portée que la *vox principalis*.²² Cette pièce est attribuée au chantre Albert parce que ce genre de composition à trois voix semble avoir été introduit pour la première fois à Notre-Dame vers 1170. Le nom de *Magister Albertus Parisiensis* semble bien de seconde main: cependant, cette addition n'est pas aussi évidente que les autres qui sont logées en interligne ou qui "pénètrent" parfois dans l'espace réservé à la notation musicale. Ce chantre, qui dirigea le chœur de la cathédrale St. Etienne-de-Paris durant trente-cinq ans²³ avait assisté au couronnement du roi Louis VII – croisé à Vézelay en 1146 – et de la reine Adèle, qui eut lieu à Notre-Dame en 1161.

20 R. JONSSON, *Corpus Troporum* 1 (Stockholm 1975) p. 82. Cf. PRADO (ap. WHITFIELD, note 2) p. 92, n. 20.

21 G. IVERSEN, *Corpus Troporum* 4 (Stockholm 1980) p. 77, n. 59. Je remercie Madame Iversen de m'avoir communiqué en détail ses recherches sur le trope de l'Hosanna. En attendant la publication de ses travaux sur les tropes de l'Ordinaire, on pourra recourir utilement aux monographies de l'Ecole d'Erlangen (Melnicki, Bosse, Thannabaur etc.) qui n'ont pas été mis à contribution par HELMER (note 2) pour son commentaire des chants de la messe.

22 F. 185: facsimilé dans LÓPEZ CALO, *La Música* (note 2) p. 46.

23 Sur le chantre Albert, voir G. BRÜCKNER dans *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin* (Strasbourg 1962) p.

La plupart des autres noms, non compris celui de Calixte II, antérieurement Guy de Bourgogne, sont d'origine bourguignonne²⁴ et se situent chronologiquement dans la fourchette de 1123 à 1174.

Le *Codex Calixtinus*, dans son état actuel, ne peut être antérieur à 1150, ni postérieur à 1180.²⁵ Il est la copie d'un recueil de cinq livres différents se rapportant tous à saint Jacques, à ses miracles, à sa légende, à son culte et à son pèlerinage: d'où son nom de *Liber sancti Jacobi*. La plus ancienne copie de ce livre, le *Codex Calixtinus*, permet aux critiques de dépister les sources et de dater les différents constituants, dans la mesure du moins où le compilateur anonyme n'a pas trop embrouillé les traces de leurs origines. Le *Calixtinus* a peut-être modifié en partie son modèle, le *Liber sancti Jacobi*: pourquoi, par exemple, a-t-on écarté de la fête de la translation les six leçons de trois strophes rythmiques *Lectiones secundum Leonem papam et magistrum Parucham*?²⁶

Le Livre I, recueil liturgique complet destiné au culte de l'apôtre, a fort bien pu être commandé par les moines qui desservaient la basilique avant le transfert du siège épiscopal d'Iria à Compostelle. Aussi, que l'office et la messe aient été compilés à Vézelay n'a rien qui puisse étonner, lorsqu'on prend conscience de la puissance de cette abbaye située dans le comté de Nevers, au début du XII^e siècle. Non loin de l'église abbatiale s'élevait l'église des pèlerins qui venaient vénérer la Madeleine avant de partir en direction de sud vers l'Espagne. Au pied de la colline de Vézelay, l'église St. Jacques d'Asquins, desservie par les moines de Vézelay, permettait le rassemblement des pèlerins en partance pour Compostelle.²⁷

Le *Liber Calixtinus* ne porte pas de traces d'usage, suivant les minutieuses observations du professeur DÍAZ Y DÍAZ: mais cette conclusion ne saurait insinuer que le *Liber sancti Jacobi*, modèle du *Calixtinus*, n'a jamais servi au culte. Les nombreuses rubriques précisant les modalités d'exécution des chants impliquent plutôt le contraire.

Il est très possible que vers 1173 on ne célébrait plus que la Messe du *Calixtinus* en présence des pèlerins, suivant ainsi les prescriptions de l'*Epistola beati Calixti papae* (ed. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, p. 339, ll. 101-110). Au XV^e siècle, la messe de st. Jacques

107-126, la note de C. WUORR dans le *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986) p. 9, note 23, et C. WUORR, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge 1989) p. 278-281.

24 Albericus Abbas (1131-1148), Albericus Bituricensis (1136-1141), Albertus Parisiensis (1142-1174/77), Ato Trecentensis (1123-1145), [Calixtus papa (1119-1124)], Goslenus Suessionensis (1126-1152), Guilelmus, patriarcha Hierosolomitanae ecclesiae (1130-1145), Rotbertus cardinalis romanus (1144-1146). Comme ces noms ont été ajoutés de seconde main, il faut en conclure qu'ils ne figuraient pas dans le modèle (le *Liber sancti Jacobi*) et que leur insertion n'a pu être faite qu'après 1175: une telle datation rejoint les conclusions paléographiques de M. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (voir note suivante).

25 M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago. Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 314 ss.

26 *Analecta Hymnica* 17 p. 211-213. Dans le manuscrit de Paris, BN lat. 3088, f. 7, cette "épitre" est intitulée *Contra Hyberias naenias et aniles fabulas quae de beato Jacobo Apostolo proferuntur. Incipit epistola beati Leonis papae etc.* (Catalogus cod. hagiographicorum lat. Paris. 1, p. 288).

27 *Monumenta Vizeliacensia* (ed. HUYGHE, *Corpus Christianorum*, Cont. medievalis XLII [1976]), p. 399, 404, 530 et passim. Voir aussi l'introduction, p. 2, note 2.

du *Calixtinus* est encore en usage dans le missel de St.-Jacques-la-Boucherie²⁸ pour le jour de la fête patronale, mais aussi pour les groupes de pèlerins qui partent pour Compostelle en plein Carême.

En 1494, le pèlerin autrichien Hieronymus Münzer cite dans son "Journal"²⁹ des pièces liturgiques qui figurent encore à ce jour dans les bréviaires compostellans du XV^e siècle, manuscrits ou imprimés. On lui montra aussi le *Jacobus* qui contient "tout ce qu'il faut pour les lectures et les chants des jours de fête".

Mais à cette époque il y avait longtemps déjà que la polyphonie de Notre-Dame avait pénétré à Tolède et que l'*Ars nova* avait cessé d'être pratiqué en Aragon, tandis que les tropes, versus et conduits avaient disparu sans avoir même pu franchir le seuil du XIV^e siècle...

Epilogue

Le lien entre Vézelay et Compostelle, qui vient d'être décelé d'après plusieurs indices d'ordre paléographique, liturgique ou archéologique (cf. note 14), est fortement consolidé par un nouvel argument. En effet, d'après le bréviaire de Vézelay (cf. note 17) et d'après celui de Compostelle, brièvement décrit par J. JANINI,³⁰ la date anniversaire de la dédicace des deux basiliques est fixé au 21 avril.³¹ Nul ne songera que cette singulière coïncidence est l'effet d'un heureux hasard: au contraire, cette identité de date de dédicace – dont l'histoire monastique fournit bien d'autres exemples – a été délibérément voulue afin de manifester pour toujours les relations étroites unissant la communauté monastique de Vézelay, et celle de Compostelle à ses débuts, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'époque du tranfert du siège épiscopal d'Iria *ad limina sancti Jacobi*.

28 Paris, BN lat. 17315: V. LEROQUAIS, *Sacramentaires et Missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, (Paris, 1924), t. III, p. 221. Ce missel m'a été signalé par Alejandro Planchart que je remercie ici.

29 Le passage en question de l'*Itinerarium* de Münzer, si important pour l'histoire du *Codex Calixtinus*, a malencontreusement été sauté dans l'édition de L. PFANDL dans *Revue hispanique*, t. 48 (1920) p. 95 et ss. Il faut le lire dans le ms de Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 343, f. 173v.

30 Manuscritos litúrgicos de las Bibliotecas de España, I, Castilla y Navarra (Burgos 1978) p. 244.

31 La dédicace de Vézelay eut lieu le jeudi 21 avril 1104 (*Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, ed. Huyghens [note 27] p. 114). Ce jour de semaine adopté pour cette cérémonie exceptionnelle n'infirmait pas l'usage général fixant au dimanche la dédicace solennelle d'une église. En effet, la dédicace de Vézelay ne pouvant évidemment pas s'accomplir le dimanche de Pâques, on fixa la cérémonie au jeudi suivant, puisque la péripécie de l'évangile de ce jour (Jo 20, 11-18) rapporte l'apparition de Jésus ressuscité à Madeleine.

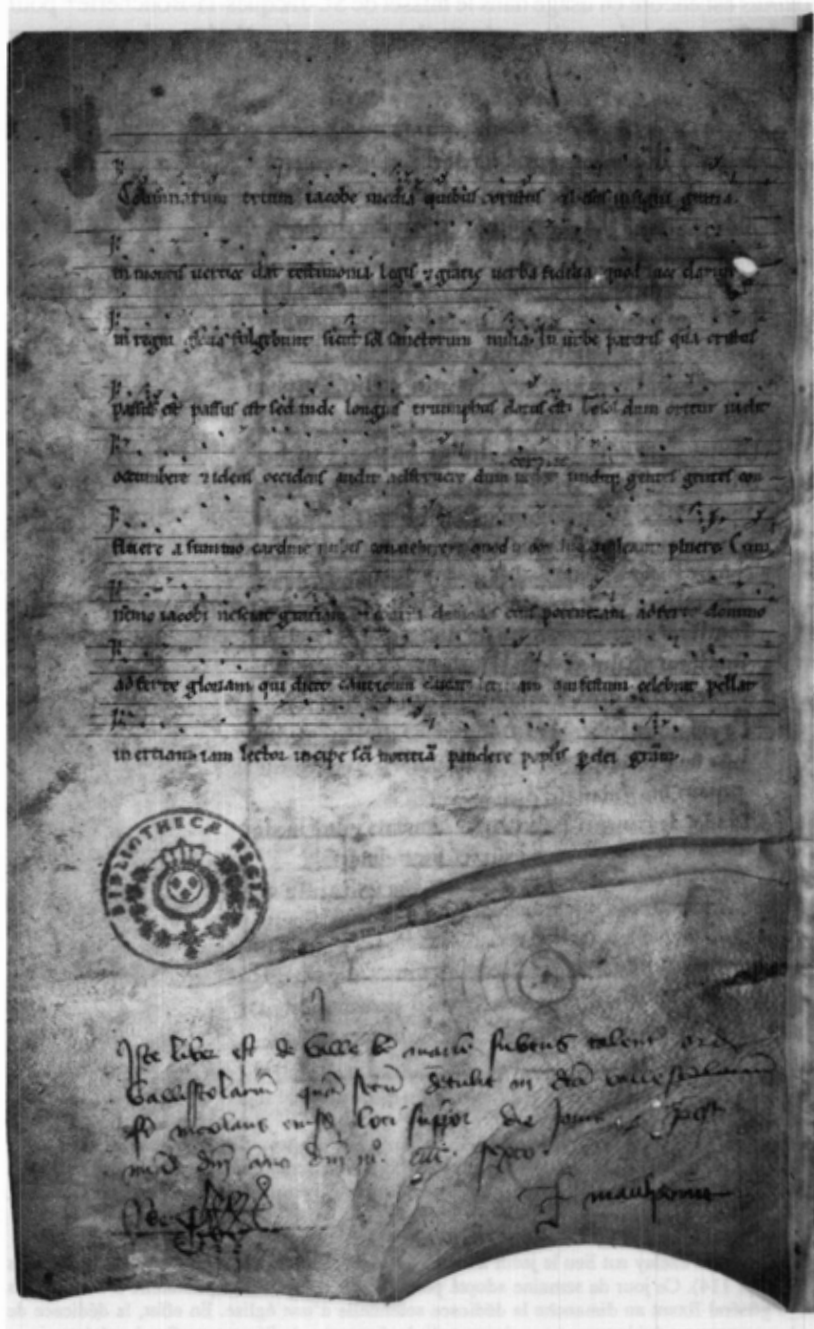


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 2096, f. 92v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)

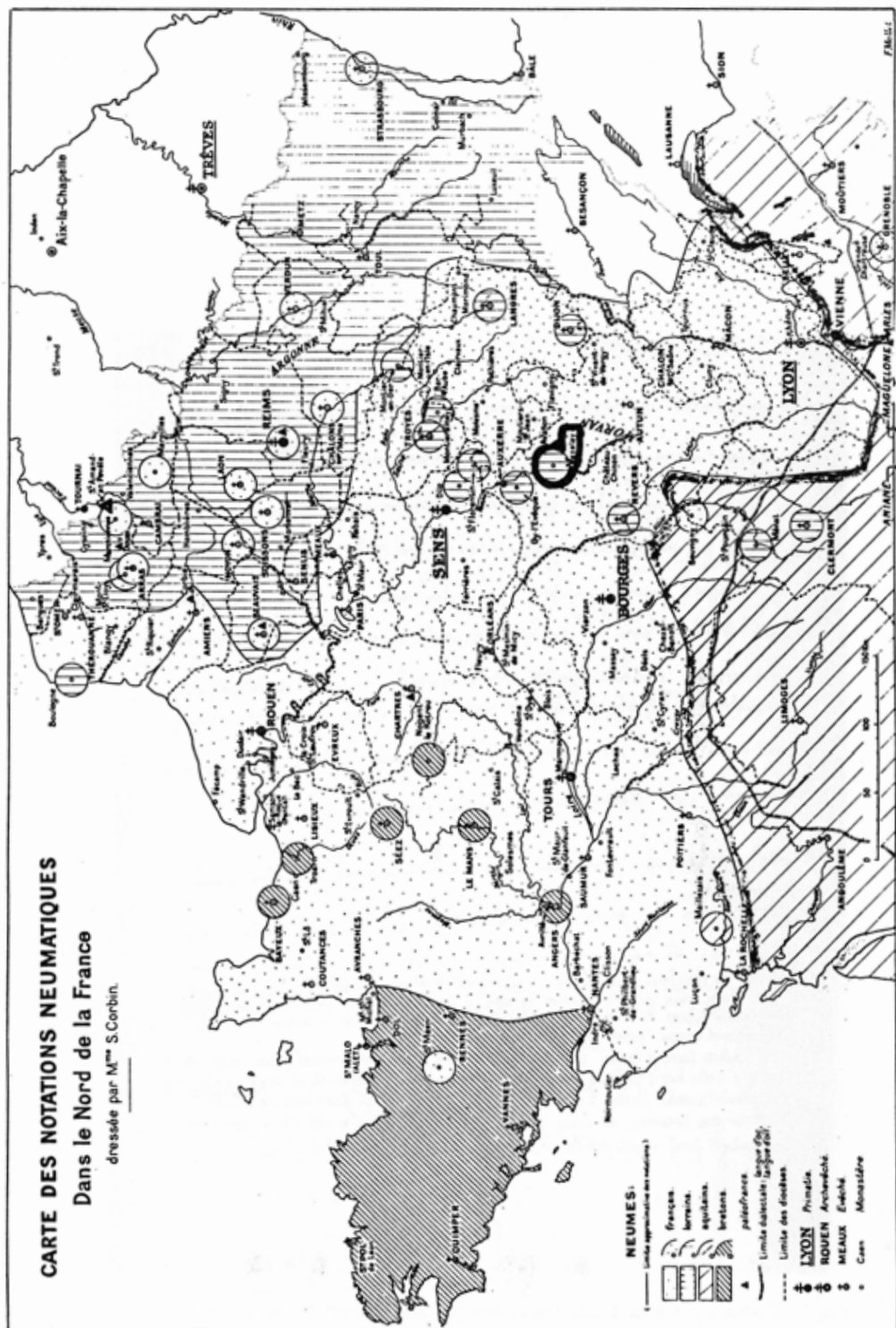


Fig. 2: Cartes des notations neumatiques (S. CORBIN, Répertoire des manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales)

114

lib. i. cap. xxi

Seruo ecclesie
una dextera. exorae. y florae. car. mil. a. **S**tatum percul-

fic hero dem an gelus domini eo quod non de dislet glori-

am deo iaco bum q. pmissit et sevens uer mibus erpi-

rauit alleluia. exorae. toni. a. adcc. **I**acobe magne supplan-

tari: nomine supplanca nos a uenis tuis alms meritis. exorae.
oracio. s. a. & Ora p nob beate iacobe. & r. digni efficiam gra di-
de exaltio marci. & Imposuit ihs iacobo et iohi. Moia boanerges
de actib; aptoz. & Occidit aut hodes iacobu. frē iohis gladio alta alla.
de libro sapiencie. & Iacoby fuit magni. Scdm nom suū alla alla.
de lib sapiencie. & Ipse ē direct diuini. In penitencia sua alla alla.
de libro sape. & In uita sua fec mōst. Et in morte mirabilia opat ē alla a
Seruo marci. car. tus. i. to. 11. **R**esponsoria; Cap. r

ALVATOR pro. aressus

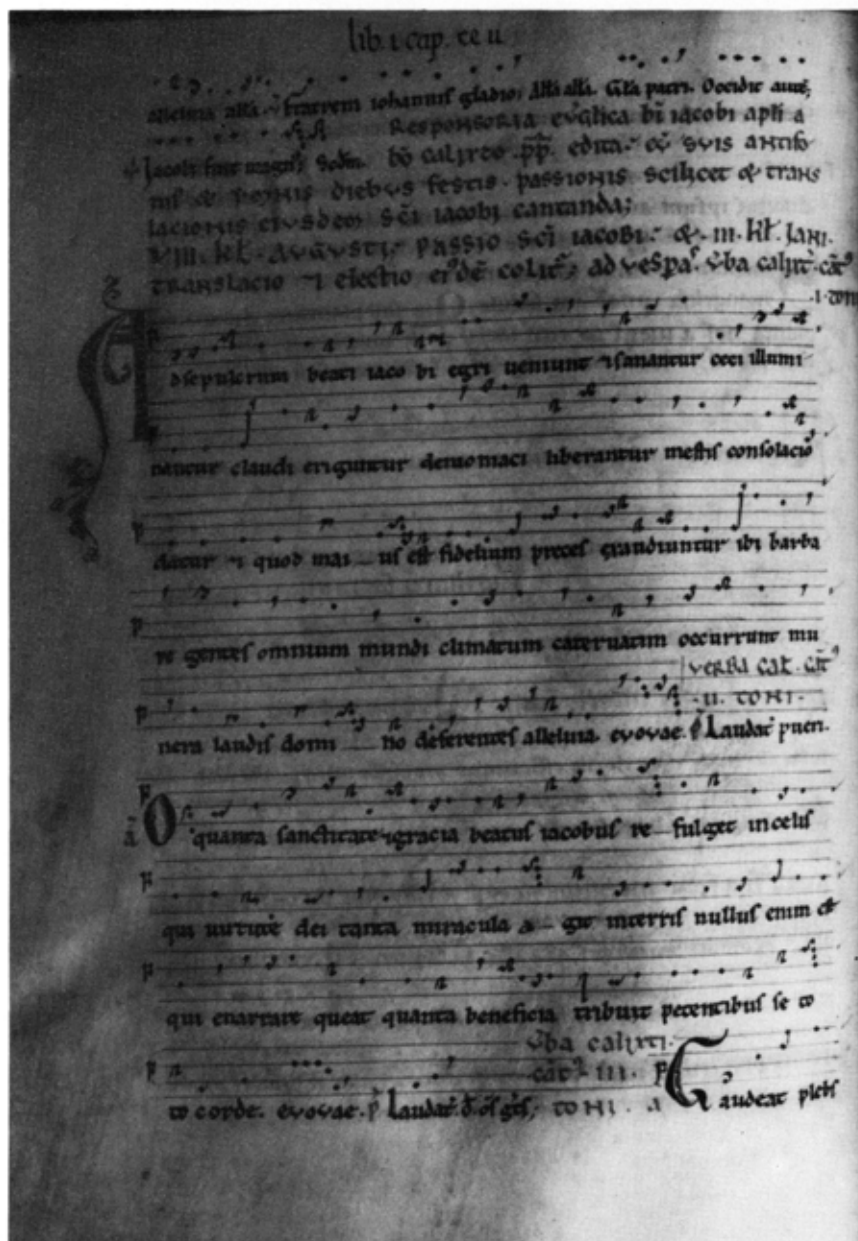
pul illum se cul u cul ga hie

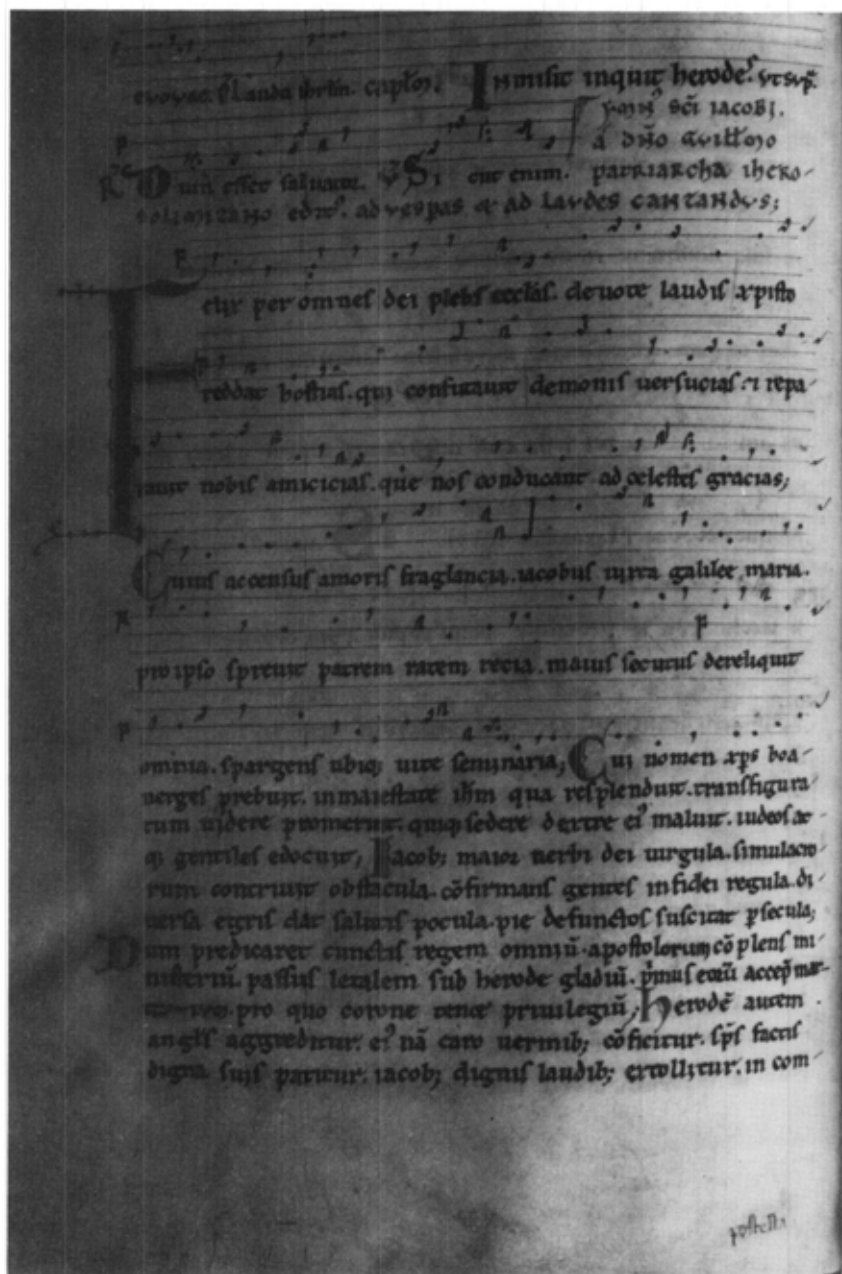
e undir ia colum re. be

de i et iohannem fratrem e ul et ip sol in nam.

Fig. 4: Codex Calixtinus, f. 107 Responsoria (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig. 5: Codex Calixtinus, f. 109v *Misit Herodes* (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig. 6: Codex Calixtinus, f. 103v *Ad sepulchrum beati Jacobi* (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig. 7: Codex Calixtinus, f. 104v *Dum esset* (Photo: Alison Stones)

This block contains the right-hand page (33v) of the manuscript. It features six staves of musical notation in square neumes on red four-line staves. The text is written in a Gothic script. The first staff begins with a large decorated initial 'A'. The text continues down the page, with some lines of text appearing without accompanying music.

This block contains the left-hand page (33r) of the manuscript. It features six staves of musical notation in square neumes on red four-line staves. The text is written in a Gothic script. The first staff begins with a large decorated initial 'N'. The text continues down the page, with some lines of text appearing without accompanying music. The page number '33' is visible in the top left corner.

Fig. 8: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll MS 99, f. 33 (Photo: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón)

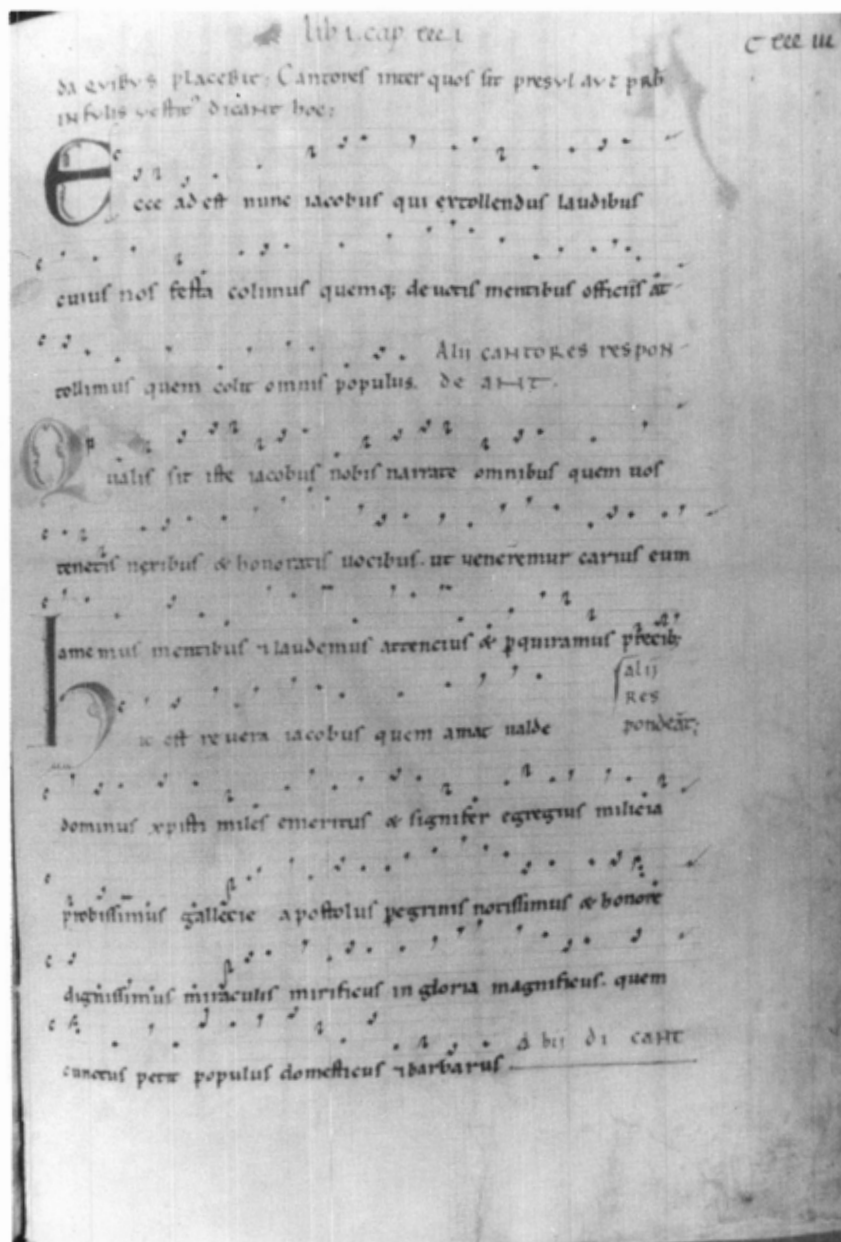


Fig. 9: Codex Calixtinus, f. 133 *Ecce adest nunc Jacobus* (Photo: Serafin Moralejo)

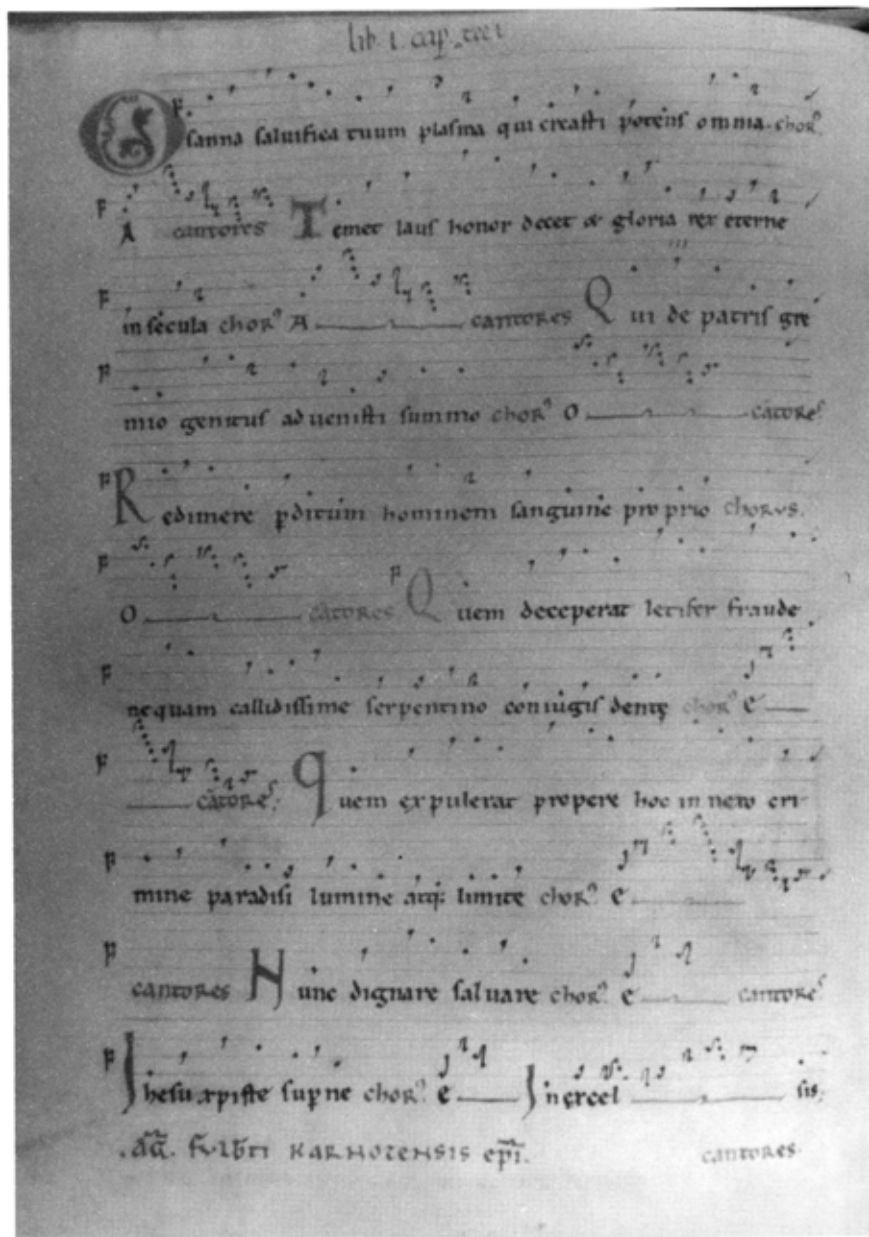


Fig. 10: Codex Calixtinus, f. 138v Tropes du Sanctus (Photo: Serafín Moralejo)

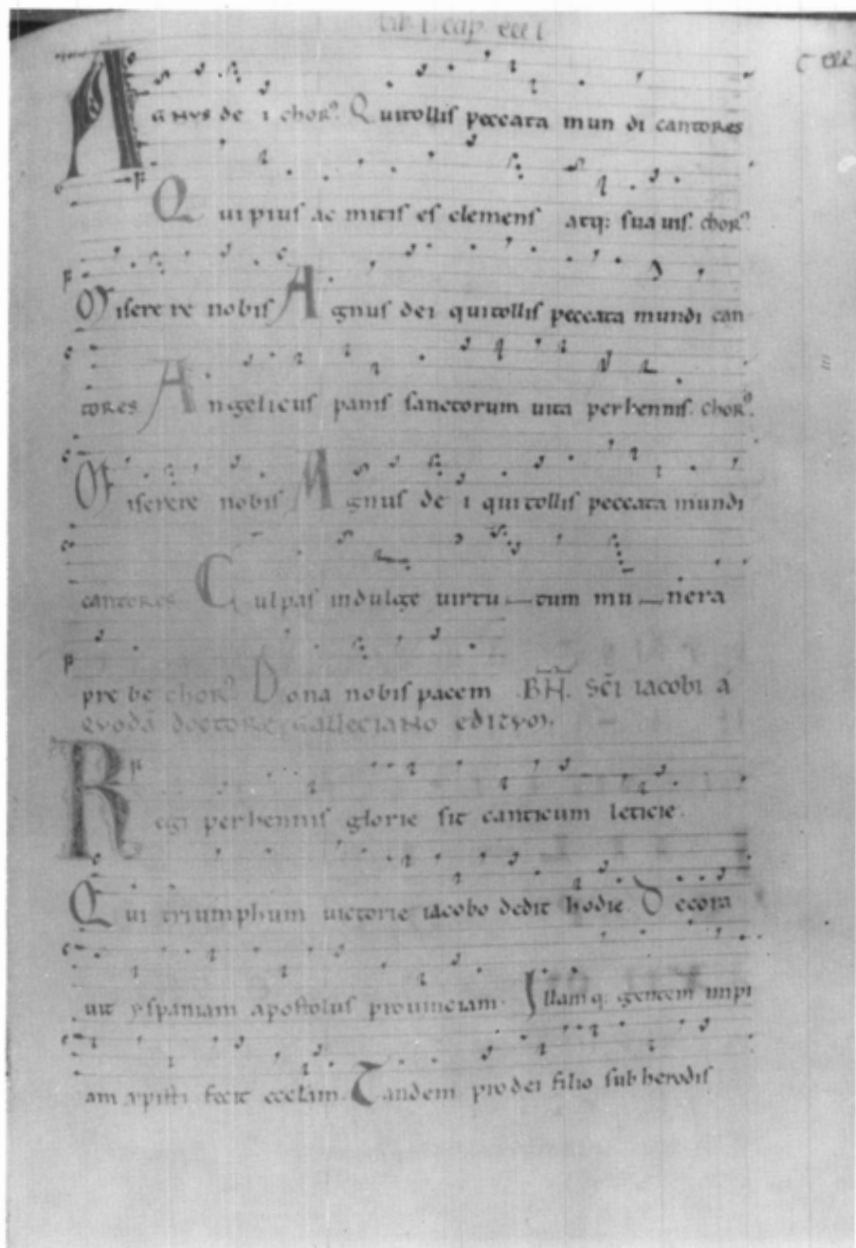


Fig. 11: Codex Calixtinus, f. 139 *Qui pius ac mitis* (Photo: Serafín Moralejo)



Fig. 12: Codex Calixtinus, f. 119v *Vocavit ihesus; Gratulemur et letemur* (Photo: Alison Stones)

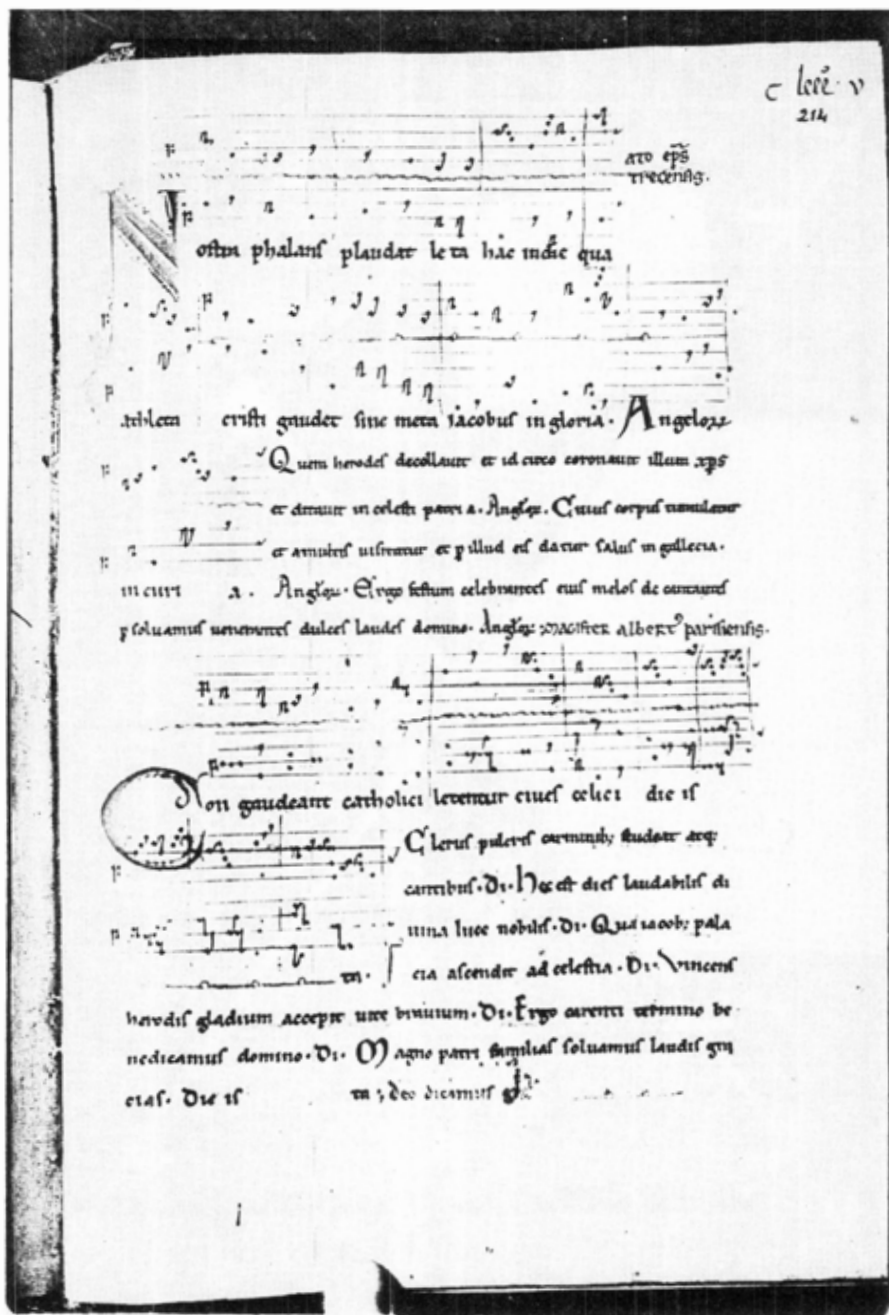


Fig. 13: Codex Calixtinus, f. 214 *Nostra phalanis; Congaudeant catholici* (Photo: Alison Stones)

The Polyphonic Music¹

HENDRIK VAN DER WERF

Twenty polyphonic compositions are presented, in score notation, after the fifth and last Book of the *Codex Calixtinus*. They constitute approximately one fourth of the polyphonic repertory that has been preserved in manuscripts dating from before 1200, and that can authoritatively be transcribed into modern score. In polyphonic style, these compositions vary rather widely. At one extreme are pieces in pitch-against-pitch style, in which the two voices have the same number of pitches and, presumably, simultaneously move from one pitch to the next. At the opposite end of the spectrum are pieces in which one voice, usually the higher sounding one, has far more pitches than the lower one, and in which the latter is presumed to sustain its pitches in a manner congruent with the melismas of the former. Due to the shape of their compound neumes (i.e., notational symbols representing two or more pitches) the compositions in sustained-pitch style are notated more clearly in the *Codex Calixtinus* than in other more or less contemporary collections.² Moreover, in several instances, what is the lower voice of a polyphonic composition appears as a Gregorian melody for one voice in its proper liturgical position in Book I of the *Codex*. Thanks to these two features, the compositions for two voices in the *Codex Calixtinus* are of great help in establishing the style of the earliest known forms of Western polyphony. This, in turn, helps us in deciphering some of the not so clearly notated pieces in the other sources of the time.

Ironically, the knowledge of style thus gained may well deprive the *Codex Calixtinus* of one of its claims to fame. Some scholars are of the opinion that it is the first source, other than didactic treatises, to contain a composition for more than two voices. The piece concerned, "Congaudeant catholici" (f. 214, fig. 1), seems to have three voices, two of which are notated in the usual manner, that is, in black notes on two staves. The third voice is given in red notes on the lower staff, and may have been entered by the scribe who wrote the black notes. The two melodies in black notes constitute a composition in the same style as many other pieces for two voices of the period concerned. Similarly, the two melodies on the lower staff, one in black and the other in red notes, form a normal composition for two voices. If all three voices are combined, however, the composition has dissonances in a frequency and a style that are contrary to all traditions we know for Western poly-

1 The author's presentation during the Symposium primarily consisted of excerpts from his forthcoming book on the polyphonic music preserved in manuscripts from before 1200. In addition, some parts had already been printed for a Festschrift in honor of Professor López Calo to be published in the very near future. In order to avoid duplication, the following is a shortened version of the paper read in Pittsburgh.

2 Despite this general clarity of notation, for a number of passages, all of them short, the vertical alignment of the two voices is not precisely known. Colour reproductions of all pages with polyphony were published in J. López Calo, *La Música medieval en Galicia* (La Coruña, 1982) p. 45-51, with transcriptions in modern notation, p. 137-167.

phony from any period. The same dissonances pertain if the melody on the upper staff is combined with the melody in red notes on the lower staff. All in all, we do well to join those scholars who hold that "Congaudeant catholici" (fig. 1), as preserved in the *Codex Calixtinus*, actually consists of two settings for two voices each.

In a fifty-year old study that still has great value, Peter Wagner pointed out that several of the Gregorian chants for the Mass and the Office in Book I consist of old melodies with new texts; the melodies are found in many liturgical books whereas the texts, all of them in honor of St. James, are found only in the *Codex Calixtinus* and in the copy made in 1173 by a monk from Ripoll.³ Wagner singled out two Alleluya Verses as unica in respect to both text and melody; quite rightly he added that these are not the only Alleluya Verses to occur in only one source. In addition, Wagner drew attention to a, for Gregorian chant, highly unusual passage near the end of "Alleluya Vocavit Jesus". Indeed, over the last syllable of the word "Boanerges", the monophonic version descends a sixth (from b to D) by alternately going down a third and going up a second (f. 119v, fig. 2). The clue to this atypical passage must be sought in its polyphonic setting (ff. 218v-219, figs. 3-4). Over the last syllable of "Boanerges", the two voices are in continuously contrary motion, that is, one voice goes up when the other goes down; in the process, the upper voice descends an entire octave. In a setting for two voices it is a clever pattern, whereas it is clumsy and meaningless in a monophonic composition. Very similar passages are found in other compositions for two voices and we may safely assume that all were conceived for polyphonic performance.

In its monophonic version, "Alleluya Vocavit Jesus" (f. 119v, fig. 2) has a hybrid character. It has some characteristics of Gregorian chant so that both Peter Wagner and the medieval monk from Ripoll could readily accept it as a monophonic melody. At the same time, however, its clearly designed form, its strong tonal orientation on the pitch D, and the above-mentioned passage over "Boanerges" make the melody somewhat atypical for Gregorian chant. In fact, the latter features make it serve a polyphonic setting much better than other, more typically Gregorian melodies for the Mass and the Office. All in all, "Alleluya Vocavit Jesus" may well have been conceived to serve both a monophonic and a polyphonic rendition.

If my evaluation is correct, the polyphonic version of this specific Alleluya Verse is likely to have been in existence when the monophonic one was entered into Book I of the *Codex*. This conclusion is at odds with the theory of Peter Wagner, and some other scholars, that the polyphonic music was composed significantly later than the texts and the melodies in the preceding parts of the *Codex Calixtinus*. I have been unable to find any decisive corroboration for this

3 P. WAGNER, Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela aus dem sogenannten Codex Calixtinus [Collectanea Friburgensia, Neue Folge, Fasc. XX] (Freiburg/S, 1931) p. 145. As M. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ has most recently pointed out, other manuscripts also include some or all these texts: Salamanca, B. Univ. 2631; London, BL Add. 12213; Vatican, Arch. San Pietro C. 128; Lisbon, BN Alcobaca CCCII (334). See M. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 327-333.

theory. Admittedly, the polyphony seems to have been entered by a scribe other than the one who did the monophonic melodies in Book I. However, their overall style of notation is so similar that they are more likely to have been contemporaries than members of completely different generations. Even though the polyphony stands after Book V, it does not constitute a separate gathering appended to the *Codex*; instead, it begins on the third folio of a gathering containing four leaves. If Book V had been intended as the final section of the *Codex*, the scribe would have had little reason to take a new leaf for each of its last two folios; one leaf would have sufficed. Thus, when Book V was nearing completion, the person who supervised the entire project knew that more material was to be included. Finally, as Alison Stones points out elsewhere in this publication, the minor initials of the polyphonic compositions are very close in style to some of the minor initials in Book I and may perhaps be by the same hand.

It is not difficult to explain the fact that the polyphonic compositions are given in a separate section of the *Codex*, rather than in Book I, together with the other texts and melodies for the liturgies in honor of St. James. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, we notice some kind of push-and-pull between what we may call liturgical "purists" and "liberals". The former wanted the cantor and the schola to use only biblical texts for the Proper of the Mass and the Office; the latter also liked to hear, or perform, other texts, such as *Prosae* or *Prosulae*. The former also wanted to restrict the cantor's musical repertory to the melodies generally attributed to Pope Gregory, while the latter also accepted other material such as a certain type of melisma, often called "Sequentia". In the liturgical books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as Missals and Antiphonals, the texts and melodies frowned upon by the purists, are rarely given together with the ones they accepted; instead, Sequences and *Prosae* often appear either in separate books, or in separate sections of the liturgical books. Monophonic Gregorian chant was generally considered the music for the liturgy; thus, in the case of the *Codex Calixtinus*, it was not necessarily strange that the polyphonic compositions were excluded from Book I.⁴

In order to place Wagner's theory in the proper perspective, it should be recalled that c. 1930 little was known about medieval polyphony in general. The best known examples were the few short snatches for two, three, or four voices that appear in treatises. We now know that the didactic pieces appearing in these treatises are quite different from what we may call the "practical" compositions of the period. No precise dates are known for the collections from Aquitaine, but it is likely that the oldest one predates the *Codex Calixtinus* by a few decades, while the youngest ones are either roughly contemporary to it or younger. Where polyphonic style in general is concerned, the music for two voices in the *Codex Calixtinus* is neither very innovative nor noticeably old-fashioned for its time. All in all, there is no

4 In Book I, f. 131 (fig. 5), one complete conductus and the beginning of another one have two voices; the second voice was added in red notes after the melody in black notes was entered. The red notes seem to have been written by a scribe other than the one who wrote the black notes. I do not know whether they were added by the scribe who wrote the polyphonic music after Book V or by yet another person.

reason to retain a theory that was never proven and that assigns all polyphonic compositions in the *Codex Calixtinus* to the late twelfth century. Basing my opinion on generally accepted dates for other manuscripts from before 1200, I can safely submit that they can just as well have been composed an entire century earlier than has been assumed thus far.

In further support for this conclusion, it may be added that two polyphonic compositions in the *Codex Calixtinus* share their music with pieces appearing in other collections of the period. As Bruno Stäblein noted, the music for "Ad superni regis decus" (ff. 214v-215v, figs. 6-8) is virtually identical to that for "Noster cetus psallat letus" appearing in three Aquitanian sources.⁵ Sarah Ann Fuller seems to have been the first to notice that the music for "Gratulantes celebremus" (f. 214v, fig. 6) is very similar to that for "Ad honorem sempiterni regis" appearing in the youngest of the Aquitanian sources discussed by her.⁶ This collection almost certainly is younger than the *Codex Calixtinus*, but the oldest source for "Noster cetus psallat letus" is likely to have been compiled c.1100. Most importantly, as I hope to show soon, the polyphony in the Aquitanian sources and the *Codex Calixtinus* is not experimental or primitive; instead, it is a repertory with well-developed and sound traditions. Although a given composition in the *Codex Calixtinus* may have been composed as late as the middle of the twelfth century, its style is likely to have originated well before the beginning of that century.

5 Paris BN lat. 1139, f. 61; Paris BN lat. 3719, f. 30, and London, BL Add. 36881, f. 3. B. STÄBLEIN, *Modale Rhythmen im St. Martial Repertoire? Festschrift Friedrich Blume* (Kassel and Basel 1963) p. 346.

6 London, BL Add. 36881, f. 22v. S.A. FULLER, *Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Dissertation, University of California (Berkeley, 1970) II, p. 457.

c. lxxxv
214

ostm phalanſ plaudat le ta hac indie qua
 athleta cristi gaudet sine meta iacobus in gloria. **Angeloꝝ**
 Quem herodes decollauit et id circo coronauit illum xps
 et dicitur in celesti patri a. **Angeloꝝ**. Cuius corpus transiit
 et amplex uisitatur et p illud est datus salus in galilea.
 in curia a. **Angeloꝝ**. Ergo festum celebrantes eius melos de cantant
 p soluamus uenemur dulces laudes domno. **Angeloꝝ** magister albert^{us} parisiensis.

Congraudeant catholici letentur ciues celici die is
 Clerus pulchris carminibus studet atq;
 cantibus. **Di.** Hec est dies laudabilis di
 uina luce nobilis. **Di.** Quia iacob; pala
 tia ascendet ad celestia. **Di.** Vincens
 heredis gladium accepit uite biniuum. **Di.** Ergo carenti utrimo be
 nedicamus domno. **Di.** Magno patri famulas soluamus laudes gra
 tias. **Die is** ta ; deo dicamus

Fig. 1: Codex Calixtinus, f. 214 *Nostra phalans; Congraudeant catholici* (Photo: Alison Stones)



Fig. 2: Codex Calixtinus, f. 119v Alleluia Vocavit ihesus; Gratulemur et letemur (Photo: Alison Stones)

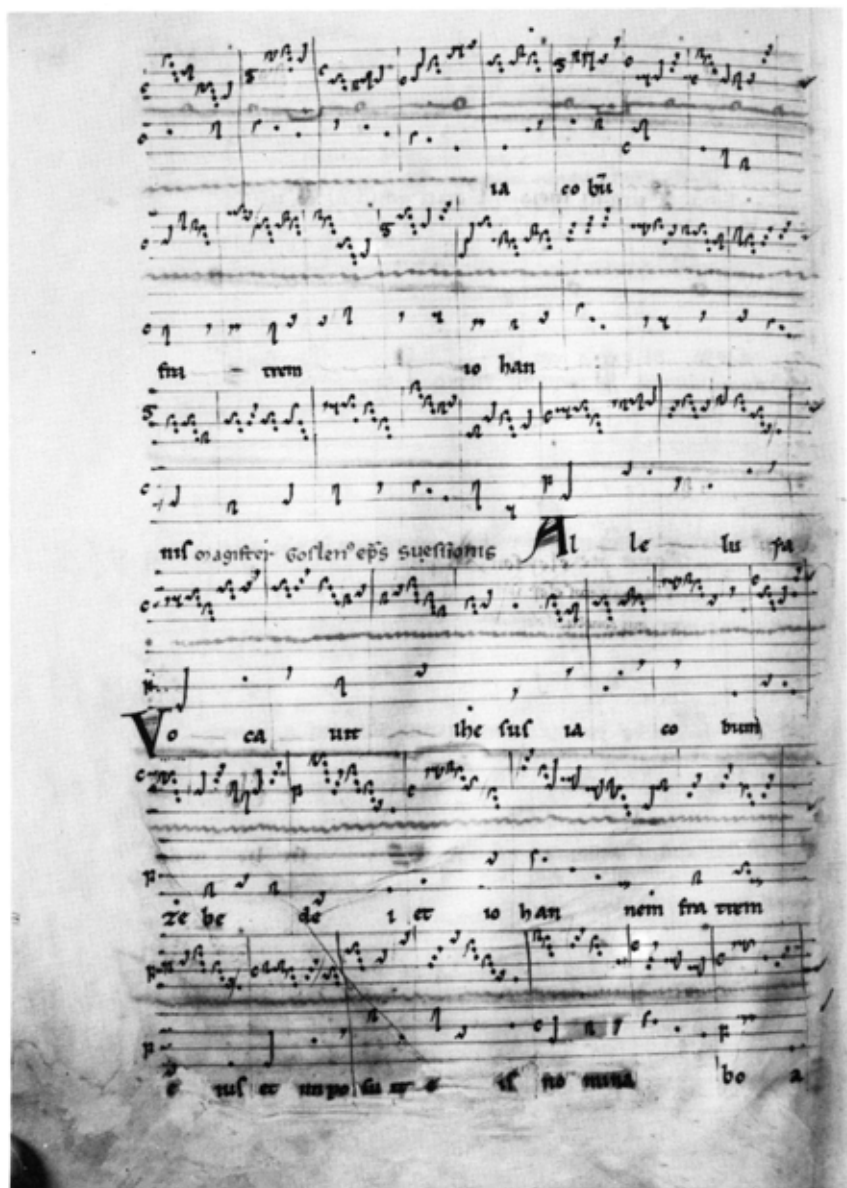


Fig. 3: Codex Calixtinus, f. 218v Alleluia Vocavit ihesus (Photo: Alison Stones)



Fig. 4: Codex Calixtinus, f. 219 Alleluia Vocavit ihesus; Cuncti potens genitor; Benedicamus (Photo: Alison Stones)

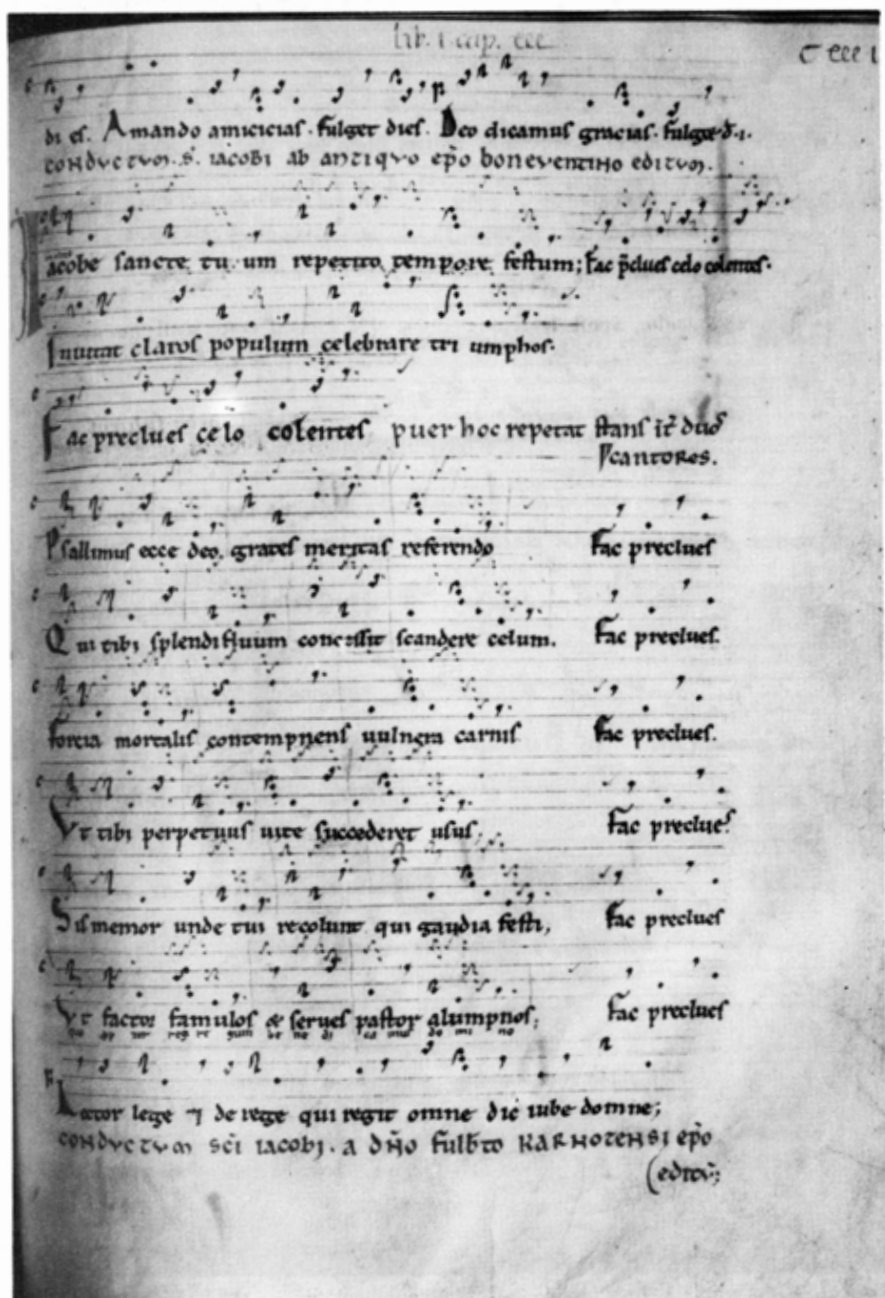


Fig. 5: Codex Calixtinus, f. 131 *Iacobe sancte* (Photo: Alison Stones)



Fig. 6: Codex Calixtinus, f. 214v *Gratulantes celebremus; Ad superni regis decus* (Photo: Alison Stones)



Fig. 7: Codex Calixtinus, f. 215 *Ad superni regis decus* (Photo: Alison Stones)

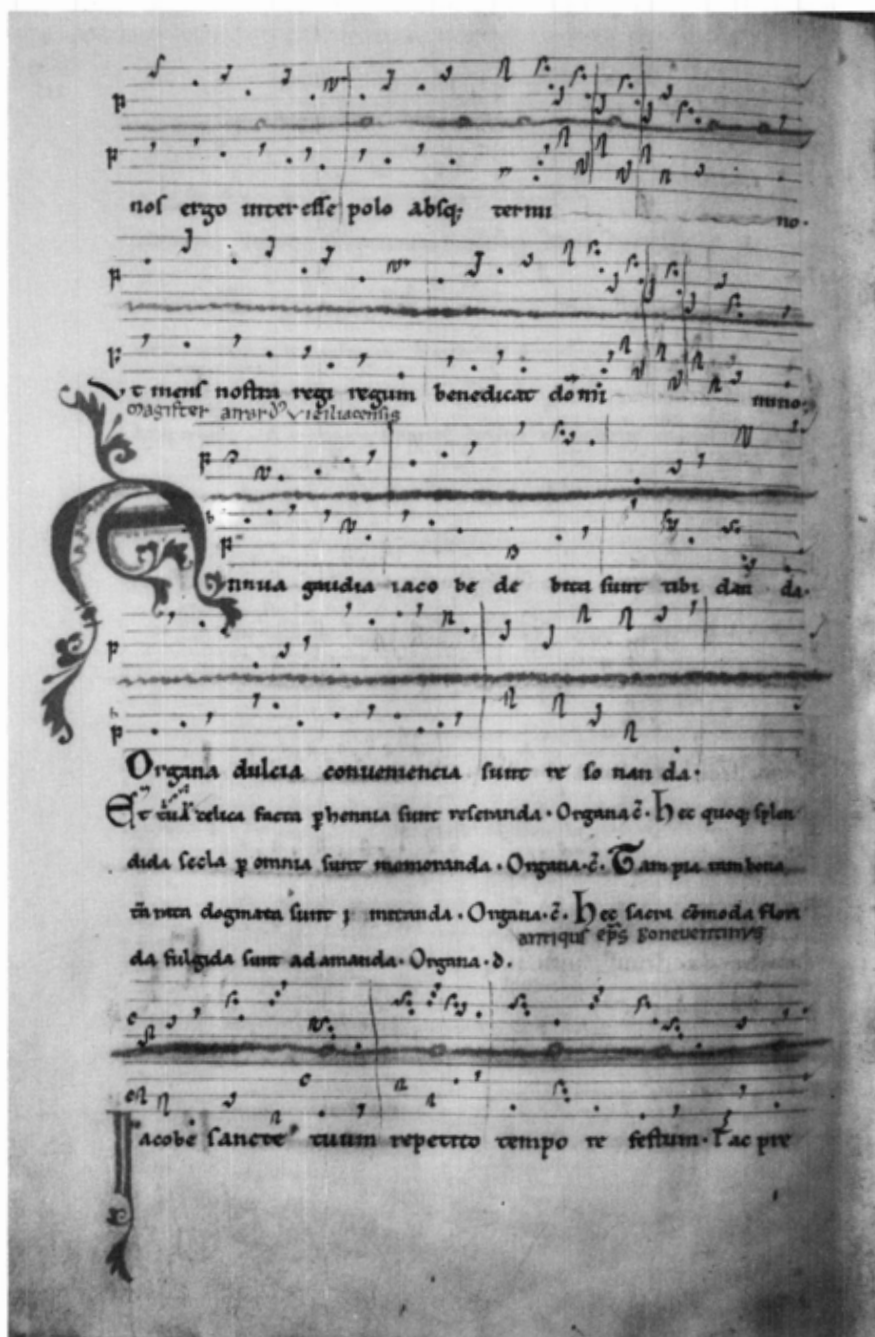


Fig. 8: Codex Calixtinus, f. 215v *Ad superni regis decus; Annu gaudia* (Photo: Alison Stones)

The Decoration and Illumination of the *Codex Calixtinus* at Santiago de Compostela

ALISON STONES

It is with some trepidation that I venture to offer a few remarks on some of the physical aspects of the Compostela manuscript,¹ the more so as Professor Díaz y Díaz' 1988 monograph has so recently presented us with a more highly detailed and sophisticated technical analysis of its parchment, page layout, inks, scripts with their variations and additions, than is currently available for most other medieval books.² The application of scientific techniques to the study of codicology and palaeography makes the analysis of decoration and illumination, still rooted in the traditions of stylistic and iconographical interpretation, seem subjective and amateurish in comparison. We have not yet developed fully objective methods of comparing the foliage motifs, dragons' wings, facial features or drapery folds on which so much of our search for visual comparisons depends. The search for comparisons is itself still too much a matter of serendipity in the absence of complete or even representative sources of visual documentation in the form of photographs or slides of other manuscripts of likely comparable date and provenance. Here too, the search is perhaps conditioned in geography and chronology by the expected outcome so that the arguments take on disconcertingly circular patterns.

What concerns me here are the twelfth century phases of production of C and especially the miniatures and decorated initials that accompany the work of its first and second scribes.³ My aim is to examine the illumination that accompanies both

1 Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, no shelf number, siglum C; called *Jacobus* on its opening page, a name it shares with three later manuscripts: London, BL Add. 12213, Vatican City, BAV Arch. S. Pietro C 128, both dating c.1325, and Madrid, BN 7381, copied in 1657.

2 M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago, Estudio Codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela 1988); review by the present author in *Speculum* 66 (1991). An indispensable accompaniment is still the transcript of the Compostela manuscript's texts in their entirety by W.M. WHITEHILL, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus, I* (Santiago de Compostela 1944), hereafter W. An annotated translation is A. MORALEJO, C. TORRES, J. FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela 1951). For editions and translations of Book V, see F. FITA Y COLOME and J. VINSON, *Le Codex de St-Jacques. Livre IV* (Paris 1882) p. 1-20, 225-268, 268-70; J. VIELLIARD, *Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, texte latin du XIIe siècle, édité et traduit en français d'après les manuscrits de Compostelle et de Ripoll* (Macon 1938, many editions and reprints); K. HERBERS, *Der Jacobsweg, mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela* (Tübingen 1986), abridged; P. CAUCCI VON SAUKEN, *Guida del Pellegrino di Santiago, Libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus, secolo XII* (Milan 1989); M. BRAVO LOZANO, *Guía del Peregrino medieval ("Codex Calixtinus")* (Sahagún 1989). There is a facsimile only of Book V: C. ROMERO DE LECHE, J. GUERRA CAMPOS, J. FILGUEIRA VALVERDE, *Libro de la Peregrinación del Códice Calixtino* (Madrid 1971). It should be used with caution as seventeenth-century and other marginal annotations do not show up on the plates.

3 The participation of different scribes was first recognized by A. HAMEL, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Munich 1950) p. 65-75, refined by K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der "Liber Sancti Jacobi"*. Studien über das

these phases of the production of C in relation to comparative material and in relation to the internal dating arguments made on textual grounds by others. I will invoke stylistic comparisons to support the view at which others have hinted, that the execution of the first phase of production of C occurred in a strongly French milieu, deriving its stylistic sources primarily from Normandy, the Loire and western France; and I suggest a re-examination of the termini that may even allow for that phase to have taken place before the death of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez in 1140. So my position on the date of production modifies, by moving it slightly earlier, those of Hohler and Herbers, and I use the decorated initials of the appendix to support van der Werf's case for the musical supplement to be roughly contemporary with the First Campaign; for the second phase of production I opt for Compostela c. 1173, a view that is in accord with Díaz y Díaz.⁴ I draw here upon visual comparisons that were on view in the University Gallery during the conference as an exhibition of photographs.⁵

Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter (Wiesbaden 1984) p. 25-27 and most recently analysed in detail by Díaz y Díaz (note 2) p. 271-308, where arguments are presented for subdividing the work attributed to hand 1 by Hänel and Herbers into two: one scribe for Book I (hand 1A), a second for the first campaign of execution in Books II-V (hand 1B). I also include here a consideration of the decoration in the other twelfth-century sections, the added half-leaf, f. 128, and the musical supplement on ff. 214-219v. See my table of distribution in Appendix A below.

- 4 For Hohler (note 8, p. 48), the earliest possible date was 1145; Herbers (note 3, p. 38), argues for c. 1140 for the Liber Sancti Jacobi; Díaz y Díaz (note 2), is in favour of later dates, between 1140 and 1160 (p. 77, 269, 283) or c. 1150-60 (p. 315, n. 25); see van der Werf in these conference papers. For scribe 2 see Díaz y Díaz (ibid., p. 293). French stylistic sources have been most clearly suggested by Sicart (note 13), Avril (note 19) and Burin (note 35). My working chart of the divisions of script and decoration in C in relation to the textual structure and dating termini of the codex is Appendix A. To follow the chart in detail it is necessary to have Whitehill's edition to hand, a feat easier to accomplish in the U.S.A., where every reputable University library has a copy, than in Europe: see the lament in Herbers (note 2, p. 16, note 20). In Paris, the only available copies were in private hands until a xerox of the University of Pittsburgh's copy was deposited in the Cabinet des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale. Also on the list of unfindable publications of crucial importance is Compostellum, available in the U.S.A. only at Harvard, where the series is incomplete, and nowhere in France.

- 5 My comparisons come from a variety of sources, to which a large number of individuals have contributed; no work in this area would be possible without access to photographic resources that extend beyond the limits of what a single individual can put together. Particularly valuable have been the photograph collections at the Briege Collection at the University of Toronto; the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute, University of London; the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota (HMML); the Photothèque of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT), Orléans and the Boîtes Porcher at the Cabinet des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. I am grateful to Ann Hilty, Constance Hill, Julian Plante, Jonathan Black, Thomas Amos, Gregory Sebastian O.S.B., Odile Lépinay and François Garnier, and their staff, for facilitating my work in these collections. At the Conway Library, the photographs of J.J.G. Alexander, C.R. Dodwell, and Marie Montpetit provided the most helpful starting-points. The first-hand search in metropolitan and provincial libraries was facilitated by the kind co-operation of numerous librarians and scholars. My work at Santiago was made possible by the kindness of the Canon Archivist, Illmo. Sr. D. José Díaz Fernández. My thanks are also due to F. López Alsina, M.C. Díaz y Díaz, Theodore Hauschild, Serafin Moralejo, Isaias da Rosa Pereira, Angel Sicart Giménez and John Williams for their generous assistance in Spain and with Spanish and Portuguese material. For pertinent discussion of French and Iberian stylistic parallels I am indebted to Jonathan Alexander, François Avril, Larry Ayres, Adelaide Bennett Hagens, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, the late T. Julian Brown, Elizabeth Burin, Walter Cahn, Aliza Cohen, Willene Clark,

C is a codex that presents difficulties from every point of view: its texts, scripts, illustration and decoration, provenance and cultural context are all problematical, not to mention the vexed issues of who made this copy and why.⁶ It does not fit easily into a simply defined category of book. There is nothing else that is quite like it: *Libelli* or shrine books containing texts in honour of a particular saint, of which the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries produced a plethora, tend to include a liturgy, a *Vita*, miracles, and, most important in such luxury books, a set of illuminations showing the life and miracles of the saint.⁷ C does not have a *Vita* as such: the Passion of St. James is recounted twice in Book I, as part of the liturgy,⁸

Françoise Gasparri, Monique-Cécile Garand, Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, Michel Huglo, Patricia Stirnemann, Jean Vezin, Hendrik van der Werf and Yolanta Zaluska. I thank Paula Gerson for taking many of the photographs that illustrate this article and Elizabeth A.R. Brown for helpful editorial suggestions.

- 6 I leave aside, in relation to C, the question of a possible archetype, whether CC or LSJ, largely because I remain unconvinced of the existence of any such compilation prior to C and I, for reasons given below. The notion of a CC is useful, however, in relation to other copies, as it allows one to sidestep the issue of how they relate to C.

- 7 The rediscovery of the tomb of St. James by bishop Theodemir is represented in the Cartulary of Santiago, Tumbo A, on f. 1v. See M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, S. MORALEJO, F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, Los Tumbos de Compostela (Madrid 1985) pl. II. The same image is copied in the earliest surviving copy of the Historia Compostellana, Salamanca BU 2658, f. 14 (early 13th c.) and reproduced in colour facing p. xxiii in the edition by E. FALQUE REY, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout 1988). The fundamental study of saints' lives is F. WORMALD, Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 35 (1952) p. 248-266, reprinted in F. WORMALD, Collected Writings II. Studies in English and Continental Art of the Later Middle Ages, eds. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown, J. Gibbs (London 1988) p. 43-56. Recent studies include B. ABOU-EL-HAJ, The First Illustrated Life of Saint Amand: Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502 (Diss., University of California, Los Angeles 1975); M. BAKER, Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, with an appendix by D. H. FARMER, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 41 (1978) p. 16-49, arguing that the book was made not as a shrine book but for private ownership; B. ABOU-EL-HAJ, Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, B.M. MS 502, Art Bulletin 61 (1979) p. 342-359; M. E. CARRASCO, Some Illustrations of the Life of St. Aubin (Albinus) of Angers (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS.n.a.l.1390) and Related Works (Diss., Yale University 1980); C. HAIN, Narrative and Liturgy in the Earliest Illustrated Lives of the Saints, Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS 189 (Diss., The Johns Hopkins University 1982), another book claimed for private rather than public ownership; R. ARGENT SVOBODA, The Illustrations of the Life of Saint Omer (Saint-Omer Bibliothèque municipale, MS 698 (Diss., University of Minnesota 1983); B. ABOU-EL-HAJ, Bury Saint Edmunds Abbey between 1070 and 1124: A History of Property, Privilege and Monastic Art Production, Art History 6 (1983) p. 1-29; M.E. CARRASCO, Notes on the Iconography of the Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Albinus of Angers, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 47 (1984) p. 333-348; C. HAIN, Passio Kiliani/Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae/Orationes. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex MS I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover, Kommentarband (Codices selecti LXXXIII, Graz 1988); M.E. CARRASCO Two Miracles by St. Albinus of Angers, Art History 12 (1989) p. 1-20; eadem, Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun. MS 250), Art Bulletin 72 (1990), p. 414-435; WACE, La Vie de saint Marguerite. Édition, avec introduction et glossaire, par Hans-Erich Keller. Commentaire des enluminures du ms. Troyes 1905 par Margaret Alison Stones (Tübingen 1990), certainly another book made for private, and female, ownership. For narratives illustrating a saint's life in ivory see J. HARRIS, The Arca of San Millán de la Cogolla and its Ivories (Diss., University of Pittsburgh 1989).

- 8 The *Modica Passio* (C Book I, ch. iv, W 36-38) is a version known to Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius and claimed by Calixtus (W 93) to be of great authority; the *Magna Passio* (C Book I, ch. ix, W 94-103), much longer and more colourful, including St. James' triumph over the magician Hermogenes, is based on Pseudo-Abdias (summarized in M.R. JAMES, The Apocryphal New Testa-

and commented upon in the sermons in Book I; the Translation of St. James to Spain is treated separately, again in two accounts, as Book III, chapters i and ii, preceded by the 22 Miracles of St. James that comprise Book II. The other two major components of C, Pseudo-Turpin's account of Charlemagne's Spanish wars, including the death of Charlemagne's nephew Roland, that comprises Book IV, and the so-called Pilgrim's Guide that forms Book V,⁹ have no parallel among the *Libelli*, and the same could be said of the texts that follow Book V in C, the polyphonic songs, supplementary miracles, fragmentary sequence, 'authenticating' papal bull, alleluia in Greek, and other miscellaneous Jacobite texts.

Unlike the *Libelli*, which seem in the main to have been luxury copies intended for display,¹⁰ the illustrations in C lack precisely what is most prominent in the *Libelli*: a sequence of miniatures devoted to St. James. The three narrative scenes in the manuscript illustrate events associated with the text of Book IV, the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle about Charlemagne (ff. 162 and 162v, figs. 17, 18, 21, 22); the passion, miracles and translation of St. James have only a single portrait of the saint at the beginning of Book I (f. 4, fig. 1). The rest of the illustration is confined to the portrait initial of Calixtus that illustrates the Prologue to Book I (f. 1, fig. 27), the portrait initial of Archbishop Turpin that opens Book IV (f. 163[olim 1], fig. 25), 18 large coloured foliate and dragon initials on coloured backgrounds (figs. 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46, 48) and two sets of smaller initials in one, two or three colours on blank parchment (figs. 50, 53-70).¹¹ It is possible that miniatures about St. James are now missing at the beginning of the codex, as the first quire lacks its opening leaf,¹² and perhaps another quire of miniatures originally preceded it. If so,

ment, Oxford, 1924, p. 462-4), preceded by a prologue in which Calixtus says he translated it from Greek to Latin. The *Magna Passio* appears in fact to be what was in use in Santiago and vicinity before and after C. See the discussion by Robert Plötz in this volume, and A. LÓPEZ FERRERO, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela 1898) I, p. 399-440 and P. DAVID, *Études sur le Livre de Saint-Jacques attribué au Pape Calixte II*, *Bulletin des Études portugaises* 10-13 (1946-9) and offprints, esp. 1949, p. 16; C. HOHLER, *A Note on Jacobus*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 31-80, esp. p. 46. Calixtus' Prologue to the *Modica Passio* is not altogether complimentary about the *Magna Passio* (W 36); but the *Magna Passio* is also what the Pistoia manuscripts include as their selection from Book I (see my review of DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, note 2), and is part of the Lisbon manuscript's selection; see *Catalogue of Manuscripts* by A. STONES and J. KROCHALIS in *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, a critical edition and annotated translation by P. LIEBER GERSON, J. KROCHALIS, A. SHAVER-CRANDALL, A. STONES (forthcoming). It is interesting that Arnault de Munt did not see the need to copy either *passio* in his selection made in 1173 (*ibid.*) and below.

9 This title is not in the text itself, either in C or in any of the other 11 manuscripts that include it. It appears for the first time, as *Itinerarium ad sanctum Iacobum in Galicia*, on the title-page to one of the short version copies of CC, Vatican City, BAV MS Borgh 202, written in a hand of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century; see STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8).

10 See the caveats in note 6.

11 Tabulated in A. STONES, *Four illustrated Jacobus manuscripts*, in: *The Vanishing Past, Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, eds. A. BORG and A. MARTINDALE, B.A.R. International Series 111 (Oxford 1981) p. 197-222.

12 DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (note 2), p. 147, 149. The other quire in C that is irregular is no. 23a, a bifolio written by hand 3, containing the description of the Liberal Arts (*ibid.*, p. 152-3). Possibly it may have replaced an original quaternion with miniatures (HOHLER, note 8, p. 35); but there are also arguments that it was nothing more than a later addition to the text (STONES, note 11, p. 200). See also note 7 above for miniatures showing the discovery of the tomb of St. James.

they must have been already missing by the time the British Library and Vatican copies were made c.1325, as there is no reflection of such miniatures in either, nor in the Salamanca manuscript of about the same date;¹³ and other evidence for the existence of early narrative cycles about St. James is slender.¹⁴

13 These three are the only illustrated copies: London, BL Add. 12213, Vatican City, BAV Arch. S. Pietro C. 128 and Salamanca, BU 2631, of which the first two, like C, are called *Jacobus*, see note 1. See A. SICART GIMÉNEZ, *La Miniatura medieval en Galicia. Resumen de la memoria presentada para la obtención del Grado de Doctor, Universidad de Santiago, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Sección de Historia del Arte*, (Santiago 1978) and idem, *Pintura medieval. La miniatura* (Santiago de Compostela 1981) p. 64-88 and STONES (note 11). The fourth *Jacobus* manuscript, mentioned above in note 1, Madrid, BN 7381, lacks illumination. The Salamanca manuscript does preserve illustrations that are not in C or the other copies: a vision of Turpin historiated initial, instead of the portrait of Turpin that C has at the beginning of Book IV, and a picture at the end of Book V showing St. James Matamoros. I argued in 1981 (STONES, as note 11) that they reflect an earlier tradition than C. This position depends either on such miniatures being already lost to C by the time the illustrations in Add. 12213 and Arch. S. Pietro were copied from C, or on C depending on (and selecting from) an earlier, illustrated copy. The former situation is possible but unlikely: the structure of quire 21, in which the illustrations occur, is irregular in that the two illustrated leaves, ff. 162v and 163, are two singletons on which the text is written by the first scribe at the beginning of the quire, conjoined with two more singletons at the end, whose text is copied by the second scribe; the first scribe wrote the two intervening bifolia. One could argue that the text copied by the second scribe is replacing illumination on two folios that are now lost, but their position at the end of the quire makes this unlikely, particularly as the break between the scribal hands, both here and in the following quire, occurs in mid-sentence and without interruption of meaning; and the place where further illustration might make better sense of the existing miniatures is between the two warriors' scenes that, in all the illustrations that survive, are juxtaposed on the same page. The simplification of an earlier illustrated Turpin is perhaps still the best explanation of what is in C, and perhaps also of what is in Salamanca, but it depends on one's acceptance of the notion that C cannot be the archetype of Book IV. C. MEREDITH-JONES, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris 1936, reprinted Geneva 1976) first suggested that C was an elaboration of the short version, his A family. This is not to claim, and Meredith-Jones did not, that Book IV was composed for CC, and it does not imply a CC earlier than C; merely an earlier version of Pseudo-Turpin. The only problem is the absence of a surviving illustrated copy among Meredith-Jones' A group, or indeed anywhere else in the Latin CC tradition. For a possible lost model see next note.

14 Any comparison with the alleged Charlemagne scenes at Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, has been shown to be irrelevant, as I. SHORT, *Le pape Calixte II, Charlemagne et les fresques de Sta Maria in Cosmedin*, *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970) p. 229-238, has convincingly demonstrated that the subjects there are from Ezekiel, not Pseudo-Turpin. I thank Neil Stratford for drawing my attention to Short's article, which allows one thankfully to reject any notion of Mediterranean prototypes for the narratives in C. On the other hand, the four scenes once visible in the church of St. James at Stoke Orchard (Glouc.) are an example of late-twelfth-century Jacobite narrative; the scenes are based on the *Magna Passio*, which was widespread, rather than on the Miracles and Translation, and so they need not depend on CC texts or be related to the patterns of distribution of CC. Given the attitude expressed elsewhere in C about the *Magna Passio* it is probably unlikely that any possible prefatory miniatures in C were based on it (see note 8). For copies of the Stoke Orchard paintings see SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, *Mil ans de pèlerinage européen* (exh. cat., Gent 1985) no. 374 and A. BAKER, *Wall-Paintings in Stoke Orchard, the Cycle of the Life of St. James the Great*, *Archaeological Journal* 123 (1966) p. 79-119. The manuscript tradition of CC in England is not extensive and consists almost entirely of manuscripts that contain only Book IV, the Pseudo-Turpin; the exception is London, BL Cotton Titus A.XIX which also has an incomplete Pilgrim's Guide (Book V). For Titus see A. HAMEL, *Aus der Geschichte der Pseudo-Turpin-Forschung*, *Romanische Forschungen* 57 (1943) p. 229-245; idem, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin* (Munich 1950) p. 73; idem, *Los manuscritos latinos del Falso Turpino*, in: *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal IV* (Madrid 1953) p. 72; C. MEREDITH-JONES p. 16; A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance et développement de la Chanson de Geste en Europe: I La Geste de*

The miniatures and historiated initials in C are all in the sections of text written during the First Campaign of production and illustrate Books I and IV.¹⁵ The foliage and dragon initials, with one exception, are also in the texts copied by the first scribes, in Books I, II, IV and V.¹⁶ Minor initials occur in all five Books and in the songs that complete the last quire of Book V; major distinctions of style within the minor initials also correspond to the two major campaigns of writing.¹⁷

The major chronological distinctions within the decoration are those between the miniatures, historiated initials, dragon and foliage initials and minor coloured initials that accompany the texts copied by the first scribes on the one hand, and the one foliage and dragon initial and the minor initials that accompany the script of the second scribe on the other. Further stylistic distinctions within the first group of miniatures and within the first group of initials suggest the participation of a number of individuals in the First Campaign.

The First Campaign: the St. James portrait

The figure style is best epitomised in the well-known portrait of St. James at the opening of Book I on f. 4 (fig. 1) with its frontal stance and distinctive pleated drapery that reappears on the bed in which Charlemagne (before restoration) dreams of St. James and the Milky Way (fig. 18). The St. James portrait is more highly modelled than any other, in a more painterly technique, probably as a reflection of the central role played by St. James in the *Liber* that, in C, is named after him.¹⁸ His facial features can be paralleled in the face at the top of the interlace initial on f. 121 (fig. 2). The facial types of Calixtus (fig. 27) and Turpin (fig. 25), are similar, and their draperies, though drawn in coloured line rather than painted, also show comparable distinctive pleating; probably all are the work of the same artist.

The St. James image presents formal analogies to the frontal Christ blessing portrait-type such as appears free-standing in the initial I of St. John's Gospel in the

Charlemagne et de Roland (Geneva and Paris 1961) p. 383 and 409, and the Catalogue of Manuscripts by STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8). For other English copies of CC, see HAMEL, MEREDITH-JONES and MANDACH *passim*. The evidence for a lost illustrated manuscript depends on the words in the preface to Baudouin de Hainaut's copy, offered c. 1180 to Frederick Barbarossa. Baudouin's original is lost, but an early fourteenth-century copy, Madrid, BN 1617, preserves its text, though not the illustrations that Baudouin cryptically refers to as being at the beginning of the codex (H.M. SMYSER. *The Pseudo-Turpin*, Edited from Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656. [Cambridge, Mass., 1937, repr. New York, 1970], p. 110). Conceivably Baudouin's manuscript depended, in turn, on an earlier illustrated copy.

15 By DÍAZ Y DÍAZ's (note 2) hands 1A (responsible for Book I) and hand 1B (the First Campaign in Books II-V); see also STONES (note 11), p. 218-222 and Appendix A below.

16 For lists see STONES (note 3), p. 218-222. Within the work of the first illuminator there are some distinctions of hand, discussed below.

17 As with the dragon and foliage initials, there are many subtleties of distinction within the initials that accompany the first campaign of writing, suggesting the participation of several individuals.

18 'Jacobus iste liber vocatur' is inscribed in coloured capitals on the opening folio in C and three other copies, see note 1.

Angers Gospel Book (fig. 3)¹⁹ or within a frame in the Mazarine Hugh of St. Victor (fig. 4).²⁰ The type is prevalent all over France for other saints or prophets; some of those most pertinent here are St. James the Less in the second Bible of Saint-Martial, Limoges, c.1100 (fig. 5),²¹ St. John the Baptist in the BN Homilies from Saint-Germain des-Prés (fig. 7),²² St. Gregory in the Tours Moralia (fig. 6),²³ the monumental figures of St. Peter and St. John in the Missal of Barbechat (dioc. Nantes),²⁴ or Isaiah in the Paris Bible from Le Mans or Southern France (fig. 8),²⁵ and St. Michael in the Bible made in all likelihood in Normandy for William of St. Carilef, bishop of Durham, in exile in Normandy between 1088 and 1091 (fig. 12),²⁶ or figures from the secular world, like Charlemagne and others in the Cartulary of Vierzon (fig. 9)²⁷ and Bishop Hugh Payen of Le Mans (fig. 11).²⁸ Also of note are the figures in the Anglo-French Pliny in Le Mans,²⁹ although the predominantly purple-maroon colours have little to do with the palette of C, where lines in red and green are dominant, and background colours are pale blue, dark green and ochre.

C's technique is closest to the examples in line-drawing and colour wash; those examples are also the ones that appear to offer the best parallels for the facial

- 19 Angers, BM 25, f. 85, from Saint-Serge, Angers, see AVRIL in F. AVRIL, X. BARRAL I ALTET, D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris 1983) p. 176, fig. 144, with an attribution to the first quarter of the twelfth century.
- 20 Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 729, f. 90v from the region of Vendôme(?). Cf. Vendôme, BM 23, Tours, BM 321 and Paris, *Chambre des Députés 2* (for the latter see W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Fribourg 1982) no. 80, attributed to the middle Loire or Berry in the third quarter of the twelfth century). I thank Patricia Stirmemann for drawing my attention to the Mazarine manuscript.
- 21 Paris, BN lat. 8, vol. II, f. 228. See J. PORCHER, *La miniature française du VII au XIIe siècle*, (exh. cat., Paris 1954) no. 325; D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du XIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris/Geneva 1969) p. 177-8, fig. 131, CAHN (note 20) no. 85; see also the somewhat more swirling drapery on the standing figure in the Limoges Lectionary, Paris, BN lat. 254, f. 67v (GABORIT-CHOPIN, p. 105, n. 26).
- 22 Paris, BN lat. 12409, f. 118, Homiliary of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.
- 23 Tours, BM 320, f. 147. Photos in the Boîte Porcher, BN Paris.
- 24 Paris, BN n. a. lat. 1890, f. 102, a miniature neatly inserted onto the leaf. See V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris 1924) I, no. 159, pp. 317-9.
- 25 Paris, BN lat. 10, f. 113v. Attributed by PORCHER (note 21, no. 218) to Le Mans and by CAHN (note 20, no. 86) to Southern France.
- 26 Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4, f. 87v; see R. A. B. MYNORS, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Durham 1939) pl. 16-19; CAHN (note 20) no. 69 with more recent bibliography; AVRIL (note 19) p. 160, with numerous comparisons to books made in Normandy. The parallel between the Carilef Bible's St. Michael and the St. James portrait in C is made by SICART (note 13) p. 66, by AVRIL (ibid.) on p. 259, and by J.A. LUACES, *La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas*, *Compostellanum* 30 (1985) p. 369-393, at p. 382.
- 27 Paris, BN lat. 9865, f. 3v. Walter Cahn kindly drew my attention to G. DEVAILLY, *Le cartulaire de Vierzon* (Paris 1963). See also M. DAIGUS, *Note sur le cartulaire de l'abbaye St-Pierre de Vierzon*, *Congrès archéologique de France* (1874) p. 576-606. PORCHER (note 21) no. 237, gives it as a cartulary of Nevers.
- 28 Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon 224, f. 113, assuming the inscription on the book, naming Bishop Hugh Payen (1135-43), is contemporary with the painting. Photos at the IRHT, Orléans.
- 29 Le Mans 263, from Saint-Vincent (Congrégation de Saint-Maur), Le Mans, PORCHER (note 21) no. 231. See also the profile faces and some of the figures in the English books that are closely related, such as Oxford, Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 1-2, see CAHN (note 20) no. 35, with previous literature; Cahn dates it in the middle to later 12th century.

features and draperies of C's St. James: the symmetrically splayed folds and left leg of C's St. James still find their closest formal parallel in the flamboyant St. Michael of the Carleif Bible, whose face and hair also present some similarity to those of St. James in C. The Acts of the Bishops of Le Mans in Le Mans (fig. 11) and another Le Mans manuscript, the Isidore in Paris (fig. 10),³⁰ present a somewhat comparable approach to technique and some similarities of drapery form, facial features (but not the hair), and beading (if, as in the Isidore, on a dragon, not a drapery-edge), while the palmette motif on St. James's book in C finds echos in the minor initials of Fleury books (fig. 13).³¹ Other manuscripts which lack frontal portraits but have other figures done in a line-drawing with colour wash technique with somewhat similar faces are the Bible of Loches (fig. 14),³² the martyrology, gradual and antiphony from St-Maur-des-Fossés (fig. 15),³³ and one example from the South of France, the BN Life of St. Giles, written by Pierre Guillem, abbot of Saint-Gilles, in 1129.³⁴

30 Paris, BN lat. 2325, f. 96v, owned in the 13th c. by St-Pierre de la Couture, Le Mans, dated c. 1120-30 by AVRIL (note 19) p. 177, fig. 341.

31 For example the Psalter-Ritual of Fleury (Orléans, BM 123), p. 249-50 (the book is paginated not foliated), and the Bible in Orléans (BM 13), f. 228; for the latter see CAHN (note 20) no. 78; F. DENIS, *Les anciens manuscrits de Fleury*, Bulletin trimestriel de la société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais. n-s II (1962) p. 280. Some photos from each are in the Boîte Porcher for Orléans in the Cabinet des Manuscrits, BN, Paris; the same minor initials also occur in the Lactantius Paris, BN n.a.lat. 1663, f. 58v. For the latter, see C. SAMARAN and R. MARICHAL, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine contenant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris 1962) II, pl. XVIII. Also of interest here is the reflection of this same motif in the initials of the Lisbon manuscript of CC, see STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8).

32 Paris, Ste. Geneviève 2, f. 170. I thank Walter Cahn for drawing my attention to this manuscript, see CAHN (note 19) no. 98.

33 Paris, BN lat. 12584, f. 180v.

34 Paris, BN lat. 13779, f. 8. The script of ff. 8-31 also presents some similarities to C hand 1's use of capitals for important proper names (also a feature of C's hand 2: did he copy the practice from C's hand 1?). See SAMARAN and MARICHAL (note 31) IV, i (Paris 1981) p. 39, 41, 43, pl. XIX. One of the British Library manuscripts written by Pierre Guillem, the Rule of St. Benedict, (London, BL Add. 16979), of 1129, also has a (stylistically very different) opening illumination, showing St. Benedict, St. Maur, and monks, reproduced in *The Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions* (London 1873-1883) III, p. 96-7, pl. 62 and in M. SCHAPIRO, *New Documents on Saint-Gilles*. Art Bulletin 17 (1935) p. 415-431, fig. 21; see also A. WATSON, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library* (London 1979) no. 174, pl. 68, and U. WINZER, S. Gilles. Studien zur Rechtsstatus und Beziehungsnetz einer Abtei im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 59 (Munich 1988) p. 97-106; Pierre Guillem's Martyrology is BL Add. 16918 (WATSON no. 168, pl. 69 and WINZER p. 106-133). His other works are the Miracles (Paris, BN lat. 13779, ed. Analecta Bollandiana 9 [1890] p. 393-422 and Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 4. 3. Aug. 4^o, ed. Ph. JAFFÉ in MGHs XII [1856] p. 288, 316-323), composed in their original form between 1121 and 1124, and the *Liber Pontificalis* (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3726), written in 1142, while he was at the priory of St-Gilles d'Accey (dioc. Reims), and Tortosa, Cathedral Archives 246, described in E. BAYERRI BERTOMBU, *Los Códices Medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa* (Barcelona 1962) p. 412-6. The possible stylistic link between the BN Life of St. Giles and C is particularly interesting because the Miracles of St. Giles and those of St. James (C's Book II) are in some instances the same (both have miracles about a grave sin being erased from a scroll and about a hanged man brought back to life), and DAVID has postulated either a direct relationship between them, or a common dependency on the same source. See DAVID (note 8) pts. II and IV. HOHLER (note 8) p. 52-55 believes the two authors must have known one another and that the wording of the section on St. Giles in Book V of C is intended to be insulting. I thank Christopher Hohler for drawing my attention to the Tortosa

It is notable that the dominant elements in C's style reflect currents developed around the turn of the eleventh century and that C's figure style and drapery show no trace of the more progressive approach to form manifested in the compartmentalized drapery with solid areas of white highlighting characteristic of the Angers manuscripts, including Angers 25 (fig. 3), Poitevin wall-painting or, to a lesser degree, the Limoges books (figs. 5, 20) and which is also related to English early twelfth-century painting, as Larry Ayres, François Avril and Elizabeth Burin have shown.³⁵

If some similar elements of C's figure-style can also be found among north-eastern French books, the parallels are probably best explained by the all-pervasive influence of Anglo-Norman illumination in northern France in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Thus the faces, draperies and border motifs in such examples as Douai 3, f. 69 (Bible from Marchiennes); Cambrai 357, f. 1 (Pauline Epistles); Cambrai 234(224), f. 2 (Sacramentary); and the Bibles, Paris, BN lat. 253, ff. 57v, 179v, Reims 22, f. 174, Reims 23, f. 25,³⁶ would be similar manifestations of the same kinds of influences as those reflected in west-central France and in C, rather than direct contributors to C.

There are also examples in Spain of figures showing the influence of the Anglo-Norman coloured line-drawing technique with its swinging pleated drapery and beaded hems, such as the 1129 Carta de Arras in Valladolid.³⁷ The frontal figure type reappears in the Libro de los Testamentos in Oviedo of comparable date,³⁸ and there are echos of the hair style of St. James in the Avila Bible of the mid-twelfth century.³⁹ It is hard, however, to see the St. James portrait as a derivative of any of them. It is also notable that the Cartulary of Santiago, Tumbo A, commissioned by Archbishop Diego Gelmírez and begun in 1129 by the chancellor Bernard the Treasurer, contains an important series of ruler-portraits that stand in no artistic relationship whatsoever to C (fig. 16).⁴⁰ Similarly unrelated to the figure-style of C

manuscript, whose presence in Spain is of enormous interest; Tortosa also has a 12th c. copy of selections of the Miracles of St. James, MS 197 (see BAYERRE BERTOMEU).

- 35 L. M. AYRES, *The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1974) p. 193-223. The manuscript most relevant to C's figure style is the *Le Mans Missal* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 17, in AYRES, p. 209, fig. 23). For the Angevin style see also AVRIL (note 19), p. 164-175 and E. BURIN, *Réflexions sur quelques aspects de l'enluminure dans l'ouest de la France au XIIe siècle: le manuscrit latin 5323 de la Bibliothèque nationale*, *Bulletin monumental* 143 (1985) p. 209-225. See also J.M. SHEPPARD, *The Giffard Bible*, Bodleian Library, *Laud Misc.* 752 (New York and London, 1986). For English parallels with C's initial style see below.
- 36 Photographs by C. R. Dodwell and Marie Farquar Montpetit at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute.
- 37 See the catalogue *Las Edades del Hombre, Libros y Documentos en la Iglesia de Castilla y León* (Burgos 1990) no. 178, pl. I thank Carla Lord for kindly acquiring this catalogue for me.
- 38 Oviedo, Arch. Catedral, *Libro gótico o de los Testamentos*, made for bishop Pelayo (1101-29), with documents up to 1118. See A. MILLARES CARLO, *Tratado de Paleografía española* (Madrid 1983) II, pl. 180, F. J. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, *El libro de los testamentos de la Catedral de Orvieto* (Rome 1971), and Y. LUACES (note 26) p. 379-80.
- 39 Burgos, Bibl. Provincial Ms 846, particularly on the lower half of the full-page Genesis miniature; but I see no other points of similarity. See CAHN (note 20), no. 141 and *Las edades del hombre* (n. 37) no. 18, pl., with previous literature.
- 40 Tumbo A is written in Caroline minuscule, not Visigothic script; the cartulary was planned in 1127

is the illustration in the Sahagún books, in imported styles related to those of Moissac manuscripts.⁴¹ On the other hand, the St. James image in C may have contributed towards the prevalence of the frontal portrait in a rectangular frame in the Miscellany of St. Martin of León at San Isidoro, León, c. 1200.⁴²

The First Campaign: the narrative miniatures

Parallels for the Dream of Charlemagne image (f. 162, figs. 17, 18) point in some of the same directions, but none of them provide sources for all the elements of the composition in C. The closest models are again found in manuscripts of the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries: the line-drawn Life of St. Martin of Tours shows a fairly comparable modulus for its scene of the Vision of St. Martin (fig. 19);⁴³ the more heavily painted Bible of Saint-Yrieix (fig. 20) provides, in its

when Alfonso VII conceded the chancery to Archbishop Diego and the first chancellor was Bernard the Treasurer, so identified by P. RASSOW, *Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons' VII. von Spanien*, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1926-8) p. 327-468, on p. 340-342, and also known for his work on the fountain of St. James, described in the Pilgrim's Guide (ch. IX, W 379), bearing his name and the date 1122, and the water-works associated with it, which brought in water in a stone-covered conduit from a mile away to the fountain and to the monastery of San Martín Pinario (HC p. 369-372). For Bernard see also B.F. REILLY, *The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered*, *Speculum* 51 (1976) p. 243-261. The prologue to Tumbo A says the compilation was begun in 1129; the section associated with that date is ff. 1-40. Bernard remained as chancellor until his falling out with Diego Gelmírez in 1133; he died in Burgos a year later. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *MORALEJO, ALSINA* (note 7) p. 29. Fig. 16 here shows the portrait of Raymond of Burgundy (d. 1107).

- 41 The Charter of San Salvatore de Villacete (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional) and the Missal of San Facundo (Madrid, BN Vitr. 20-8), discussed by S. MORALEJO, *The Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez (d. 1093): Its Place and the Role of Sahagún in the Beginnings of Spanish Romanesque Sculpture in Santiago, Saint-Denis and St. Peter. The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. B. REILLY (New York 1985) p. 63-100 at p. 74. See also M. SCHIAFFINO, *From Mozarabic to Romanesque at Silos*, *Art Bulletin* 21 (1939) p. 363, n. 161, reprinted in *Selected Papers I, Romanesque Art* (New York 1977). For the Moissac parallels see J. DUFOUR, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac* (Geneva/Paris 1972).
- 42 Las edades del hombre (note 37) no. 116, pl. of St. Martin; see also the portrait of St. Isidore on the cover of M. AMPARO VALCÁRCEL, *El Dominio de la Real Colegiata de S. Isidoro del León hasta 1189* (León 1985), and A. VIRAYO GONZÁLEZ and E. FERNÁNDEZ GONZÁLEZ, *Abecedario-bestuario de los códices de Santo Martino* (León 1985). Although text was begun in 1185, the illumination is ascribed to c. 1200 by A. VIRAYO GONZÁLEZ, *El Scriptorium medieval del monasterio de San Isidoro de León y sus conexiones Europeas*, in: *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la península en los siglos VIII-XIII* 1982, *Actas* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 209-238 and E. FERNÁNDEZ GONZÁLEZ, *Las miniaturas de los códices Martinianos en Isidoriana I, Santa Martino de León*, in: *Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria 1185-1985* (León 1987) p. 513-550. I thank John Williams for these references.
- 43 Tours, BM 1018, f. 9v. PORCHER (note 21), no. 227, cites links with Mont-Saint-Michel manuscripts; J.J.G. ALEXANDER, *Norman Illumination at Mont-Saint-Michel, 966-1100* (Oxford 1970) p. 202, sees it as close to Le Mans style and also (p. 203) to Poitevin and Limousin painting and manuscripts, including Paris, B.N. lat. 8 and Angers, BM 25 (on which see also notes 19 and 21 above), as well as to the Vatican Terence (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3305), attributed to Tours by L.W. JONES and C.R. MOREY, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence* (Princeton 1931) I, p. 163-174. AVRIL (note 19, p. 177) derives the style of the Cartulary of Robert de Torigny, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154-86), Avranches, BM 210, from the region of central and western France; it also has

illustration of David and the Shulamite, some fairly similar architectural motifs of round turrets with palmette-like tiles (though used with round arches, not a rectilinear frame) and a bed with two layers of drapery with pleats and linear folds, the bottom sheet somewhat misunderstood in C's version.⁴⁴

The two narrative scenes on f. 162v (figs. 21, 22) do not achieve the same level of artistic competence as the Dream of Charlemagne and the portrait initials and are probably to be considered the work of a less proficient artist. It is not altogether clear, in the case of the warriors standing, what exactly is supposed to be happening. The later illustrated CC manuscripts do little to elucidate the meaning of the narrative scenes in C. As in C, the three narrative miniatures illustrating Book IV in the British Library and Vatican manuscripts are on two pages (of which the second is missing in the British Library manuscript), grouped as Charlemagne's vision of St. James on one page, Charlemagne and his warriors setting out and the warriors alone on the other page, with, originally, the titulus to Book IV beneath.⁴⁵

In the Salamanca manuscript the arrangement is different as all three scenes are grouped within one frame on a single folio (fig. 23). This arrangement makes for a somewhat greater degree of coherence among the three narrative scenes. The Salamanca manuscript's interpretation of the dream might be considered superior, as it includes St. James pointing to the Christians being killed by Saracens, the elimination of which is the point of Charlemagne's mission, a detail lacking in the other manuscripts. The treatment of the two warrior scenes in the Salamanca copy does little to clarify what it is exactly that the bottom scene is meant to show, but the inclusion of both warriors and civilians would perhaps suggest that the story of the campaign is being recounted to those who stayed behind.⁴⁶ Stylistic parallels for the warrior scenes are not readily apparent, but I draw attention again to the full-page line drawing of Ahimelech handing a sword and bread to David, surrounded by figures with swords, on one of the two full-page miniatures that precede the text in the Commentary of St. Augustine on the Psalms (Sta. Scolastica, Subiaco, MS

a somewhat comparable vision scene on f. 4v, but one that is stylistically later than C's version. Also of interest here are the seven initials in Oxford, Bod. Laud Misc. 752 which SHEPPARD (note 35, p. 70-74) attributes to the Solomon Master, and places in the Central Loire. Her comparisons include Tours 1018; Bordeaux 1; Paris, Chambre des Députés 2; Le Mans 214.

44 Saint-Yrieix, Mairie, MS 1, f. 93v, beginning of the twelfth century. GABORIT-CHOPEN (note 21) p. 130-40, 147, 212-3, pl. 168 and CAJN (note 20) no. 108.

45 This inscription was painted out in the seventeenth-century alterations to C, but copied in the Vatican manuscript, and was presumably on the leaf missing from the British Library copy.

46 In C and the Vatican manuscript the knights seem to be discussing and pointing, and one is pulling at his beard; I thank James Graham-Campbell for referring me to the analysis of this motif by PER GJAERDAK, *The Beard as an Iconographical Feature in the Viking Period and the Early Middle Ages*, *Acta Archaeologica* 35 (1964) p. 95-114. Apart from the eminently suitable initial scene of the Vision, it can hardly be said that the subjects of the other two scenes represent notable high points in the narrative, unlike, for instance, the Charlemagne window at Chartres, on which see R. LEBRUNE and J. STENNON, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge* (Brussels 1966) I, p. 194-6 and C. MAINES, *The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral, New considerations on Text and Image*, *Speculum* 52 (1977) p. 801-23. For relations with the Saint-Denis Crusade window see E.A.R. BROWN and M.W. COTHEEN, *The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praetorium enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) p. 1-40.

Allodi 21, Februi 22, MS CXXI, Cat. no. 124) of uncertain provenance⁴⁷ and to the equestrian knights on the canon tables in the Bible of Saint-Bénigne (Dijon, BM MS 2, fig. 24), whose dragon and foliage motifs also offer some similarities to C, although the faces of the figures are markedly unlike C's.⁴⁸ There may also be some echos of the architectural forms and the treatment of the knights in the second Bible of St-Martial, Limoges, while the Homiliary BN lat.1627 has somewhat comparable drawings of knights.

The First Campaign: the foliage and dragon initials

With three exceptions, the foliage and dragon initials are by one illuminator, who is probably also the major illuminator of the historiated initials and miniature of Charlemagne's dream, because the same foliage appears on the Calixtus and Turpin initials and on the initial with a head on f. 121 (figs. 2, 27, 25). He draws the fleshy leaf and dragon forms in blue, red, or green in a coloured outline technique, the dragon and foliage set against solid backgrounds painted in a combination of powder-blue, dark green and ochre (figs. 31, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46), as also in the Calixtus and Turpin portraits (figs. 25, 27). Two initials, on ff. 24v and 31v (figs. 28, 30) seem to be by less competent, but nonetheless contemporary, painters: on f. 24v the brown outline is dominant, the foliage less fleshy, drawn only in green and ochre, and set against a plain ochre background. The male head terminal has features that do not recur in the rest of the illumination. The initial on f. 31v also has forms that are less broadly treated than in the work of the main initial painter, but this time the colours used by that painter reappear both on the leaf and dragon forms and also in the background. Was this initial outlined by the artist of f. 24v and coloured by the main initial painter? The other initial that stands apart from the work of the main illuminator is the curious initial on f. 179 (fig. 48), the only foliage and dragon initial in the work of the second scribe. Its background is coloured in the red and blue common in the minor initials in scribe 2's work, as shown below, yet its dragon and foliage are less sophisticated in their crude brown ink drawing than the more finely articulated and more subtly coloured leaf and dragon initials that go with the script of hands 1A and 1B (figs. 31, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46).⁵⁰ It may have been copied from an earlier model, or left unfinished, or both.

47 STONES (note 11), p. 206, n. 10. Photographs at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute. See G. MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia I* (Forlì 1890) p. 184.

48 I thank Walter Cahn for suggesting this parallel. See CAHN (note 20), no. 65 and Y. ZALUSKA, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cléaux au XII^e siècle* (Cléaux 1989) no. 88, p. 262-3.

49 The second bible of St-Martial, Limoges, is Paris, BN lat. 8, I, f. 91, reproduced in colour in CAHN (note 20), pl. 127; for the image of St. James the Less in this Bible see note 21 above. For BN lat. 1627, from Pontlevoy near Chartres, see note 59 below and SAMARAN and MARICHAL (note 31) II p. 77 pl. CXC VII; another similar Pontlevoy manuscript, partly copied by the same scribe, is Blois BM 44; its Nativity scene on f. 8 presents an interesting comparison for Charlemagne in bed, but the minor initials are quite unlike C's. See SAMARAN and MARICHAL (note 31) VII (1984), p. 103.

50 The colour reproduction, plate IIIb, in DIAZ y DIAZ (note 2) is oddly distorted, giving the initial and accompanying script a lateral compression that they do not have.

Once again the stylistic origins of the major initial style of C are ultimately to be found in the Channel region c.1100. The point is most clearly made in the comparison between the Turpin initial (fig. 25) and the large inhabited initial T in the British Library's *Astronomical Treatise* (fig. 26). It offers the same kind of parallel as the Carilef Bible St. Michael image to C's portrait of St. James: a close formal similarity, here showing the same use of interlace, foliage and enclosed figure, but one that reflects, in C, less sketchy exuberance, a firmer control of line and fleshier leaf forms.⁵¹

For the initials with foliage motifs and dragons alone, however, parallels in Normandy c.1100 are less apposite because the type, in the more developed form in which it occurs in C, with thick stems and fleshy leaves, beading and 'caps' and heavily articulated wings on the dragons, can be found, in another generation or less, throughout northern France and soon after in the Iberian peninsula and in England as well.⁵² The range of possible parallels becomes bewildering and the meaning of the formal similarities obscure, while the exact details of C's initials are never quite replicated anywhere else. One point is, however, clear: the group to which C's initials belong does not include thin-stemmed interlace such as is characteristic of the manuscripts of Limoges, Albi, and the south-west, where deep blue, yellow and red also tend to be the dominant colours that find no parallel in C.⁵³ The paradox here is that a number of books whose figure style or draperies seemed to some extent relevant to C's, like the second Bible of St-Martial and the St-Yrieix Bible, have nothing whatever to do with C's initial style.

Among the manuscripts whose figure style looks like C's there are some examples where the parallel can also be made for the initials in terms of foliage motif, dragons' wings, mask-head motifs or party-coloured backgrounds without a black outline; although, as with the figure style, none of the parallels are so exact a match as to suggest the reappearance of C's major painter. Not only his precise forms, but also his palette are very difficult to match. It is again the manuscripts whose technique is line drawing in colour with wash in the backgrounds that seem closest to C – elements of the one foliage initial in the Acts of the Bishops of Le

51 London, BL Royal 13. A. XI, f. 22. See H. BOBER, *An illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's De Natura Rerum*, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19-20 (1956-7) p. 64-97, esp. p. 77. Bober gives its date as 'possibly of the early twelfth-century' and cites the opinion of Jones that it is 'possibly a transcript of material brought to England with Abbo of Fleury' (C.W. JONES, *Beda opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) p. 153. Whether French or English, it must also be the kind of source on which the similar configuration of the inhabited T initial in the Lincoln Bible (Lincoln Cathedral Library MS A. I. 2, f. 70v), is based, as also the comparable initial in Le Mans, BM 227. The Lincoln Bible is cited by SICART (note 13, p. 80) as a parallel for C's T initial. It is most recently published in R.M. THOMPSON, *Lincoln Cathedral Manuscripts* (Woodbridge 1989), with earlier references, and reproduced in colour on the cover.

52 Initials with 'caps' are thought to begin c. 1120 in England, as in the Mostyn Psalter (New York, Morgan Library, MS M 777); see BURIN (note 35) at p. 220, n. 48, citing P. DANZ STERNIMANN, *The Copenhagen Psalter* (Diss., Columbia University 1975) p. 55-6, 63-108. See also C.M. KAUFFMANN, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, III, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London 1975) no. 25, pl. 57.

53 It is notable that Pierre Guillem's books, one of which is referred to above (note 34) for parallels with C's faces, do not have this kind of foliate initial.

Mans (Le Mans 224, fig. 37),⁵⁴ aspects of the dragons in the Loches Bible (fig. 38),⁵⁵ and the dragons and some of the leaf forms in the Gradual and Antiphony of St-Maur-des-Fossés (fig. 39).⁵⁶ The Fleury Psalter-Ritual mentioned above for the motifs on its minor initials has fully painted foliate initials on coloured grounds in red and blue (figs. 45, 47) that display considerable similarity to C's leaves and backgrounds, although the colours of C's backgrounds are ochre, light blue and dark green.⁵⁷ The foliage on the less well-drawn initials, particularly C ff. 24, 31 (figs. 28, 30), have curly bud forms that are reminiscent of aspects of the foliage treatment in the Homiliary (Angers 243, fig. 29).⁵⁸

Somewhat more developed, with figures in a more fluid style and dragons with marked nested 'Vs', both quite unlike C's, is the Lives of Saints, BN lat. 5323; but it has foliage initials with fleshy stems, cross-hatching, and 'caps' on the heads of leaves in the initials done by its first painter (fig. 33), all of which do have parallels in C.⁵⁹ There are also echoes of the same kinds of foliage, with curling leaves, cross-hatching, fleshy stems, and 'caps' in English manuscripts, such as the first volume of the Oxford Bible (Auct. E. inf. 1-2), made in Winchester (fig. 34),⁶⁰ – but in those books the figures have pleated drapery more like C's St. James, with not a hint of the nested 'Vs' that set the Paris Legendary somewhat apart.

As with the figure style of C, certain features of C's initials can also be found in manuscripts from the region of Douai, Reims, and further south in Burgundy. The Bible Reims 22 (fig. 42) has a snake entwined through the vertical bars of an initial, somewhat like dragon and snake ones on ff. 48v and 118v of C (figs. 36, 41);⁶¹ the Douai Commentary on the Psalms, MS 44 from Marchiennes, has 'capped' leaves, beading, and similar tones of pale blue.⁶² The Bible of Saint-Bénigne (fig. 40) has comparable foliage with beading and 'caps', a mask-head and ugly profile human heads (quite unlike the full-size humans on the same canon-table, who look nothing like C's figures) on some of its canon tables;⁶³ and the Martyrology of St-Bénigne

54 f. 113; see note 28.

55 Paris, Ste Geneviève 1, f. 139v; see note 32.

56 f. 169; see note 33.

57 P. 1, 33. The backgrounds look touched up; for the party-coloured effect with a strong diagonal see C's full-page miniature (fig. 21) where the colours have certainly been repainted. See also note 31.

58 Photographs at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute.

59 See GABORIT-CHOPEN (n. 21), p. 149; AYRES (n. 35), p. 213; and particularly BURIN (note 35), who emphasizes links with Le Mans (p. 215, 218), recognizes the connection with the style of C's foliate initials and points also to parallels in a homilies from Pontlevoys near Chartres (Paris, BN lat. 1627) and a bible fragment possibly from Savigny (Paris, BN n.a.lat. 2652); *ibid.*, pp. 217, 220; BN lat. 1627 has a mask heads quite like C's, but the leaves are not 'capped' nor are the dragons' wings as clearly defined, but the knights on ff. 155v and 156 are interestingly close to C's, see note 49 above. The martyrology, Rule and obituary of Pontlevoys, Blois BM 44, also has dragon initials and an interesting Nativity scene, see note 49 above. BN n.a.lat.2652 has somewhat similar foliate initials, some with mask heads, and a 'capped' dragon's wing on f. 55, and it uses a similar tone of powder blue, but its minor initials are quite unlike those in C. The second style in BN lat. 5323 has no parallel in C: it has the thin-stalked palmettes, tight interlace and bright yellows of Limoges initials of the early twelfth century.

60 See note 29.

61 But the motif is Norman in origin, see Rouen, BM 467(A 85), f. 121.

62 Photographs at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute.

63 My thanks again to Walter Cahn; see note 48.

(Dijon 634) has initials set against multi-colours with curling leaves (some with embryonic 'caps') and beading (fig. 32).⁶⁴

The Iberian peninsula reflects some of the same trends in the twelfth century. The instances seem to be sporadic and they are poorly published, so that it is difficult to be clear as to whether the books with fleshy leaf decoration are isolated instances of the importation of Northern French style, as opposed to the southern and south-western styles referred to above, or are part of a general pattern of internal development.⁶⁵ Little seems to link, for instance, the Lérída Psalter of 1121, with its concentric circle scrollwork of undeveloped foliage, to the Homiliary of St. Augustine in Barcelona, which has dragons and more developed leaves;⁶⁶ closer to C's leaf types, though without the fine lines, cross-hatching or 'caps', is the B initial in the Vich Psalter.⁶⁷ Particularly in the second half of the twelfth

64 Photographs at the IRHT, Orléans. See Zaluska (note 48) p. 147.

65 There are many further instances of Hispano-French links from the early 11th century like those between Fleury and Ripoll noted by F.J.E. Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1957) II, p. 236-247 and P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford 1965-6) II, p. 339, to which Jeanne Krochalis kindly drew my attention. After the imposition of the Roman Rite in the Peninsula in 1080, the role of the Cluniacs led to the importation of both clergy and service books; they reflect, however, the styles of decoration current in Limoges, Moissac and the South, primarily characterized by the thin-stemmed palmette leaf initials that have nothing to do with the foliate initials of C. This is the case of the imported books at Silos (M. Schapiro [note 41]), San Millán (Gaborit-Chopin [note 21, p. 26, 214-5]), Sahagún (M.-C. Garand, *Le scriptorium de Cluny, carrefour d'influences aux XIe siècle: le ms. Paris, BN n.a.lat. 1548*, *Journal des Savants* [1977] p. 257-283 257-283) and Toledo (ibid.), both the latter largely due to abbot Bernard of Sahagún, monk of St-Orens, Auch, scribe at Cluny, abbot of Sahagún (1080-85) and Archbishop of Toledo (1095-1124). See the Sahagún missal, Madrid, BN Vitr. 20-8 (J. Janini and J. Serrano, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca Nacional* [Madrid 1969], no. 199, p. 248-251), dated by a letter of Abbot Hugh of Cluny to abbot Bernard of Sahagún; and Toledo, Bibl. Cap. 44-1, Antiphonary and Responsory (J. Janini and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo* [Toledo 1977], no. 165, pl. 179, pl. 12). For the related sculpture at Sahagún see Moralejo (note 41). At Braga the early importation of liturgical books from southern France can be tied to the transfer of Géraud, monk of Moissac, to the archbishopric of Braga (1095-1109). J.O. Bragança compares the litanies of the eleventh-century psalter (Oxford, Bodl. d'Orville 45 [SC 16923]), written c. 1026 at Moissac, and the thirteenth-century Pontifical of Braga (Lisbon BN Alc. CXXXVIII [162]) in Moissac e Braga. O Distrito de Braga. II (1964) p. 189-195 (photograph of Alc. 162, ff. 76v-77). For the Pontifical of Braga (Porto, BM 1134) of the second half of the twelfth century, see J.O. Bragança, *Pontifical de Braga do século 12*, *Didaskalia* 7 (1977) p. 309-397; for the Missal of Mateus (dioc. Vila Real), see idem, *Missal de Mateus*, *manuscrito 1000 da Biblioteca pública e Arquivo distrital de Braga* (Lisbon, 1975) with transcription of the text but no illustrations. The feast of St. James is in the calendar on July 25, not in October or December; on May 22 is the entry *In Braccara: Translatio corporis S. Jacobi m.* No special mass is included in the text. The manuscript is ascribed to the second quarter of the twelfth century and is based, according to Bragança, on texts from the region of Quercy, particularly Figeac and Moissac. Numerous manuscript fragments of the twelfth century in Visigothic script and in Caroline are at Braga: see P. Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *A Biblioteca e o Tesouro da Sé de Brago nos séculos XV [sic] a XVIII* (Braga 1985) p. 278-283 (extremely sketchy descriptions but many illustrations). For Tuy, see P. Galindo Rombo, *Tuy en la baja Edad Media: siglos XII-XV* (Suplemento al tomo XXII de la España Sagrada de P. Florez, 2e ed. (Madrid 1950) p. 98-100.

66 Lérída, Archivo Capitular and Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, San Cugat 21, figs. 17 and 18 in P. Borrás, *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña* (Barcelona 1960).

67 *ibid.* fig. 21, Vich, Museo Episcopal, ms 9.

century, the monastic networks were important factors in the transmission of foliage and dragon initials, especially the Cistercian order, reflecting Burgundian styles: the choir book (Lisbon BN 115, fig. 49),⁶⁸ whose beaded dragons echo C's, the Missals of Alcobaça,⁶⁹ and the choir books of Las Huelgas,⁷⁰ both groups substantially later than C. At the same time, books like Gregory's Commentary on Job in Burgo de Osma, although written in 'letra francesa' displays a repertoire of foliage motifs, dragons, colours, that are highly original and have little to do with a painting style that is imported from France.⁷¹

The First Campaign: minor initials

Minor initials in two distinct styles accompany the work of the two major scribes. The minor initials in the work of the first scribes (1A, 1B, 1C and the added half-leaf on f. 128, by a fourth scribe) form a reasonably coherent group but one that can be divided among three, or perhaps four, individuals.⁷²

68 See R. DOS SANTOS, *Oito Séculos de Arte Portuguesa*, III (Lisbon 1970) p. 252, pl. 337 (12th c., not 14th). In the absence of adequately illustrated publications dealing with Iberian manuscripts, the best source of photographic documentation for Iberia is the microfilm collection at HMML, although the complete microfilms are in black and white; the level of illumination recorded in colour generally does not extend to non-historiated decoration. Thomas Amos kindly informs me that Lisbon, BN 115 is an incomplete Cistercian antiphony of the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century bound with a fourteenth-century Hymnal; although it lacks positive evidence of ownership by Alcobaça, Dr. Amos thinks that its decoration is highly comparable to that of Alcobaça books of the early thirteenth century and that Alcobaça is the most likely provenance. The manuscript is mutilated at the beginning, so evidence of early ownership is now missing. I am also grateful to Willene Clark, Monique-Cécile Garand, Isaias da Rosa Pereira and Yolanta Zaluska for helpful discussion of Alcobaça manuscripts.

69 See particularly Lisbon, BN Alcobaça CLVII(259), CLV (249), CLVIII(251), CLIX(252), CLX(253), and the Legendary CCLXXXIV(418), CCLXXXV(419), CCLXXXV(420), CCLXXXVIII(422), CCXXXVII(421), in T. L. AMOS, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, II: Manuscripts 151-301, Collegeville, Minnesota (1989) and J. BLACK, *ibid.*, III, Collegeville, Minnesota (1990). For dated Alcobaça books see ISAIAS DA ROSA PEREIRA, *Dois evangeliários dos séculos XII e XIII existentes na Biblioteca Nacional*. *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* I (1981) p. 26-38 (two plates), and *Quelques manuscrits datés du fonds Alcobaça* (Lisbonne), in: Calames et Cahiers: Mélanges de codicologie et de paléographie offerts à Léon Gilissen (Brussels 1985) p. 133-7; see also Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses* (Lisbon 1930-32), 3 vols. For the Legendary see F. DOLBEAU, *Le Légendaire d'Alcobaça, Histoire et analyse*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984) p. 263-296, where it is dated sometime between 1170 and 1190. None of these secondary works is adequately illustrated, nor do the plates in the major palaeographical study of the Alcobaça and Lorvão manuscripts have illustrations showing the decoration: J.M. BURNHAM, *Palaeographica Iberica, Fac-similés de manuscrits espagnols et portugais (IXe-XVe siècles)* 2 vols. (Paris 1912, 1925). See also R. DOS SANTOS, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés en Portugal*, *Bulletin de la Société française pour la reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, XIV (Paris 1932) and J. BARREIRA, *Arte portuguesa: Pintura* (Lisbon n.d.).

70 See S. HERRERO GONZÁLEZ, *Códices Miniados en el Real Monasterio de Las Huelgas* (Barcelona/Madrid 1988).

71 Burgo de Osma, Cathedral Library 126. *Las Edades del Hombre* cat. no. 77 (note 37).

72 The texts on f. 221 have coloured initials in red but without any flourishing and it is not possible to link them with the rest of the decoration in the codex; ff. 222-25 are undecorated.

One decorator was responsible for the three-line minor initials on the added half-leaf (fig. 50). These are distinct from the rest in that they are all in red with green flourishing, and the green flourishing is not quite like what is found in the other minor initials; the letter forms are similar to what is found on the facing pages, suggesting that the addition of this half-leaf (containing the Mass for the feast of the Miracles of St. James, Oct. 3) occurred not too long after the completion of C by hands 1. There are some echos of this kind of red and green initial in one of the important Turpin manuscripts, Paris BN lat. 13774 (fig. 51).⁷³

The other initials in the script written by scribes 1A, 1B and 1C range in size from two to ten or more lines and are of alternating colours – red, blue, green and yellow – in various combinations, generally of two colours, and three for the largest initials (e.g. f. 94, fig. 53). Many of them also have voided bars that reveal the blank parchment, and generally their terminals end in foliage-like buds, often with outlined trefoil motifs. Similar leaf-like buds spew forth, in the same red colour, from the mouth of a dragon terminal in the major initial on f. 48v (fig. 36), and there is a trefoil with some multifoil 'flowers' on f. 118v (fig. 41), suggesting that this illuminator also played a substantial part in the execution of the minor initials. Parallels for these initials are both obvious and obscure. In general these are the kinds of minor initials current, like the sources of the figure-style and the major foliage and dragons initials, in Normandy at the turn of the twelfth century, in such books as the Carilef Bible;⁷⁴ yet in C they are more developed, in more vibrant colours, without the maroon of the Norman and Western French books. As before, manuscripts with similar figure style or comparable foliate initials do not necessarily provide the closest parallels for the minor initials of C, while two-colour minor initials with an outer coloured line with decorative protuberances are extremely widespread: they occur, for instance in the Missal of Barbechat (BN n.a.lat. 1890);⁷⁵ liturgical books from Nevers (BN n.a.lat. 1235 and especially 1236), both important parallels for the musical notation in C's musical supplement;⁷⁶ BN lat. 13224 from Saint-Germain-des-Prés⁷⁷ and BN lat. 13882, a Martyrology of Saint-Germain-des-Prés of the mid 12th c.⁷⁸ Two further comparisons may be apposite: a Lives of Saints in Le Mans (fig. 52)⁷⁹ displays somewhat comparable forms in its

73 Siglum A6, MEREDITH-JONES' base manuscript (note 14). See also J. HORRENT, *Notes de critique textuelle sur le Pseudo-Turpin du Codex Calixtinus et du MS B.N.nouv.fonds lat. 13774, Le Moyen Age* 81 (1975) p. 37-62. It lacks Book I.

74 See note 26.

75 V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris 1924) I, p. 317-9, no. 159.

76 M. HUOLO, *Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés*, in: *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel 1967) p. 121-133, esp. 130 and HUOLO's paper in this colloquium.

77 See particularly f. 93v which has an initial E on an ochre ground with a red outline, highly comparable to C's method of outlining used on the Turpin initial and the St. James portrait. See V. LEROQUAIS *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris 1934) IV, p. 388, no. 991.

78 SAMARAN and MARICHAL (note 31) III (1974), p. 343, pl. CCXLVII.

79 Le Mans 214, f. 42v. Photos in the Boîte Porcher at the BN and at the IRHT, Orléans. The foliate initials, however, are of the southern/Limoges type and are unrelated to C's.

minor initials as well as a range of size and scale similar to the range in C. The other comparison is with the minor initials in Tumbo A, which, although they are similar in decorative level, are sufficiently different in detail to preclude any connection in the making of the two books (fig. 16).⁸⁰

Not all the minor initials display the same level of competence, however. The implication is that, here too, the major illuminator had assistance from someone, or from more than one person, who mainly did single-colour initials, with decorative outlines much more restrained, often without bud and leaf terminals, the work mostly restricted to initials in a single colour (figs. 59, 60, 62 [top], 64, 66 [top]), generally red. In two sections of the manuscript a variation in the quality of the minor initials is especially noticeable: in Books I and II, particularly in the musical section of Book I, where there are sometimes two or more qualitative levels of initial on the same folio (figs. 62, 66), and in the musical supplement after Book V. The initials in these sections seem to me to divide up in ways that do not altogether correspond to their locations in the codex: some of the initials of the musical supplement (figs. 56, 57, 61) fit comfortably between the best of those in Books I to V (cf. figs. 54, 55, 58, 62 [bottom] 63, 66 [bottom]), and the less competent ones, which occur predominantly in Books I and II (cf. figs. 59, 60, 62 [top], 64, 66 [top]). I have argued above that the best-quality minor initials were the work of the principal illuminator; a case could be made that the inferior ones were done by one or more of the scribes. They are closely comparable to the large capitals in the text, particularly to those in the musical sections of Book I, and this is also the context in which large, mostly single-colour, minor decorative initials are most prevalent.

There has been debate as to whether the musical supplement was added to the codex at a later date; but the minor initials in it seem to me to be entirely consistent with the range of initials of the First Campaign, particularly to those in Book I, so that I see little reason on the grounds of style to postulate a later phase of execution. As Hendrik van der Werf has pointed out in this colloquium, the plan to include more after Book V must surely have been formulated by the time the last quaternion was embarked upon, otherwise the scribe, hand 1B, must have known that a bifolium would suffice. He can certainly not have planned to leave six leaves of the quire blank.

The Second Campaign

Only one major initial illustrates the script of the Second Campaign (fig. 48); it is a puzzle and has been commented upon above. It may be best to see it as a later fill-in by a non-medieval hand, done in imitation of the style of the major initials of the First Campaign. Certainly authentic are the minor initials of the Second Campaign. The second scribe⁸¹ worked with a single decorator who did coloured initials ranging in size between three and ten lines, depending on textual context. They are competently executed, in red and blue, with bars in one colour, often

⁸⁰ See DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, MORALEJO, ALSINA (note 7).

⁸¹ See Appendix A below.

beaded and flourished in the other (figs. 65, 67-71), and are clearly distinct from the initials of the First Campaign in range of colour, motifs, and delicacy of execution.

Appropriate comparisons are again difficult to locate because of the level of decoration involved, the range of possible choices, and the paucity of adequately published sources. From Southern France, the Lectionary (Nîmes, BM 14) of 1170,⁸² is pertinent, although the N initial reproduced in Samaran and Marichal finds no exact counterpart among the initials of C. The closest parallels, however, are among manuscripts known to have been produced at Santiago itself. First the twelfth-century cartulary of Santiago, Tumbo A, whose earlier phase of execution was mentioned above for the differences between its minor initials and those of C's First Campaign.⁸³ The initials of its later campaigns, however, are highly comparable to the kind of decoration found in C's Second Campaign (figs. 73-4), and there are also parallels in the script (which I leave aside here). The real difference is one of colour, as brown and red are used for the minor initials in Tumbo A, as opposed to C's reds and blues, but in form they are extremely close, and the best comparisons are with the smaller initials in C (figs. 65, 71). These are also the initials that compare most favourably with another Santiago product, and one which has other very significant textual links with C, Ripoll, Arch. de la Corona de Aragón 99, copied by Arnault de Munt, monk of Ripoll in 1173, an abridged selection of the five Books of CC and certain of the supplementary materials present in C. The illumination in R is modest, and its initials all small in scale (figs. 72, 75). Arnault's script, characterized by tall ascenders and descenders, shows no relation to that of C's hand 2, which is hardly to be expected in a scribe who was presumably trained in Catalonia. (We know nothing else about Arnault nor what mission took him to Santiago.)

Although scholarly attention has been paid the texts of Ripoll books, the studies are unillustrated, and it is unclear therefore to what extent this type of decoration of R, already attested in southern France in 1170 in the Nîmes MS, is representative of Ripoll books in general: was it imported to Santiago from Ripoll?⁸⁴ Or did Arnault have his copy decorated by a local craftsman in Santiago? A possible argument in favour of the latter hypothesis is that the decoration in R changes abruptly towards the end of the codex, and the initials of the last two folios are executed by another, markedly less competent, hand (fig. 75). Did Arnault have the decorated capitals finished off at Ripoll? Further research on the decoration of late 12th c. Ripoll

82 SAMARAN and MARICHAL (note 31) VI (1968) p. 337, pl. XV.

83 DIAZ Y DIAZ, MORALEJO, ALSINA (note 7) p. 32-44. The phase of execution most pertinent here is that of c. 1179.

84 R. BEER, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa María de Ripoll*, in: *Stützungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 155, nos. 2-3 (1908) p. 137-70, 230-77, 299-30, 329-65, 332-4, 492-520 is the basic list (without illustrations). HMML does not have microfilms of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón holdings. Only one complete liturgical book (a fourteenth-century Missal) from Ripoll and some guard leaf fragments are listed in J. JANINI, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Bibliotecas de España, II, Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia* (Burgos 1980) nos. 404 and 405, p. 42-3. See also E. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *El Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona 1944) and J. GUDIOL i CUNELL, *La Pintura Medieval Catalana, III, Els Primitius, tercera part: Els Llibres il·luminats*, (Barcelona 1955), which offers no parallels for the initials in Arnault de Munt's manuscript. I thank Kathy Miller for helpful discussion of Ripoll books.

MSS is needed before this question can be answered; such research lies outside the scope of this enquiry.⁸⁵

Stylistic Conclusions

The minor coloured initials and major foliage and dragon initials of the First Campaign could be characterized as strongly Romanesque; those of the Second Campaign are distinctly proto-Gothic, with colours and decorative flourishing of a type that begins in the second half of the twelfth century but is still found well into the thirteenth. The painting styles of the First Campaign depend on models current in Normandy and the region of the Loire at the turn of the twelfth century, whose influence continues in the region of the Loire and Western France into the second quarter of the twelfth century; although no firm upper limiting date can be established simply by comparing styles, I place the First Campaign of C in the second quarter of the twelfth century with its dates established by the limiting dates of its texts.

The initials of the Second Campaign, on the other hand, are much more closely linked with Southern France, Spain, and Santiago itself, and dated comparisons suggest that the period of Arnault de Munt's visit is when the rewriting occurred. Might he in some way have occasioned it?

We still know little about why the recopying took place.⁸⁶ Textual studies make clear that scribe 2 introduced numerous errors and that what Arnault had available was, in all probability, a version entirely copied by C's hand 1.⁸⁷

85 RABY (note 65, p. 236-7) reports that D'OLIVERA suggested that Arnault de Munt also wrote the famous Ripoll song manuscript, MS 74 (L.N. D'OLIVERA, *La Scola poética de Ripoll en els segles X-XIII*, Institut d'estudis catalans VI [1923] p. 3 ff); the suggestion appears to be unsubstantiated. I thank Jeanne Krochalis for these references.

86 Hämel's interpretation was that the second scribe replaced leaves originally copied by the first scribe, from which decoration had been excised, making recopying a necessity. His argument rests on the quite valid observation that the first scribe uses more abbreviations than the second. By omitting the decorative initials, the second scribe was able, according to Hämel, to more evenly space his writing while occupying the same number of folios. The presence of the joined bifolia in quire 21 (see Appendix A) is a strong indication that Hämel's interpretation of the chronological sequence is substantially right, even if his allegation that the initials were cut out seems more to reflect a post-reformation mentality than a medieval one, and, in this instance, it is difficult to explain the scribal change in terms of the suppression of illumination (see note 13 above). Hämel also brings textual arguments to bear in support of his argument: that different readings between the Ripoll copy, made in 1173, and C's hand 2 show that what R copied was an earlier version of C, copied before hand 2 (HÄMEL [note 3] p. 12-21). The collation of Book V by STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8) requires no earlier copy than a version written entirely by C's hand 1.

87 See previous note and I. SHORT, *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: some unnoticed versions and their sources*, *Medium Aevum* 38 (1969) p. 1-22. Short compares variants between C, the abridged Ripoll version, and the Galician translation and concludes in favour of the existence of a version earlier than C, but he did not take into account the fact that the key passages in C are copied in hand 2. The argument can therefore be constructed that C's hand 1 would have preserved the accurate readings, see STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8). The most recent textual arguments in favour of the priority of C are presented in HORRENT (note 73). This leaves the fact that C's version of Book IV has extra chapters not in MEREDITH-JONES' (note 13) A version, and that its miniatures fit poorly with the idea that it is the archetype for Book IV: the best solution may still be that it is a textually close, but expanded, copy of BN lat. 13774's (illustrated?) model (MEREDITH-JONES' A6).

Internal evidence for the date of C

The limiting dates for the texts are as follows: the description of the procession at Compostela in Book III must date after archbishop Diego Gelmírez instituted the college of 72 canons in 1120;⁸⁸ Book II is likely to have been copied between 1135 and 1139;⁸⁹ Book V cannot be earlier than 1137.⁹⁰ It has been thought that the limiting date for Book I was 1144, based on the attribution of one of the songs to the authorship of 'cardinal Robert' who, it has been suggested, was Robert Pullen, cardinal in 1144, dead by 1145.⁹¹ But Robert Pullen is not known to have written this or any song, and the author of the song referred to in its titulus may not be Robert Pullen, the only cardinal of Rome of the right date, but rather one of the canons at Santiago itself, where the title 'cardinal' was also applied to canons in this period, as the text of Book V makes clear.⁹² 'Cardinal Robert' might conceivably be the same 'Robertus' or 'Rainerius' who, according to Pistoian sources, was canon of Pistoia, studied in Paris and Winchester, then came to Santiago as canon and schoolmaster, and was responsible for arranging the transfer of St. James' relic to Pistoia in 1138.⁹³ Such an event could have provided the impetus for putting together the compilation and could provide the date of the First Campaign of C, which could then have occurred in the lifetime all the people to whom the prologue

88 M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Descripción en el siglo XII de una procesión en Compostela. Algunos de sus problemas*, in: *Studia Graecolatina Carmen Sanmillán in Memoriam Dicata*, eds. Jesús García González and Andrés Pociña Pérez (Granada 1988) p. 79-89, esp. p. 85.

89 The latest of the miracles in Book II occurs in 1135, and the Miracle of 1139 is copied among the texts that follow Book V, presumably because its text was not available when Book II was put together. In later copies of CC it is inserted where it belongs, at the end of Book II. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (as note 2) resumes discussion of this question on p. 78-9.

90 Book V refers to Alfonso of Galicia and León as emperor (Alfonso VII was so crowned in 1135), and the deaths of Louis VI of France (1137) and Henry I of England (1135). A. DE MANDACHE, *La genèse du Guide du pèlerin de saint Jacques*, Orderio Vital et la date de la Geste de Guillaume. *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969) 817, thinks the implication of the mentions of Alfonso VII in Book V are that he is dead at the time of writing, implying a date of before 1157 for the work of hand I, in whose hand the mentions occur. No other scholar, ourselves included, concur.

91 See HOHLER (note 8) p. 47. The prologue of Book I is addressed to the convent of Cluny, without specific mention of Abbot Peter the Venerable, which HOHLER (op. cit., p. 47) takes to suggest he was alive at the time, between 1122 and 1157; also addressed in the prologue is the Archbishop of Santiago, Diego Gelmírez (died on Easter Eve, April 6, 1140) and William, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-d.1145), see HOHLER (p. 47, 55-6). See also Appendix A below.

92 See Book V of C, ch. ix (VIELLIARD [note 2] p. 116 and STONES and KROCHALS, note 8). The cardinal Robert appointed by Calixtus II (JL p. 781), about whom little seems to be known, is another possibility.

93 AASS Julii VI, p.26-7; L. GAI, *Testimonianze jacobee e riferimenti compostellani nella storia di Pistoia dei secoli XII-XIII. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Pistoia Cammino di Santiago, Una dimensione europea nella Toscana medioevale, Pistoia 28-30 settembre 1984* (Pistoia 1985). The Pistoia document gives his name both as Rainerius and as Robertus. For a more lengthy exposition of the possible link between Rainerius and C see STONES and KROCHALS (note 8). In the opinion of A. KELLER, following J. VEZIN, *La réalisation matérielle des manuscrits latins pendant le haut Moyen Age*, *Codicologica* 2 (1978) p. 32, the parchment on which C is written is ruled in Spanish fashion; see Keller's review of DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (note 2) in *Gazette du livre médiéval* 16 (1990) p. 27-8 and idem, *Le système espagnol de réglure dans les manuscrits visigothiques*, in: *Actas VIII coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina* 1987 (Madrid 1990) p. 107-114.

says the book is offered, and especially to Archbishop Diego Gelmírez (d. 1140).⁹⁴

The polyphonic music that completes the last quire of Book V would then be highly up to date, added to C after Book I had been produced (its logical place would be in Book I itself), but in the same production campaign. Nothing we know about the dates of the composers actually precludes such a date, although it is substantially earlier than what has hitherto been suggested.⁹⁵ The music is largely attributed, in the accompanying tituli, to the authorship of composers flourishing in the 1140s.⁹⁶ The signatories of the Bull of Innocent II (1130-1143) that follows

94 W 1. I leave aside here the question of the possible role of any one of the three people associated with C and Santiago who are named Aimericus and the role and identity of 'Calixtus'. See STONES and KROCHALIS (note 8). Also of importance in this context is the substantial role played by Diego Gelmírez in acquiring books for Santiago. According to the *Historia Compostellana*, cited in the edition of E.F. RAY, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalia* 70 (Turnhout, 1988) Diego Gelmírez made a substantial donation of books in 1123: 'de purpura textus evangeliorum, duos argenteos, alium aureum, quem iam destructum ipse archiepiscopus restauravit, missale argenteum, epistolarium argenteum...unum antiphonarium, unum officiarium et unum missale, tres breviales, unum quadragenarium, duos benedictionales, librum pastorem, librum de vita episcoporum, canones, alium librum ex diversis sententiis, alium librum de fide Sancte Trinitatis et de aliis sententiis, alium librum maiorem per totius anni circulum (HC II, lvii, p.333-4). The mention of purple suggests that the books were not of recent manufacture, as does the particularly interesting reference to Diego Gelmírez's restoring one of them. His interest in books was clearly quite personal. Few liturgical books from Diego Gelmírez' period survive, but J. JANINI, *Notas sobre libros litúrgicos hispánicos*. *Hispania Sacra* 14 (1961) p. 145-154, ascribes the fragment of a Missal of Compostela, Archivo de la catedral fragm.1, to the second third of the twelfth century. Written in Visigothic script, it follows the Roman rite and includes the Masses of Sts. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Marcial, and Eparchius, the latter two saints notably venerated primarily in Western France, Marcial in Limoges and Eparchius in Angoulême. I have not seen this fragment, and Janini does not publish a photograph, but the connections show that the saints of these regions of France were important in the liturgy of Santiago, and the implications of this for parts of the text of C are interesting (see STONES and KROCHALIS note 8). The continuation of the use of Visigothic script for texts of the Roman rite also characterizes the fragments in the Archivo de la Catedral, Orsense, MS 14, published by Janini in the same article.

95 See, for instance, J. LÓPEZ CALO, *Datación y autenticidad del Codice Calixtino: Aportaciones musicológicas*, in: *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y Escritos entre Europa y la península en los siglos VIII-XIII*, 16-19 septembre 1982, *Actas* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 173-191, and Michel Huglo's essay in this volume.

96 Their lifetimes do not quite overlap. HOHLER (n. 8, p. 48) sees the inclusion of the polyphonic section in direct relationship to the retirement to Cluny of Bishop Atto of Troyes (1123-45) in 1145. He died there on August 20 of that year (D. HILEY in *GROVES DICTIONARY OF MUSIC* 1, p. 669). Michel Huglo has kindly made available to me his unpublished list of the other composers who can be identified: Albericus Bituricensis, schoolmaster of Reims, bishop of Châlons-sur-Mame and archbishop of Bourges 1136/7-1141 (S. FULLER in *GROVES DICTIONARY OF MUSIC* 1, p. 207); Albericus abbas, sub-prior of Cluny, abbot of Vézelay 1131, cardinal in 1138, supposedly author of the 1139 miracle in CC, died at Verdun in 1148; Albert of Paris, canon of Notre-Dame from 1127, its cantor from 1142 to 1174/7, also connected with St-Victor and St-Martin-des-Champs (G. BRUNER, in *Mémorial Jacques Handschin* [Strasbourg 1962] p. 107-126; C. WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame Paris 500-1500* [Cambridge 1989], p. 278-281); Fulbert of Chartres 1007-1029 (*GROVES DICTIONARY OF MUSIC* 7, p. 25); Goslenus (Joscelin) de Vierzy, teacher at Paris, archdeacon of Bourges, bishop of Soissons 1126, d. 24 October 1152; William of Messines, patriarch of Jerusalem 1130-1145, died in 1145 according to William of Tyre (HOHLER [note 8] p. 42), not 1185 as in J. BRÉMER *Les Légendes épiques* (Paris 1912) iii p. 87. By 1148 Joscelin of Vierzy and Albert of Paris would have been the only two of these composers still alive. I thank Craig Wright for his helpful discussion of Albert of Paris.

also flourished, as far as can be determined, in the 1140s.⁹⁷ Three miracles among the texts that follow contain dates of 1139, 1164 and 1190. This leaves the possibility that Book I received its present form as early as 1138, with possible earlier dates for the composition of Books II, III and IV and V; the songs at the end of Book V are likely to date after the writing of Book I as well, because they are placed after the text of Book V rather than at the end of Book I; so too the material following the songs that is not part of the last quire of Book V.⁹⁸

The analysis of the sources of the illumination that characterizes the First Campaign in C presents no absolute termini for the execution of that First Campaign; at the same time there are no compelling reasons why the execution of C could not have occurred at the limiting dates provided by the texts. The artistic context into which this phase of C fits best is one that was elaborated during the generation after the turn of the twelfth century. It is clearly a context which depends very closely on French sources, whether a team of French-trained scribes and artists was brought to Santiago to produce C, or whether the manuscript itself was imported. The final argument as to whether or not C's First Campaign reflects an earlier model must depend on the collation of C's texts; the stylistic arguments support the notion that C is where these texts were drawn together for the first time.

97 See the list in K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobs kult des 12. Jahrhunderts* (note 3), p. 66, given below in Appendix A. I leave aside here the vexed question of why and by whom the bull was included. For a summary of others' views see DIAZ Y DIAZ (note 2) p. 78-80. It should also be noted that DIAZ Y DIAZ (note 2) p. 308 shows that the folio containing the Bull is not intrinsic to the codex.

98 The rest of the manuscript comprises texts copied by scribes whose work does not appear elsewhere in the codex and who are not considered here. I list them in Appendix A below. Of the texts on ff. 222-225, the miracle of 1164 is of particular interest as it appears in the copy *Amult de Munt* made in 1173, and the song *Dum pater familias* is also remarkable because its notational style is so different from what is used elsewhere in the codex (see HUGLO in the papers of this conference, with illustration). The last few lines of the Mass of the Living and the Dead, the Bull of Innocent II, the Miracle of 1139 and the Alleluia in Greek, all on f. 221, olim 192) are likely to be later than the songs themselves.

Appendix A

MS C: Division of scribal hands in relation to textual contents

Quires	Folios	Scribal Hand	Text
1 ⁹	(1-9, lacks first)	hand 1A*	f. 1 Book I, Liturgy of St. James (W 1)
2-15 ⁸	(10-120)	hand 1A	
16 ⁹	(121-129)	hand 1A except for the added half-leaf, f. 128, written by scribe X	f. 128 Mass for Feast of the Miracles (3 Oct)
17-18 ⁸	(130-145)	hand 1B	f. 140 Book II, 22 Miracles of St. James (W 259)
19 ⁸	(146-153)	hand 1B	
20 ⁸	(154-161)	hand 1B: outer bifolio (ff. 154 and 161) hand 2: three inner bifolia (ff. 155-160)	f. 155 hand 2 begins shortly after the beginning of Miracle 21 (W 286) f. 155v Book III, Translation of St. James (W 289) f. 161 hand 1B resumes shortly before the middle of ch. 3 (W 297) and writes the passage discussing the dates of the feasts of St. James, continuing with the Santiago procession
21 ⁸	(162-169 [olim 7]; first two and last two leaves are not bifolia) hand 1B: first two leaves (ff. 162-3 [olim 1]) and 2 inner bifolia (ff. 164-167 [olim 2-5]) f. 163 [1] Book IV, Pseudo-Turpin (W 301) hand 2: last two leaves (ff. 168-9 [olim 6-7]) starts in the middle of ch. 8 in the description of the flowering lances at Sahagún (W 308)		
22 ⁸	(170-177 [olim 8-15]) hand 2: outer two bifolia (ff. 170-1 [olim 8-9], 176-7 [olim 14-15]) hand 1B: inner two bifolia (ff. 172-3 [olim 10-11], 174-5 [olim 12-13])		

- hand 1B resumes just after the beginning of ch. 13, about Aigoland and Charlemagne (W 315) to half-way through ch. 17 (W 321), Roland's dialogue with Ferragut
hand 2 continues from ch. 17 through ch. 21
- 23⁸ (178-185 [olim 16-23])
hand 2: three outer bifolia (ff. 178-80 [olim 16-18], 183-4 [olim 21-3])
hand 4: inner bifolium (ff. 181-2 [olim 19-20])
hand 4 copies the central section of ch. 21 that includes Roland's agony, his speech to his sword, his breaking the rock with it, ending shortly before the end of Roland's prayer (W 330-333)
hand 2 ends in ch.22, just after the contributions to St. Denis' building fund (W 339)
- 23a² (186-187 [olim 24-25])
hand 3
ch.22: remission of sins for the contributors to the building fund; derivations of 'French' from 'franci'; Liberal Arts decorations of Charlemagne's palace at Aachen, ending in the middle of Turpin's vision of the death of Charlemagne (W 341)
- 24⁸ (188-195v [olim 26-29, 163-166])
hand 1B
f. 192 [olim 163]
hand 1B copies to the end of Book IV, Book V, Pilgrim's Guide (W 349)
continuing through the first seven and a half chapters of Book V, ending just after Crux Caroli (W 357)
- 25⁸ (196-203 [olim 167-174])
hand 2: outer bifolium (ff. 196 [olim 167] and 203 [174])
hand 1B: three inner bifolia (ff. 197 [olim 168] - 202 [173])
hand 2 starts in ch. 7 just after Crux Caroli (W 357) and includes mention of the hospital at Roncesvalles, the battle of Roncesvalles with the 140,000 warriors slain, Basques and the Navarrese,

ending at W 359

hand 1B copies from just before the passage beginning 'Julius Caesar, so it is said...' (W 359) to the end of ch. 7, and the beginning of ch. 8, including sites on the first three French routes, ending on the fourth route, just before Hilary's exile to Phrygia (W 369)

26⁸ (204-211 [olim 175-182])

hand 2: outer bifolium (ff. 204 [olim 175] and 211 [182])

hand 1B: three inner bifolia (ff. 205 [olim 176] – 210 [181])

hand 2 writes from just after St. Hilary in ch. 8 in the previous quire, through St. Eutropius, ending just before Simon and Thaddeus are sent to Persia (W 372)

hand 1B writes the last part of ch. 8 and most of ch. 9, ending in the section about the altars, just before the comment about the immoveability of the relics of St. James (W 383)

hand 2 copies the descriptions of the altarcloth, altarfrontal and ciborium, stopping just before the end of the description of the ciborium (W 385)

27⁸ (212-219 [olim 183-190])

hand 1B: ff. 212-213 [olim 183-4])

hand 1C: ff. 214-219 [olim 185-190])

hand 1B finishes ch. 9 and completes chs. 10 and 11 of the **Guide** (W 389)

hand 1C (closely similar to hands 1 A and B) writes the

f. 214 **Polyphonic Songs** (W 391-8)
[olim 185]

lacuna between ff. 219 [olim 190] and 221 [olim 192]

containing the end of the last song *Ad honorem regis summi* (W 398-9) and (HOHLER [1972], p. 72) probably a mass for the Living and the Dead (see f. 221)

28² (221-222 [olim 192-193])

- f. 221 by a 12th c. hand that appears nowhere else in C: 1D
 f. 222 by another 12th c. hand that appears nowhere else in C: 1E
 f. 222v from *Hinc decus* (W 404) by still another hand

f. 221 Postcommunication from a mass for the Living and the Dead; Bull of Innocent II (1130-1143); Alleluia in Greek with notation on a four line staff (W 399-401)

f. 222 monophonic song in campo aperto
Dum pater familias (W 401-4)

ff. 223, 224, 225 (olim 194, 195, 196) are detached leaves written by various different hands of the second half of the 12th c., not found elsewhere in C

f. 223 Miracle of 1164 followed by a second miracle without a date; on the verso, written by another hand, a third miracle written as three lessons for the Feast of the Miracles, 3 Oct., and dated 1190 (W 404-7)

f. 224 Prayer attributed to Master G, followed by six lessons attributed to Pope Leo and Master Panicha (W 408-411)

f. 224v Text with no titulus, inc. *Que tua iusticia est ... expl. Ponficum primus Compostelle Theomirus. Quo maculis carta munda est missa celebrata*. This is followed by another miracle. (W 411-413)

f. 225 Three further Jacobite texts. (W 413-416)

* Díaz y Díaz distinguishes between the work of hand 1A in Book I and the work of hand 1B elsewhere in Books II-V.

Summary of most pertinent dates mentioned in the texts in relation to scribal hands

Book I:

Hymns attributed to William, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-1145). C ff. 104v, 105v (W 199, 201)

Prosa attributed to William, patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-1145). C ff. 122v-123

(W 227-8) Conductus attributed to 'Cardinal Robert' possibly Robert Pullen (1144-1145). C f. 132 (W 246-7)

all in sections copied by scribe 1A

Book II:

Dated miracles cluster in the period 1080 (Miracle 4) to 1110 (Miracle 15); Miracle 13 relates an event of 1135. C f. 148 (W 274)

all copied by scribe 1B

Book III:

Part of ch. 3, procession at Compostela, composed after 1120. C ff. 161-2 (W 297-299)

copied by scribe 1B

Book IV:

The major arguments are those advanced by DAVID (1948, III), suggesting a date of composition after 1130 and before 1145.

– Characters appear whose names are based on Almoravid chieftains of the twelfth century (see DAVID III, 43): Texufin is the name of the first almoravid calif Youçouf ben Texufin; his son Ali appears as Ailis king of Morocco (1106-1143), leader of the Almoravid offensive in Spain. His brother Ibrahim was vice-regent of Spain c. 1116-1123. Another Texufin, son of Ali, succeeded Ibrahim from 1125-1137. Other Arab names of which DAVID sees a reflection in PT are Fatima king of Barbary, probably the Ibn Fatima who in 1116 approached Mondego. The two figures Maimoun king of Mecca and Avit king of Bougie might both derive from the pirate Avit Maimoun mentioned in Miracle 7 of Book II (*copied by scribe 1B*) and otherwise documented in 1101; alternatively, Maimoun could simply reflect the names of a dynasty of Almoravid admirals documents along the Mediterranean in the first half of the twelfth century and of whom one destroyed the idol of Cadiz in 1145. The proper names occur at the beginning of ch. 9, C f. 168 (olim 6) *in a section written by scribe 2*.

– The idol of Cadiz is described in ch. 4 (C f. 166 [olim 4] W 306) and its destruction in 1145 (known from Averroes) is not mentioned in PT, suggesting that the section (*copied by scribe 1B*) antedates 1145.

– Mention of the three clerical orders at the beginning of ch. 13 (C f. 172 [olim 10] W 316) in Charlemagne's efforts to convert Aigolant suggested to DAVID (III, 50) that the canon about regular canons adopted at the Council of Lyon in 1130 provided an important *terminus post* (*copied by scribe 1B*).

– The remission of sins to the contributors to St-Denis' building fund, in ch. 22 (C f. 185v-186 [olim 23v-24] W 338-9) must reflect the rebuilding of St-Denis by Suger between 1137 and 1144 (*begun on f. 185v by scribe 2 and continued on f. 186 by scribe 3*) and the fund-raising that preceded it.

Book V:

Synchronism including the death of Louis VII, king of France (1137). C f. 212v (olim 183v) W 386

copied, over erasures, by scribe 1B.

Polyphonic Songs after Book V (C ff. 214-219v [olim 185-190v] W 391-398):
composers identified by HUGLO (unpublished notes) are:

Atto, bishop of Troyes (1123-45), died at Cluny

Albericus Bituricensis, schoolmaster of Reims, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne and
archbishop of Bourges (1136/7-1141)

Albericus, sub-prior of Cluny, abbot of Vézelay 1131, cardinal in 1138, supposedly
author of the 1139 miracle in CC, died at Verdun in 1148

Albert of Paris, canon of Notre-Dame from 1127, cantor of Notre-Dame from 1142
to 1147/7, also connected with St-Victor and St-Martin-des-Champs

Fulbert, bishop of Chartres 1007-1029

Goslenus (Joscelin) de Vierzy, teacher at Paris, archdeacon of Bourges, bishop of
Soissons 1126, d. 24 October 1152

William of Messines, patriarch of Jerusalem 1130-1134, died in 1145

All copied by scribe 1C. Albert of Paris provides the most significant *terminus post*
of 1127.

Bull of Innocent II (1130-1143) (C f. 221 [olim 192] W 399-400):

summarized by HERBERS (1984), p. 66. Names listed here in order of signature.

Aimericus cancellarius: originally from Bourges, a relative of Pierre de Castres,
archbishop of Bourges, he was a canon of Bologna and cardinal and chancellor
under Calixtus II, Honorius II and Innocent II, 1120-1141.

Girardus de sancte Cruce cardinalis: born in Bologna, canon in Lucca; pope as
Lucius II 1144-1145

Guido pisanus cardinalis: of Pisan origin, sent on missions in Spain, southern
France and Portugal

Ivo cardinalis: canon of St-Victor, Paris. Legate in France 1142.

Gregorius cardinalis nepos domini papae

Guido lombardus: born in Florence, legate in Lombardy 1139, took part in the
second crusade

Gregorius ihenia cardinalis

Albericus legatus presul hostiensis: originally from the diocese of Beauvais; a
Cluniac; known as legate in England 1138, Antioch 1139, France 1144. (cf. the
Miracle of 1139 below)

by another twelfth-century hand: 1D

Miracle of 1139 (C f. 221v [olim 192v] W 400-401)

attributed to the authorship of Albericus, abbot of Vézelay, bishop of Ostia and
legate of Rome (see also his signature on the Bull of Innocent)

by the same hand as the postcommunion and the bull of Innocent?

Miracle of 1164 (C f. 223 [olim 194] W 404-5)

by a later, unrelated, hand

Miracle of 1190 (C f. 223v [olim 194v] W 406-7)

by another later, unrelated, hand

List of Figures

- 1 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 4 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 2 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 121 (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 3 Angers, BM 25, f. 85 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 4 Paris, Mazarine 729, f. 90v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 5 Paris, BN lat. 8 II, f. 228 (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 6 Bibliothèque municipale de Tours (France) MS 320, f. 147 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 7 Paris, BN lat. 12409, f. 118 (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 8 Paris, BN lat. 10, f. 113v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 9 Paris, BN lat. 9865 f. 3v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 10 Paris, BN lat. 2325 f. 96v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 11 Ville du Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon 224 f. 113 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 12 Durham, Cathedral Library A.II.4 f. 87v (Photo: Dean and Chapter, Durham Cathedral)
- 13 Orléans, BM 123 pp. 249-250 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 14 Collection de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève Paris MS 2 f. 170 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 15 Paris, BN lat. 12584 f. 180v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 16 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, Tumbo A, f. 28v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 17 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 162 (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 18 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 162 (before restoration)
- 19 Bibliothèque municipale de Tours (France) MS 1018 f. 9v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 20 Saint-Yrieix, Mairie 1, f. 93v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 21 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 162v (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 22 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 162v (before restoration)
- 23 Salamanca, BU 2631 f. 90 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 24 Dijon, BM 2 f. 402v (Photo: IRHT)
- 25 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 163 (olim 1) (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 26 London, BL Royal. 13.A.XI, f. 22 (Photo: By permission of the British Library)
- 27 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 1 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 28 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 24v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 29 Angers, BM 243, f. 88 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 30 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 31 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 31 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 53v (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 32 Dijon, BM 634, f. 64 (Photo: IRHT)
- 33 Paris, BN lat. 5323, (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 34 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.E.inf. 1, f. 264v (Photo: Bodleian Library)
- 35 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 74 (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 36 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 48v (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 37 Ville du Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon 224, f. 113 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 38 Collection de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève Paris MS 1, f. 139v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 39 Paris, BN lat. 12584, f. 169 (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 40 Dijon, BM 2, f. 403v (Photo: IRHT)
- 41 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 118v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 42 Reims, BM 22, f. 106v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 43 Paris, BN lat. 5323, f. 22 (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 44 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 95v (Photo: Alison Stones)

- 45 Orléans, BM 123, p. 93 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 46 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 141 (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 47 Orléans, BM 123, p. 1 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 48 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 179 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 49 Lisbon, BN 115, f. 17v (Photo: Theodore Hauschild)
- 50 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 128v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 51 Paris, BN lat. 13774, f. 92v (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)
- 52 Ville du Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon 214, f. 46v (Photo: IRHT)
- 53 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 94 (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 54 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 148 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 55 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 147v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 56 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 215v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 57 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 219v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 58 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 192v (Photo: Paula Gerson)
- 59 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 145 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 60 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 103v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 61 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 214v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 62 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 57 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 63 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 167v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 64 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 101v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 65 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 185v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 66 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archive, C f. 121v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 67 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 156v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 68 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 160v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 69 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 159 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 70 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 156 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 71 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, C f. 184v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 72 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 99, f. 80v (Photo: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón)
- 73 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, Tumbo A, f. 46 (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 74 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archives, Tumbo A, f. 51v (Photo: Alison Stones)
- 75 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 99, f. 84 (Photo: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón)



Fig. 1

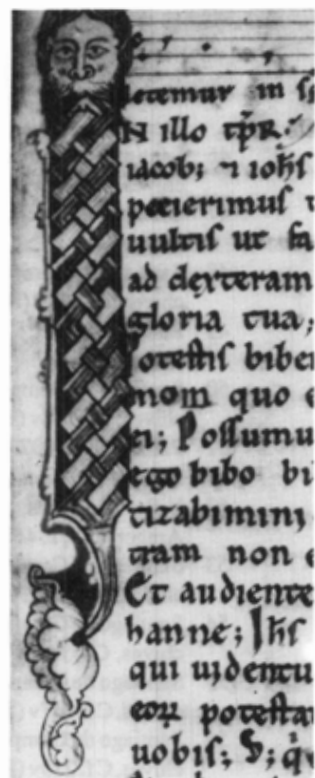


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

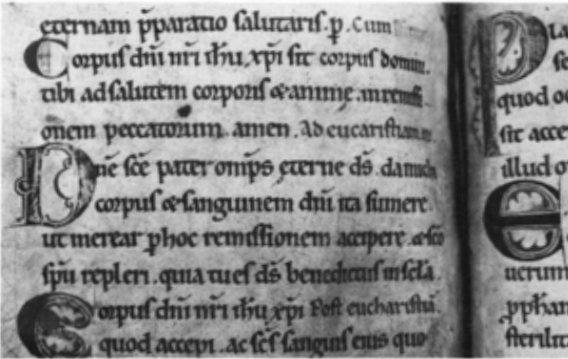


Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

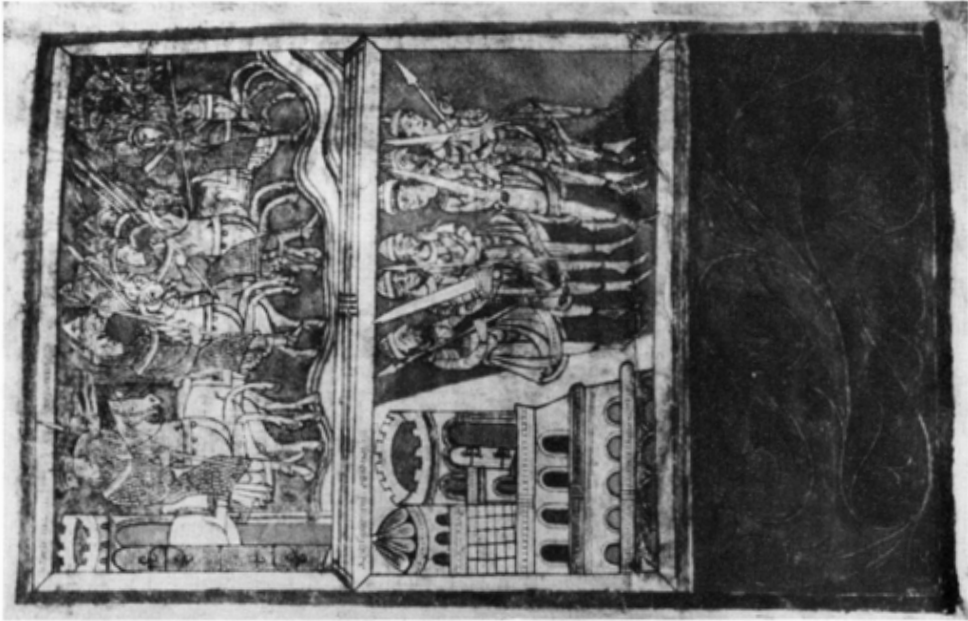


Fig. 21

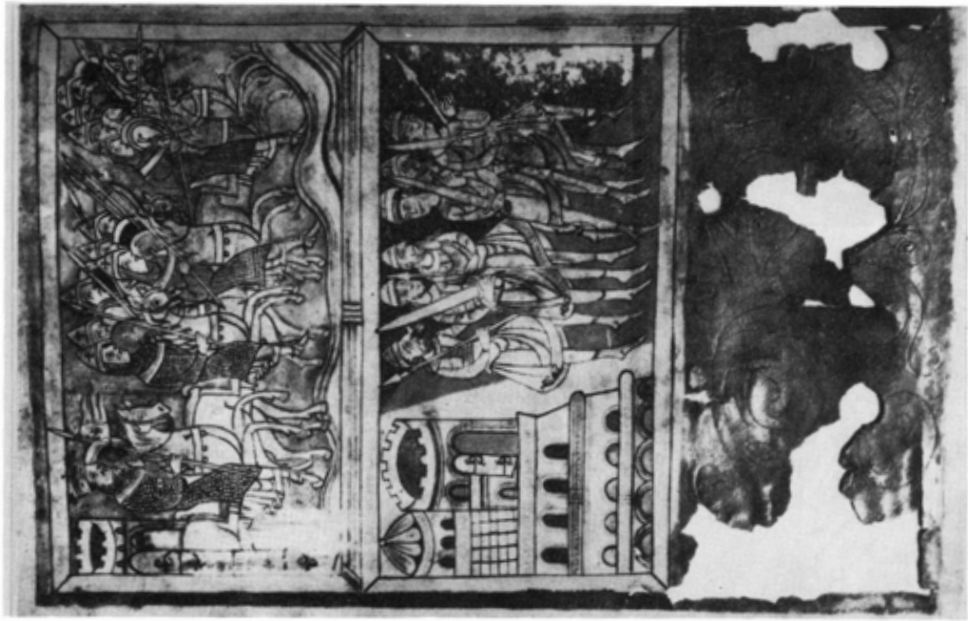


Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

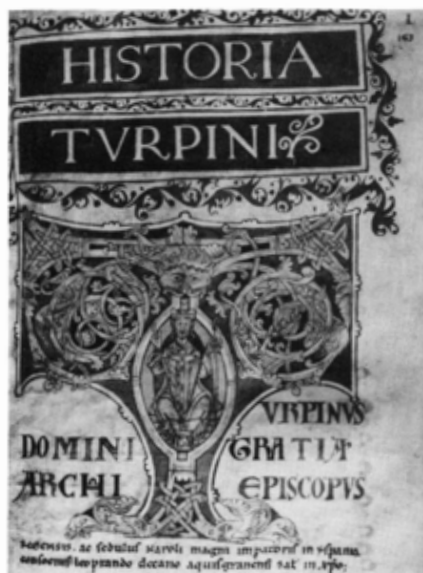


Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34

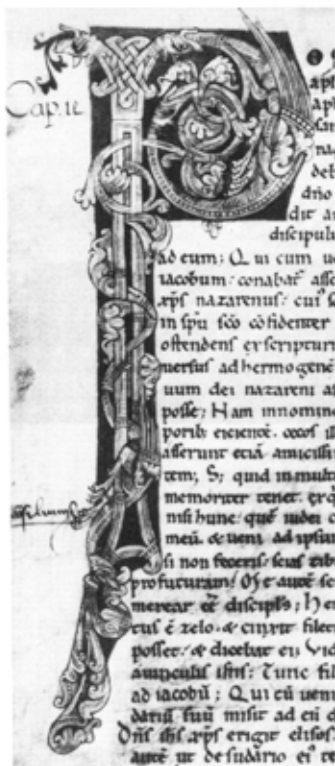


Fig. 36



Fig. 35



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40

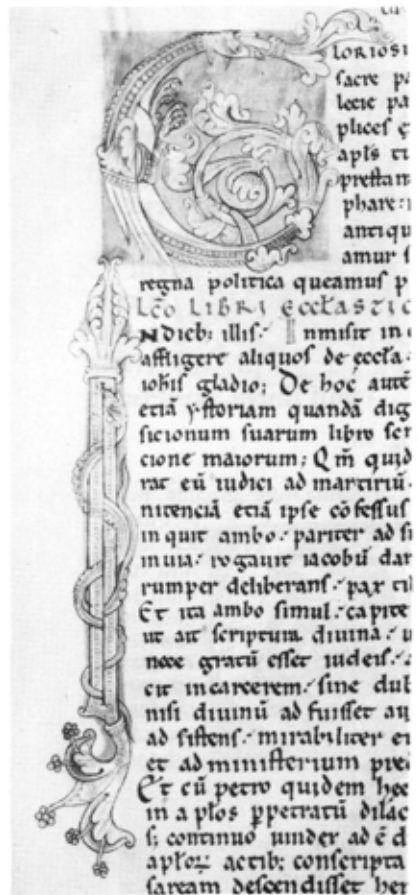


Fig. 41



Fig. 43



Fig. 42



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49

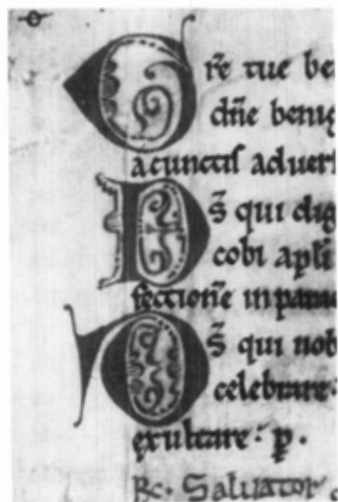


Fig. 50

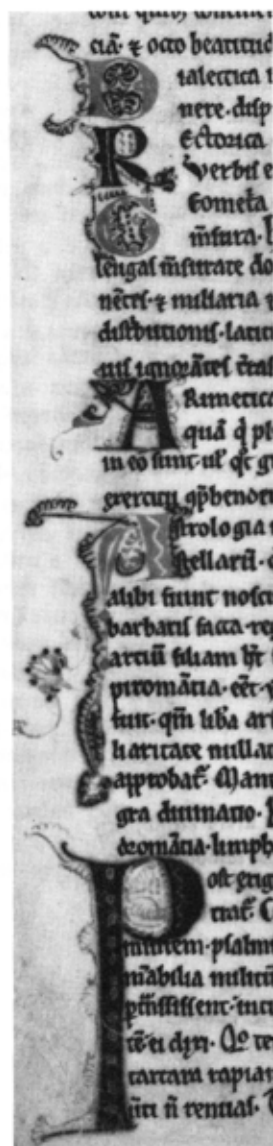


Fig. 51

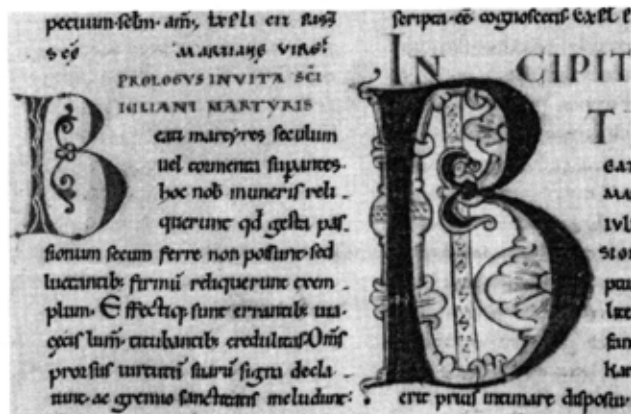


Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 62

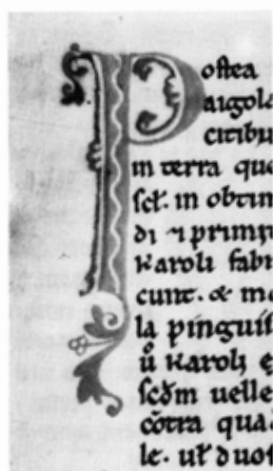


Fig. 63

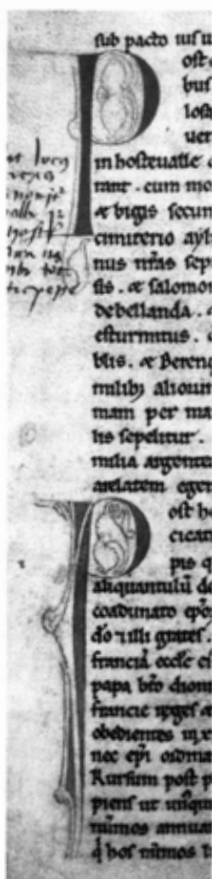


Fig. 65

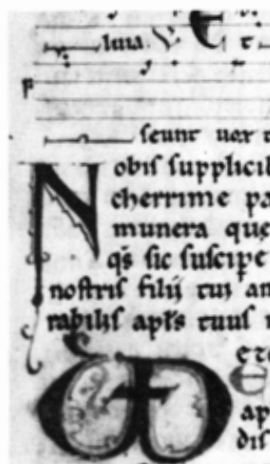


Fig. 66



Fig. 67

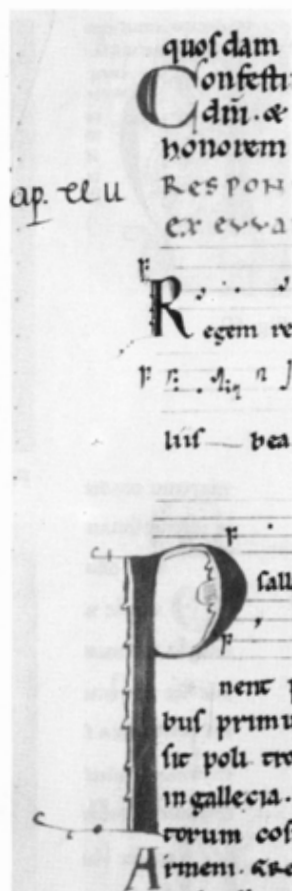


Fig. 64



Fig. 68



Fig. 69

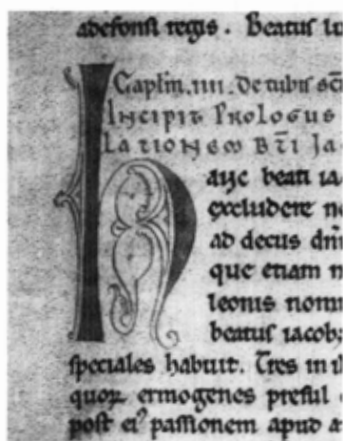


Fig. 70

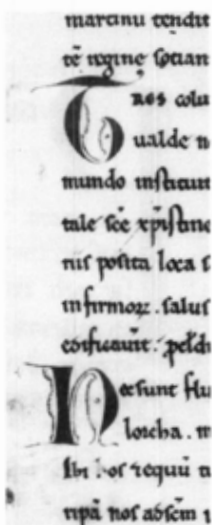


Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74

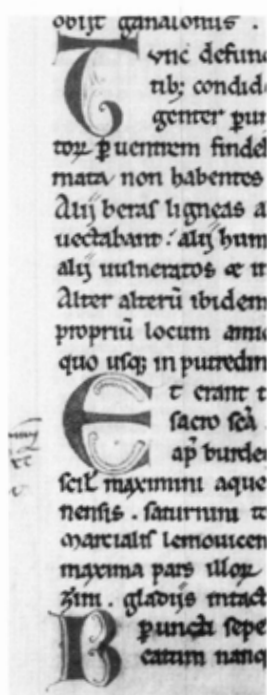


Fig. 71

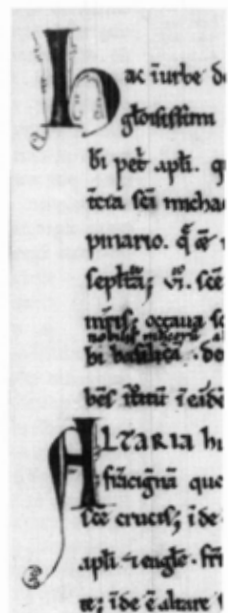


Fig. 75

The Building and the Pilgrims' Guide¹

JAMES D'EMILIO

In its description of the cathedral of Santiago, the Pilgrim's Guide reports that "the church was begun in the Era 1116," that is, 1078 A.D, and that "from the year in which the first stone was laid in its foundations until that in which the last stone was put into place, forty-four years elapsed."² While this suggests that the cathedral was finished in 1122, Conant and others have noted the contradiction between the supposed completion of the basilica in 1122 and the earlier warning in the Pilgrims' Guide that "of these things we have mentioned, some are already entirely finished, and others are yet to be completed."³ The assertion in the *Historia Compostellana* that the greater part of the basilica had been completed by 1124 offers a way of reconciling the two statements in the Pilgrims' Guide: the great building campaign carried out under archbishop Diego Gelmírez drew to a close in the early 1120s but left the cathedral unfinished and lacking a west facade, an interpretation now accepted by various scholars.⁴

The fabric of the cathedral guards the evidence which supports this view and resolves the apparent conflict between the two statements in the Pilgrim's Guide. An analysis of capitals, mouldings and masons' marks confirms that much of the nave was left unfinished in the 1120s and only completed as part of the effort which culminated in the Pórtico de la Gloria. In fact, six bays of the tribunes, three piers on the north side and two piers on the south side of the nave, three bays of the north aisle wall and one bay of the south aisle wall may be assigned to the campaign to complete the cathedral which was launched around 1160. Historical evidence helps explain why the cathedral was left incomplete in the 1120s and not resumed until important changes in the political map of Spain thrust Santiago into the limelight again in the 1160s.

To determine the stopping point of Gelmírez' campaign and assess the state of the basilica at the time of the composition of the Pilgrim's Guide, it is best to look

1 This article elaborates and refines material from my doctoral thesis, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Lugo, East of the Miño* (Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London 1988) p. 67-95. I would like to thank George Zamecki who directed the thesis, Serafin Moralejo who guided my research during long and memorable stays in Santiago de Compostela, and the cathedral chapter of Santiago for granting me access to the tribunes and permission to photograph the interior of the building. I am grateful to John Williams and Alison Stones for inviting me to present this paper.

2 K.J. CONANT, *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (Cambridge, Mass. 1926) p. 58.

3 CONANT (note 2) p. 23, 54.

4 The date of 1124 is based upon internal evidence: M. SUAREZ and J. CAMPELO (ed.), *Historia Compostellana* (Santiago de Compostela 1950) p. 419-20. S. MORALEJO sums up earlier opinions on the supposed completion of the cathedral in the 1120s in *Notas para una revisión de la obra de K.J. Conant*, in CONANT, *Arquitectura románica da catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela 1983) p. 230-1.

ahead to the arrival of the foreign artists and new artistic vocabularies normally associated with the contract of 1168, for their appearance marks a fixed point from which to examine contemporary work by local craftsmen and trace their activity back to the middle of the century. As Michael Ward has demonstrated, capitals in the style of the porch decorate the westernmost pair of piers of the nave and the three western bays of the tribunes, linking them to the campaign dated by Mateo's contract of 1168 and lintel inscription of 1188.⁵ To the east, Serafin Moralejo has observed that the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes – counting from the west – share new types of capitals and a new profile of impost, like those introduced in the crossnafe of the west crypt, with a groove lining the broad chamfer at top and bottom, a profile used without exception to the west in the tribunes (figs. 1-6, 8-9).⁶ The imposts of the vault capitals (fig. 7), however, remained traditional, hinting at the diversity of masons involved in the project.

Among the sixteen capitals of the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes, four types may be distinguished.⁷ Two show addorsed lions rearing upwards and twisting back to face one another (fig. 1). A group of foliate capitals with five narrow, pointed leaves curling outwards, each framing a smaller leaf within its wide outline, may be conveniently termed the "Gudesteo capitals" after the inscription on an impost above one of them (figs. 2, 7). Three double capitals display interlacing ribbons and palmettes, while other foliate capitals remain faithful to the formulas introduced under Gelmírez. The first three types, however, – the addorsed lions, the superposed leaves and the stacked palmettes – lack precedents in Santiago, and share several features with more accomplished capitals in the crypt whose sources are to be found in northern France, Burgundy and surrounding regions: the well-defined and occasionally striated abaci, and the treatment of the volutes with broad stems decorated with grooves or drill holes and thick coils clasped together at the corners of the capital (figs. 3-4, 6).⁸ In addition, the odd arrangement of four volutes spiralling outwards on the main face of several of these capitals represents a rare design, born from the substitution of volutes for the

5 M. WARD, *Studies in the Pórtico de la Gloria*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (New York University 1978), pp. 28-9, 54-60. See also: J.M. CAAMAÑO MARTÍNEZ, *Contribución al estudio del gótico en Galicia* (Valladolid 1962) p. 53-61, especially p. 60-1.

6 MORALEJO (note 4) p. 236, note 45. WARD also noted that the capitals in these two bays form a group, but he did not link them with those in the crypt: (note 5) p. 59.

7 I am referring to those in the tribunes and below the nave vault on the piers framing the fourth bay, and those on the double columns in the middle of the fourth and fifth bays (see Diagram A). To locate capitals within the cathedral, I have assigned a Roman numeral to each bay of the nave and transepts, beginning, in each case, at the entrance and increasing towards the crossing. The Roman numeral indicates the responds and piers on the *crossing* side of each bay. In the nave, A, B, C and D refer to the north responds, north piers, south piers and south responds, respectively, while, in the transepts, the letters are similarly applied to the responds and piers from left to right, as one looks towards the crossing. Subscripts (n, e, s, w) signify compass points for the location of capitals on piers or windows, and "m" is used for the middle capitals in the bays of the tribunes.

8 For the sources of the capitals of the crypt: WARD (note 5) p. 41-6; L. SAULNIER and N. STRATFORD, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay* (Geneva 1984) p. 152, n. 12; D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 146-9. WARD and STRATFORD discussed the relationship between capitals of the crypt and sculpture of Burgundy and northern France in their contributions to the symposium, *O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo*, held in Santiago de Compostela, October 3-8, 1988 (in press).

hanging leaves or ballflowers which commonly invade the abaci of capitals of the crypt (figs. 1, 2, 6 and 7).⁹ On one of the "Gudesteo capitals" (fig. 7), the thinly notched lobes on the upper edges of the leaves imitate those lining the volutes or acanthus leaves in the abaci of several capitals of the crypt (fig. 3), and the small leaf placed within a large one simplifies the shape of the split acanthus leaves which shelter a smaller leaf on another crypt capital (fig. 5). Finally, the two capitals decorated with lions have loose links with pieces at La Charité-sur-Loire, and, like some finer pieces in the crypt (fig. 11), display cupped leaves or ballflowers and use masks as bosses in their abaci.¹⁰

Alongside these capitals which tap the newly imported vocabulary of the sculptors of the crypt, the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes also present more traditional capitals which offer a measure of the fortunes of the Compostelan foliate capital in the 1160s and help determine the extent of the work carried out at that time. Several of these capitals (figs. 8, 9) display clasped volutes and unusually slender leaves split by richly decorated ribs or clefts, while their short sides typically present three leaves topped by a pair of volutes – an arrangement that was common enough among the more varied capitals of the groundfloor of the transepts, but largely abandoned in the tribunes of the transepts and in the eastern bays of the nave.¹¹ Although their foliage and overall structure remain traditional, the finer proportions and careful detailing of the leaves and the handling of their short sides distinguish them from the capitals of the eastern bays of the nave and link them with the neighboring capitals inspired by the new work in the crypt.

Together, the capitals of the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes make it possible to identify sections of the groundfloor of the nave which were decorated – and, most likely, constructed – at the same time. These include the three western bays of the north wall, the westernmost bay of the south wall, the second and third piers on the north side and the second pier on the south side. First of all, capitals closely related to those in the crypt cluster at the ends of the aisles, decorating the westernmost window of the south aisle, the last two responds of the north aisle and most window shafts in its three western bays. The capital of the second respond

9 Turned trilobate leaves serve as bosses on related capitals of the west doorway and flanking towers of San Vicente of Avila and in Burgundy: SAULNIER and STRATFORD (note 8) pls. 70 (Rouy), 111, 114 and 115 (Vézelay chapter house). The use of four volutes on the broad face is not common among earlier Compostelan capitals, and only one capital, at the corner of the north transept and north aisle of the choir, shows an inner volute spiralling outwards.

10 R. RAEBER, *La Charité-sur-Loire*, Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte (Neue Folge) VI (Bern 1964) figs. 34, 37 and, for the decorative drillwork on the volutes, 45. An early example of this type of capital appears at Cluny with a ballflower boss: W. SCHLUNK, *Zwischen Cluny und Clairvaux: die Kathedral von Langres und die Burgundische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1970) pl. 51. A very similar ballflower boss appears on a capital decorated with birds in the west crypt at Santiago (fig. 5), and the grinning, nearly human faces of the lions on the capitals of the tribunes at Santiago may be compared with those on other capitals at La Charité sur Loire: RAEBER (1964) figs. 44 and 46.

11 Two volutes are never used on the short sides of respond capitals in the transept galleries; in the eastern half of the nave, they appear on the groundfloor on capitals VIIID, VIIcW, XD and XcE. To the west, they appear on IVcE. Other examples in the western bays of the nave and bay VI of the tribunes are attributable to the campaign of the 1160s, as demonstrated below.

plainly illustrates the debt to the sculpture of the crypt (fig. 10). Its sculptor imitated the ring of palmettes on one of the capitals of the crypt (fig. 3), and copied the masks and lions' heads in the abacus from other capitals of the crypt (fig. 11), derived, in turn, from those at Avallon in Burgundy.¹² On the south aisle wall, the last respond capital, though a traditional type, shares the slender leaves and more elaborate detailing of the Compostelan foliate capitals in the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes.

Within the nave, the capitals of the second and third piers on the north side and the second pier on the south side join those of the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes. Of these nine capitals, one, with its superposed leaves and four volutes spiralling outwards, belongs to the group of "Gudesteo" capitals, but the others are traditional Compostelan foliate capitals (figs. 12, 13), three of which show a lion crouching beneath the principal leaf on the main face. Nonetheless, their finer forms distance them from the foliate capitals of the piers to the east, and link them instead with the capitals of the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes (figs. 8, 9). All share the distinctive arrangement of two volutes flanking a boss on their short sides, and several details strengthen their ties with the capitals of the tribunes: the palmettes hanging from clasps at the tip of the large leaves, the lion poised beneath a broadly arching leaf and the acutely pointed lobes on the leaves. Even the profiles of the bases of these three piers signal a new campaign, for they are notably higher than those of the piers to the east, opening the possibility that these piers rose from their foundations in the final campaign.

Excavations beneath the floor of the cathedral help explain the distribution of the new capitals and, specifically, the greater extent of their use on the north side of the groundfloor of the nave.¹³ The wall of the citadel at Santiago apparently cut across the western bays of the nave, tracing a diagonal line from the fourth bay of the north wall through the second bay of the south wall.¹⁴ In fact, the towers built by bishop Cresconius stood on both sides of the nave, anchoring the fortifications and flanking the western access to the citadel. Although the *Historia Compostellana* records the demolition of these towers as part of Gelmírez' effort to extend the cathedral westwards, the exclusive use of new types of capitals in the zones beyond the circuit of walls suggests that the obstacle they posed to westward construction had not been entirely removed.¹⁵ Within the circuit of walls, the location of the new types of capitals in bays of the tribunes east of those housing similar ones below

12 SAULNIER and STRATFORD (note 8) pl. 66.

13 Later insertions in the third and fourth bays of the north aisle obscure the beginnings of the new effort. For the excavations: J. GUERRA CAMPOS, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apóstol Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela 1982).

14 For a general plan of the citadel and its fortifications. F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 246, 250. For the history of these walls: *Ibid.* p. 254-9.

15 SUAREZ and CAMPELO (note 4) p. 287-8; the destruction of the towers is mentioned to explain Gelmírez' inclusion of Sts. Benedict and Antoninus in the dedication of a chapel in the tribunes of the north transept to replace the altars that had been dedicated to them in the western towers. Since the author is primarily concerned with the destruction of the altars, the reference to the demolition of the towers need not mean that they were levelled.

implies a "stepped" construction with work on the tribunes and vaults lagging behind that on the groundfloor.

It remains unclear whether the coming of foreign artists marked the beginning of the new campaign, and inspired the new varieties of the Compostelan capital. Like the "Gudesteo" capitals or those with addorsed lions, these more traditional capitals freely borrow from sculpture of the west crypt. The slender foliage, elaborate lobes and pellets, clasped volutes, split leaves and small balls owe their success, in part, to the influence of the foreign atelier, but these Compostelan capitals share some of their new traits with mid-twelfth century capitals in the priory church of the Sar at Santiago and others in the tribunes of the cathedral itself, just east of the first unequivocal signs of influence from the west crypt, suggesting that active workshops at Santiago greeted the newcomers and had already begun the effort to complete the cathedral.

In and around the sixth bay of the tribunes where all of the capitals and imposts respect traditional Compostelan formulas, a tightly knit group of capitals (figs. 14, 15) are linked by several features which prepared the way for reception of the foreign vocabulary: clasped and hanging leaves, additional detailing with the carving of grooves on volutes or hairline ribs on the lobes of leaves, the folding over of some lobes which, at times, climb from the clefts of the large leaves, and an odd multiplication of the deep clefts which are now used to separate leaves or, occasionally, are doubled on a single leaf. This last feature anticipated the introduction of three leaves on the short sides of the capitals, and, indeed, a couple of capitals in the sixth bay of the tribunes already display a pair of volutes on their short sides. While earlier capitals in the cathedral provide widely scattered models to account for most features of these pieces, these rare details are combined with sufficient frequency in this small zone to distinguish its capitals from those to the east.¹⁶ The distinctive details persist on the Compostelan capitals of the fourth and fifth bays of the tribunes and the related ones in the western bays of the nave below, among capitals inspired by those of the crypt, and indicate an underlying continuity in the works despite the arrival of foreign artists. Thus, the foreigners joined a campaign initiated by local craftsmen, and maintained a division of labor, like that in the transepts, with local craftsmen undertaking the construction of the tribunes and finishing work in the nave while the more skilled newcomers dedicated themselves to the decoration planned for the west crypt and porch.¹⁷

16 Hanging palmettes appear on capitals in the north transept (ID), south transept (IIICs), north transept tribunes (ICs) and nave tribunes (XCen). Clefts are multiplied on two capitals of the northwest and southwest crossing piers below the vault and a nearby piece below the north transept vault (VCe). Two of the capitals near bay VI of the tribunes (VBw and VBe) display crouching lions which enjoyed renewed popularity in the last campaign. Earlier they had appeared in the south transept (IVBs), the north transept (IIIBn) and in the eastern bays of the nave tribunes (VIIIbw).

17 Architectural evidence supports this view of a campaign begun by local craftsmen and, then, taken over by foreigners with consequent changes in plan. WARD, for example, called attention to the masonry break in the west wall of each aisle, and concluded that the west entrance was to resemble the double portals of the transepts flanked by a blind arcade or window at the end of each aisle: (note 5) p. 56-7. In my view, however, the new design was probably introduced within the final

The capitals of the Augustinian priory church of the Sar confirm the activity of these Compostelan masons in the years before the arrival of the foreign artists, and help to date their work in the cathedral.¹⁸ The church of the Sar presents two clearly distinguishable campaigns. In the first, building began with the apses, advanced along the lower courses of the aisle walls to include the north and west portals, and ended with the raising of the aisle walls in the easternmost bay and the decoration of the corresponding windows. Among the traditional Compostelan capitals of this campaign, several share some of the characteristic traits of those around the sixth bay of the tribunes in the cathedral and their descendants to the west: hanging palmettes, the taller and slenderer proportions of the leaves, deep clefts between the leaves, small leaves unfolding from the fissures in the larger leaves, and pairs of volutes on the short sides of the capitals.

Traditional Compostelan forms dominated the first campaign, but, in its last stages, craftsmen timidly introduced new motifs. While the capitals of the sanctuary arch of the main apse and the adjoining respond to the south all present Compostelan foliage, the one on the north respond (fig. 16) displays five acanthus leaves with long grooves dropping to their bases and ornamental drillholes accenting their finely lobed outlines. Above, a smaller leaf of this type punctuates the center of each face, curling outwards in front of the convex bell of the capital. The convex bell, the banded volutes at the corners and the grooved and drilled acanthus leaves are inspired by capitals in the west crypt of the cathedral (fig. 4). Similar foliage cloaks two capitals on the exterior of the easternmost window of the north aisle, while, inside, the Compostelan foliage of the capitals fixes the window in the first campaign.

The location of the capitals in a new style places them near the end of the first campaign, for, to the west, the capitals of the windows and nave arcade are indebted to the *Pórtico de la Gloria* or contemporary Cistercian work.¹⁹ The imposts above these three capitals, as well as those topping the capitals of the sanctuary arch of the main apse and the adjoining respond to the south, all show a fine groove on their underside or lower edge, like those introduced in the west crypt of the cathedral. In fact, the imposts of the window capitals of the fifth bay at the Sar display a slight roll, simplifying the more complex profiles used on the crypt portals. Significantly, these profiles were rarely taken up in the second campaign, confirming the interruption of the works. The west portal also received the new

campaign, after the arrival of foreign craftsmen. In the tribunes, a change in the profile of the vaults in bay V was accompanied by a new method of laying the courses in the curtain walls over the transverse arches, suggesting a change in working practices after local craftsmen had constructed the sixth bay of the tribunes: D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 80-1. On the division of labor in the earlier work at Santiago: MORALEJO (note 4) p. 229.

18 Sta. María la Real del Sar: C. SANCHEZ RIVERA, *El monasterio y templo de Sta. María la Real de Sar* (Santiago de Compostela 1920); P. PEDRET CASADO, *Santa María la Mayor y Real de Sar*, in: *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* IV, no. 14 (1949) p. 339-48; M. CHAMOSO LAMAS et al., *Galice Romane* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire 1973) p. 205-212; D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 81-4.

19 Of the window capitals in the four western bays, only those on the interior of the north window in bay III belong to the first campaign, and their execution may have accompanied the construction and decoration of the portal and cornice in the same bay.

vocabulary of decoration within the first campaign; three of its capitals, though badly worn, exhibit two rows of acanthus leaves with small balls at their tips. The deeply scooped out lobes stemming from the base of the leaf were foreign to earlier Compostelan traditions, while the use of two rows of foliage, occasionally found on capitals of the transepts of the cathedral, experienced a minor revival in the western bays of the nave.²⁰

Similar capitals and imposts, derived from those of the west crypt, accompanied the influence of the Sar in Galician churches at Xunqueira de Ambia and Losón with dated inscriptions of 1164, 1166 and 1171, implying that the artists of the west crypt at Santiago had arrived before the contract of 1168.²¹ Thus, an even earlier date must be assigned to the activity of the local craftsmen who began the church of the Sar and, apparently, participated in the first stages of the effort to complete the cathedral. The history of the priory provides a broad outline for the chronology of its construction. Established by the Compostelan canon and bishop of Mondoñedo, Munio Alfonso, shortly before his death in 1136, the new foundation won approval from Gelmírez in that year and royal confirmation in 1137.²² Pedro Gudesteiz' tenure as prior from the late 1140s until his elevation to the see of Mondoñedo in 1155 offers one plausible opportunity for launching the building campaign.²³ A member of the chapter at Santiago, he was close to the court and tutored Fernando II.²⁴ As prior of the Sar, he attracted royal patronage to the house, presided over an important period in its growth, and returned to Santiago in the 1160s as Fernando II's candidate for the see during the king's struggles with archbishop Martin.²⁵

The commencement of the church of the Sar in the 1150s casts light on the activity of a group of Compostelan masons who fashioned their own humble

20 Capitals with two rows of leaves appear on the groundfloor of the north transept (VD, IIA, IID, VAs) and on the groundfloor of the south transept (VIBs, VCs, IVD, IIID, IIBs, IBw, IEw, OB). The only one in the tribunes of the transepts is an anomalous piece at the northeast corner of the crossing, and a simpler type had enjoyed favor in the tribune of the ambulatory. Among traditional Compostelan capitals, the only example in the nave (IIIBw) belongs to the 1160s.

21 Sta. Eulalia of Losón: I. BANO TORVISO, *Arquitectura Románica en Pontevedra* (La Coruña 1979) p. 130-2, pl. 12; for the links between the Sar and the collegiate church of Xunqueira de Ambia: J.C. VALLE PÉREZ, *Les corniches sur arcatures dans l'architecture romane du nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique*, in: *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* XV (1984) p. 228-9. For a fuller analysis of the relationship of both churches to the Sar: D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 84-8.

22 Gelmírez' charter of 1136 and royal confirmation of 1137: A. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela 1901) IV, ap. VIII, p. 21-5. The original location of a tomb inscription of 1171 from the priory is uncertain: SANCHEZ RIVERA (note 18), p. 20-2, plate between p. 24-5.

23 VALLE PÉREZ (note 21), p. 244, note 27. SANCHEZ RIVERA cites a donation to a prior Pedro in 1144: (note 18), p. 39; LÓPEZ FERREIRO cites another of 1147 to "prior Pedro" and the patronymic "Gudesteiz" is included in another of 1149: (note 22) IV, p. 235, 248-9. Cf. R.A. FLETCHER, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford 1978) p. 63.

24 R.A. FLETCHER, *Regalian right in twelfth century Spain: the case of archbishop Martin of Santiago de Compostela*, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1977) p. 349-50.

25 In 1149, for example, the house received a large gift from Pedro Cresconiz, and helped supervise the establishment of a small church and hospital on the site of the later church of San Lázaro: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 241, 248-9. Alfonso VII made a donation in 1152: P. LOSCERTELES DE GARCIA DE VALDEAVELLANO, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* (Madrid 1976) II, p. 71-2.

dialect of the decorative idiom introduced to Santiago at the beginning of the twelfth century. The characteristic features of their capitals make it possible to pinpoint the beginning of what was to be a sustained campaign to complete the cathedral, and a date of c. 1160 for their earliest work there finds support in the recent publication of two donations for the cathedral works in 1160 and 1161.²⁶ Thus, a sizeable part of the building had remained unfinished at the end of Gelmírez' campaign, but it remains uncertain whether additional construction had been undertaken between the suspension of work in the early 1120s and the effort begun c. 1160.

Unfortunately, darkness shrouds the second quarter of the century. Small groups of closely related foliate capitals in the middle bays of the nave and aisles are impossible to date precisely and may belong to the close of Gelmírez' campaign.²⁷ Two zoomorphic capitals in the south aisle of the cathedral do hint at some activity in this obscure period. The bulky griffins of capital IID (fig. 17) – just east of the work of the 1160s – and the harpies on a window capital in the seventh bay find precise parallels at Avila (fig. 18) and Segovia in the second quarter of the century and spawned copies in the Galician countryside from the 1150s onwards.²⁸ Their isolation and the presence of repairs in the south aisle caution against an easy definition of a campaign or intervention by Castilian sculptors, but a minor detail of some of the foliate capitals of the 1160s around the sixth bay of the tribunes may indicate some acquaintance with sculpture of Avila.²⁹ Hairline ribs decorate the lobes on several of these capitals, and the ornament recurs, significantly, on capital IVD in the south aisle. This detail, virtually unknown among the early twelfth century capitals at Santiago, formed part of the standard foliate capital used at Avila in the mid-twelfth century.³⁰ Nonetheless, the precise role of Castilian sculptors at Santiago in the second quarter of the century remains elusive, for isolated pieces are all that remain to document work which would necessarily have been concentrated in the cloister, a more suitable setting for their rich decoration than the church where simple foliate capitals and plain imposts had become the norm.

While one can only speculate about activity within the basilica during the second quarter of the century, it is clear that the nave is largely the product of two great campaigns: that of Gelmírez and that begun in the 1160s and culminating in the

26 The documents were brought to light by C. Manso in her paper, *El documento de 1161 relativo a la supuesta actividad de Mateo en Pontecesures*, at the symposium, *O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo*, held in Santiago de Compostela, October 3-8, 1988 (in press).

27 MORALEJO rightly observed close parallels between a capital of bay VIII of the north tribune and pieces in the upper part of the nave of San Isidoro of León, and attributed it to the years following the departure of the sculptors of the *Puerta de Platerías*: (note 4) p. 235, note 38.

28 MORALEJO noted the sources for the capital displaying griffins: (note 4) p. 231, 236. For their local offspring: D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 103-110.

29 Both interior capitals of the south window in bay IV are later insertions – one in the style of the west porch, and capital VICs closely resembles the one on the respond between the north and central apse of the *Sar*, a piece whose debt to the west crypt of the cathedral was noted above.

30 There are many examples in the nave of San Andrés of Avila. A similar handling of the lobes appears on capitals closely related to Compostelan types at Nogaro in Gascony: M. DURLIAT, *L'église de Nogaro*, *Congrès archéologique de France*, 128 (1970) p. 102, figs. 11-13.

building and decoration of the Pórtico de la Gloria. The distribution of capitals on the nave walls and piers, in the tribunes and below the nave vault offers precise evidence of the extent of work that must be ascribed to the campaign of the 1160s.³¹ In a more general way, the character and distribution of masons' marks support this view of the construction of the nave, for those in its western bays are fewer in number, less varied and less prominent than those in the transepts and easternmost bays of the nave.³²

The checkered history of the see of Santiago in the middle of the twelfth century helps explain why construction came to a halt in the 1120s and was only resumed on a significant scale around 1160. The account of the civil disorders of 1117 in the *Historia Compostellana* suggests that large parts of the cathedral remained without vaults while the towers of bishop Cresconius still stood in what was to be the western part of the new nave. The fabric of the cathedral testifies eloquently to the effects of the rebellion of 1117. The description of c. 1130 in the *Pilgrim's Guide* documents the haphazard arrangement of the south transept facade, long before the transfer of sculpture from the north transept facade in the eighteenth century or more recent restorations.³³ The use of broken figures as fillers and the disruption of sacred narratives could only result from the hasty setting or patching up of sculpture after the uprising when, apparently, skilled sculptors were no longer on hand to replace damaged pieces or effect repairs.³⁴

The disorders of 1117 had damaged the episcopal palace as well as the cathedral, and Gelmírez soon seized the opportunity to enlarge the residence and improve its defences.³⁵ This project undoubtedly diverted masons from the cathedral itself where, besides the repairs of scars left by the fighting, construction likely continued until the early 1120s when both the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Pilgrim's Guide* signal some stopping of the works. With its ample transepts and perhaps four bays of the nave west of the crossing built and vaulted, the basilica then offered a

31 The description in the *Pilgrim's Guide* itself supports this broad division of the nave, for it counts forty-three windows in the tribunes (CONANT [note 2] p. 51), which corresponds to the number east of bay VI of the nave, exactly where I place the resumption of the work in the 1160s. MORALEJO linked this with the change of capitals in bay V to suggest that the tribunes had been left unfinished at the time the description was written for the *Pilgrim's Guide*, a possibility which CONANT had earlier considered and rejected: (note 4) p. 236, note 45.

32 I offer this general observation pending the outcome of a census of the masons' marks in the cathedral which I have been undertaking. Any conclusions based on the study of these marks must remain tentative until the completion of such a survey and an accompanying examination of the dressing and subsequent treatment of the wall surfaces. Further, the purpose and meaning of the individual marks remain obscure, and norms governing their use likely varied at different sites and perhaps even during different phases of construction at a single site.

33 For the date of the description: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 242-5, CONANT (note 2) p. 23, note 1, and, most recently, M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 58.

34 M.F. HEARN's recent effort to date the filling of the tympana around 1130 seems to be based only on stylistic comparisons with the great tympanum at Conques and the presumption of an unduly late date for that monument: *Romanesque Sculpture* (Ithaca 1981) p. 144-5.

35 LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 11-2; R.A. FLETCHER, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez* (Oxford 1984) p. 176-7. Nearby Lugo offers an interesting parallel, for civil disorders there slowed progress on the cathedral in the 1150s and 1160s and may have spurred work on the episcopal palace: D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 114-7.

splendid and spacious setting for the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to the apostle's tomb. Completion would have demanded able builders to tackle the formidable slope to the west, and skilled sculptors to carve the planned decoration of the west facade. Moreover, the commitment of resources that the project entailed must have seemed less appealing, as Gelmfrez turned his attention and wealth towards negotiations aimed at winning metropolitan status for his see. The huge sums which flowed to the papal court between 1118 and 1124 stretched the prelate's resources and reined his building ambitions.³⁶

In a wider context, Santiago felt the repercussions of the financial crises which shook the Spanish kingdoms in the wake of the Almoravid invasions as tribute and booty from the Muslim south dried up and the ambitious building projects launched in the heady years of the late eleventh century were slowed or curtailed.³⁷ In fact, the whole enterprise represented by the flowering of the pilgrimage style was breaking down, for it had depended on wealth capable of sustaining enough projects to allow gifted craftsmen to specialize as sculptors and shuttle between widely separated sites while teams of masons kept up the ordinary tasks of construction.³⁸ That situation was ending by the 1110s, and, across northern Spain, the second quarter of the century saw the far-ranging artists of the previous generation largely replaced by localized ateliers who answered the needs of growing towns and newly repopulated sites.³⁹ Had Gelmfrez sought skilled sculptors like those who had worked at Santiago earlier in the century, he might have had difficulty finding them and attracting them to Galicia, for the conditions which had permitted their specialized training and rapid displacement from one site to another no longer existed.

Gelmfrez suffered the financial strains on the Leonese kingdom more directly through the insistent demands of Alfonso VII who alternately cajoled and extorted huge sums from the prelate.⁴⁰ Pressure from the young king on the straitened finances of the diocese delayed the main building programme initiated in the

36 For an outline of the "cost" of the new privilege: FLETCHER (note 35) p. 204-6; for the gifts of 1123-4: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 79-82.

37 For the economic situation: FLETCHER (note 35) p. 153-4.

38 I use the term "pilgrimage style" in the more limited sense recommended by MORALEJO in an important study of the flowering of Romanesque art on the pilgrimage road: *Artistas, patronos y público en el arte del Camino de Santiago*, in: *Compostellanum* 30 (1985) p. 395-423.

39 This provides a context for the local schools of Avila and Segovia, Zamora, and Cantabria, and may help to explain the isolation of the first master of the Silos cloister. At the same time, long distance exchanges did not stop entirely. Castilian craftsmen travelled to Galicia, as noted above, and connections have been discovered between Avila and Cantabria: M. VILA DA VILA, *Repoblación y artistas itinerantes: la contribución de Cantabria a la escultura románica abulense*, in: VI Congreso Español de Historia del Arte, Santiago de Compostela, 1986 (Santiago de Compostela 1989) II, p. 219-231. The most dramatic evidence of itinerant sculptors in this period is provided by the altar supports of San Payo de Antealtares whose place in a loosely connected group of Gascon and Spanish monuments including Oloron-St.-Marie, Morlaas, San Martin de Fuentidueña and Sta. María de Uncastillo has been discussed by S. MORALEJO, *De Sant Esteve de Tolosa a la Daurade. Notes sobre l'escultura del claustre romànic de Santa Maria de Solsona*, *Quaderns d'estudis medievals* 7 (1988) p. 109.

40 Gelmfrez and Alfonso VII: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 129-35, 164, 209-15; FLETCHER (note 35) p. 257-9.

1120s: construction of a cloister.⁴¹ Gelmírez launched the project in 1124, but little headway was made in the following years. One sign of its slow start comes from the activities of Bernard, who administered building operations at Santiago. In 1129, he was preparing to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, although Gelmírez dissuaded him, he then devoted himself to compiling a cartulary for the cathedral.⁴² His readiness to leave Santiago, his work on the cartulary and his duties in the royal chancery (1127-8/1131-3) suggest that building operations no longer commanded his attention, even if he had a hand in the privilege which Alfonso VII conferred in 1131 on those involved in the works at Santiago.⁴³ These exemptions, however, could hardly have compensated for the king's exactions from the see. By 1133, the canons' complaints about the indifferent activity on the cloister moved the archbishop to name a supervisory commission and allocate some moneys, with more promised if construction progressed. A major obstacle was removed when Alfonso VII contributed to the works on the cloister in 1137, and, more importantly, gave up the yearly revenues he had earlier wrung from Gelmírez.

The loss of the cloister makes it impossible to assess its character, measure the pace of its construction, or determine whether related work was undertaken inside the unfinished cathedral. Rapid progress, however, is unlikely since additional donations were earmarked for work there in 1160 and perhaps in 1199.⁴⁴ In the 1140s, the raising of a new dormitory for the cathedral chapter encroaching on the monastery of San Pelayo de Antealtares sparked protests from the house, rekindling old disputes with the cathedral. In 1147 and 1152, first, Alfonso VII, then, archbishop Bernard Alfonso VII issued privileges to the monks in response to their complaints about revenues due to be restored to them when construction of the cathedral ended.⁴⁵ Since the building was not yet finished, their suits imply a long suspension which made continued withholding of their rights seem unjustified. Given the activity on the cloister and annexes to the cathedral, additional work on the church is unlikely to have prospered under the succession of prelates with short and sometimes contested tenures from 1140 to 1156.

The death of Alfonso VII in 1157 and the partition of his domains paved the way for the resumption of work in the cathedral. At first glance, the early 1160s would

41 Cloister: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 71-2, 183, 210-1.

42 LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 156-7; FLETCHER (note 35) p. 262-4. Bernardo's involvement with the works formed part of his duties as treasurer. LÓPEZ ALSINA has linked the creation of a second office of treasurer in the late eleventh century with the construction of the new cathedral; even more relevant may be the appointment of a third treasurer by 1107: (note 14) p. 37-8. He explained the new office as a response to the need to organize the cathedral archive, but its disappearance around 1120 might better be attributed to the slowing of the cathedral works at that time. LÓPEZ ALSINA also downplays Bernardo's direct role in the compilation of the cartulary, but assumes continuing construction in the cathedral: p. 35-6.

43 The privilege of 1131 is published in LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, app. VI, pp. 16-8.

44 Twin columns, capitals and other pieces re-used in the church of Agualada have been attributed to the cathedral cloister, and their debt to the style of the west porch would confirm that the protracted work continued at the end of the century: LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 285, V, p. 190-3. BUSCHBECK dissented from this opinion, but assumed an early date for completion of the cloister: *Der Portico de la Gloria von Santiago de Compostela* (Berlin 1919) p. 64-5.

45 LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 231-3, 250-1, app. XXI, p. 57-9.

seem the least auspicious time for contemplating completion of the cathedral. If the middle years of the century had not been happy ones for the diocese, Martin's episcopacy (1156-67) was troubled even by those standards.⁴⁶ In 1160, he quarrelled with Fernando II, and was twice expelled from the see as the new monarch sought to install his own nominees, first, Fernando Curialis, then, Pedro Gudesteiz, bishop of Mondoñedo and once his tutor and prior of the Sar. Following the death of archbishop Martin in 1167, Pedro Gudesteiz was canonically invested with the office which he held until his resignation in 1173.

Richard Fletcher has argued that Fernando II, like his predecessors, sought to avail himself of the temporalities of the see of Santiago by conferring their administration on his trusted counsellors.⁴⁷ Alfonso VII had certainly coveted the wealth of the see, and, during its vacancies, named administrators of its properties who may well have acceded to his financial demands. Similar pressures may have triggered Fernando II's initial dispute with archbishop Martin, but the king was soon attempting to oust Martin from the episcopal seat itself – not merely seize its temporalities, and his nominees were styled as “archbishop-elect.”⁴⁸ The first of these, Fernando Curialis won important royal gifts for the see in 1161, while Pedro Gudesteiz received royal privileges in 1163 and 1165, as archbishop-elect, and his canonical elevation in 1167 was quickly followed by a royal contract for the cathedral works and other donations from the crown.⁴⁹ Fernando II's generosity would be puzzling indeed, if Pedro Gudesteiz had been but a tool for exploiting the wealth of the archdiocese. Gelmírez' appointment to administer the see in the 1090s offers an intriguing comparison, for it, too, provided a first step to the episcopal seat. In addition, his stewardship, praised in the *Historia Compostellana*, laid the groundwork for the extensive building programme of the following decade.⁵⁰

Fernando II's policy towards Santiago must be viewed in the broader context of his relationship to the church and the changing face of peninsular politics in the

46 LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 22) IV, p. 221-82; R.A. FLETCHER, *The Archbishops of Santiago de Compostela between 1140 and 1173: a new chronology*, *Compostellanum* 17 (1972) p. 45-61; FLETCHER (note 23) p. 57-9. López Ferreiro called attention to the poverty of the diocese in the time of archbishop Martin and the canons' desperate measures to obtain cash: (note 22) IV, p. 271-2. One wonders if they were not motivated by the pressures of a newly resumed building campaign.

47 FLETCHER (note 24).

48 “Archbishop-elect”: charters cited by FLETCHER (note 24) p. 347, 350. FLETCHER's skillfully argued hypothesis rests, in part, on a narrow reading of the term “honor” as referring specifically to the temporalities of the see and not the episcopal office. In the case of archbishop Martin, however, the papal bull which he cites (p. 340-1) discusses Martin's alleged resignation of the see, and FLETCHER's interpretation of PALLARES' remarks – a source of questionable reliability (cf. D'EMILIO (note 1) p. 112, 116) – is forced (p. 352).

49 J. GONZÁLEZ, *Regesta de Fernando II* (Madrid, 1943) p. 364, 367, 373-4, 388-9, 399-401, 406, 411, 416-7, 419-20.

50 Fletcher rightly questions the objectivity of the *Historia Compostellana* on this, but ignores the evidence for the early elevation of Gelmírez to the see: (note 24) p. 343; (note 35) p. 105-13. For Gelmírez' career as administrator and his appointment as bishop: B. F. REXLEY, *Santiago and Saint-Denis: the French presence in eleventh century Spain*, *Catholic Historical Review* 44 (1968) p. 476-82; L. VONES, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' und die Kirchenpolitik des nordwestspanischen Raumes 1070-1130* (Cologne 1980) p. 117-33.

1160s. In the first years of his reign, he freely plundered the ecclesiastical patrimony, but he soon reversed this policy. Privileges that had been bought by the citizens of Lugo "in time of war and need" were withdrawn in 1159 in favor of the bishop's rights, the church of Orense was compensated in 1167 for its wartime losses, and, beginning in 1161, bishop Gonzalo of Oviedo received a staggering number of concessions for his faithful service to the crown.⁵¹ In Santiago itself, the king's gifts to his nominee, Pedro Gudesteiz, made amends for his previous expropriations.⁵² Throughout his realm, ambitious construction projects were launched. Some, like those at Santiago and Sobrado, received direct royal support, while the financing of others – the cathedral of Orense and the decoration of the Cámara Santa in Oviedo, for example – must have been helped by the ample gifts the king showered on those prelates who had served him well.⁵³

In Galicia, the king's generosity was surely swayed by his need to rally support and secure the loyalty of his churchmen in the face of the intrigues and military adventures of the Portuguese king, Alfonso Henriques, in the 1160s. Santiago, however, had far more than local importance, for the see nursed a long-standing rivalry with Toledo which now lay in the Castilian domains. Gelmírez had struggled without success to free Santiago from the primacy of Toledo. The issue continued to smoulder, and, in 1154, pope Anastasius IV conceded the exemption in a bull which was revoked two years later by his successor, Adrian IV.⁵⁴ With the re-establishment of the metropolitan see of Tarragona in Catalonia, the independence of Portugal with its own metropolitan at Braga, and the partition of the empire of Alfonso VII, political concerns fueled the dispute over the primacy, and, between 1161 and 1169, pope Alexander III responded with four privileges confirming the primacy of Toledo.⁵⁵ Fernando II knew the importance of the imperial capital, occupied it in 1162, and titled himself "Rex hispanorum" during the troubled years following the accession of the two-year old Alfonso VIII to the Castilian throne.⁵⁶ As the Leonese position there became untenable, the political significance of Santiago grew, and the king would have had an interest in enhancing its status.

Whatever the roots of his first quarrel with the king, archbishop Martin would not have been the best candidate to advance his political aims. A reform-minded prelate with close ties to the monastic orders, he had served the archbishop of Toledo, and later he pressed his own claims there in an implicit recognition of his

51 Lugo: L. SANCHEZ BELDA, *Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia*. Catálogo de los conservados en la Sección de Clero del Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid 1953) p. 145; Orense: GONZÁLEZ (note 49) p. 396; Oviedo: GONZÁLEZ (note 49) p. 365, 377, 384, 387, 395 etc., cf. FLETCHER (note 23) p. 75-6. Additional donations of considerable size were made to Lugo and Orense between 1164 and 1169: GONZÁLEZ (note 49) p. 379, 384, 390-1, 394-6, 409.

52 GONZÁLEZ (note 49) p. 388-9.

53 For Sobrado: LOSCERTALES (note 25) II, p. 53-4.

54 LÓPEZ FERRERO (note 22) IV, p. 256-8; J.F. RIVIERA RECIO, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII* (Madrid, 1966) p. 341-4.

55 J. GONZÁLEZ, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960) I, p. 407-11; RIVIERA (note 18) p. 327, 347-50.

56 GONZÁLEZ (note 55) I, p. 679-85.

primacy. In fact, Martin's effort to enlist first the Portuguese king and later, the archbishop of Toledo, on his behalf suggests a keen awareness of the political dimensions of this dispute.⁵⁷ The appointment of Pedro Gudesteiz in 1162 placed the see in the hands of a firm ally of the king and a widely travelled prelate who might be expected to promote Santiago as the premier episcopate of the Leonese realm. Pedro Gudesteiz may have supported the building programme as a visible way of advancing the status of the see and winning approval for his controversial election. His trip to attend the Council of Tours as archbishop-elect in 1163 would have provided an occasion for soliciting the foreign craftsmen who took charge of the building and decoration of the crypt, and the royal contract of 1168 rewarded his earlier efforts.⁵⁸

The new importance of the see of Santiago in the kingdom of León helps explain the resumption of large scale construction in the cathedral and the successful effort to complete the building and adorn it with a splendid west porch. The scale of this project, as evidenced by the architectural decoration of the cathedral, calls into question the reliability of the description of the cathedral in the *Pilgrims' Guide*, and underscores the author's own admission that "of the things we have mentioned, some are already finished, others are yet to be completed." At the same time, the historical circumstances which motivated the renewed activity in the basilica shed light in another way on the *Codex Calixtinus*, for they point to a determined effort to enhance the prestige of the see in the early years of the reign of Fernando II, an effort which may well explain the completion of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and the preparation of the *Codex* itself.⁵⁹

57 FLETCHER (note 24) p. 339-40, 353-5.

58 In fact, Pedro Gudesteiz attended the dedication of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris on this trip. Who knows what the prelate might have thought as he saw the new constructions rising in the Ile de France? T. REUTER, A List of Bishops Attending the Council of Tours (1163), *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* (1976) p. 123-4.

59 In this, I find myself in accord with DÍAZ Y DÍAZ's conclusions on the date of the final compilation of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in the 1150s and the making of the *Codex Calixtinus* about the same time: (1988) p. 312-20.

Diagram A

Distribution of Capitals in the Western Bays of the Nave at Santiago Cathedral

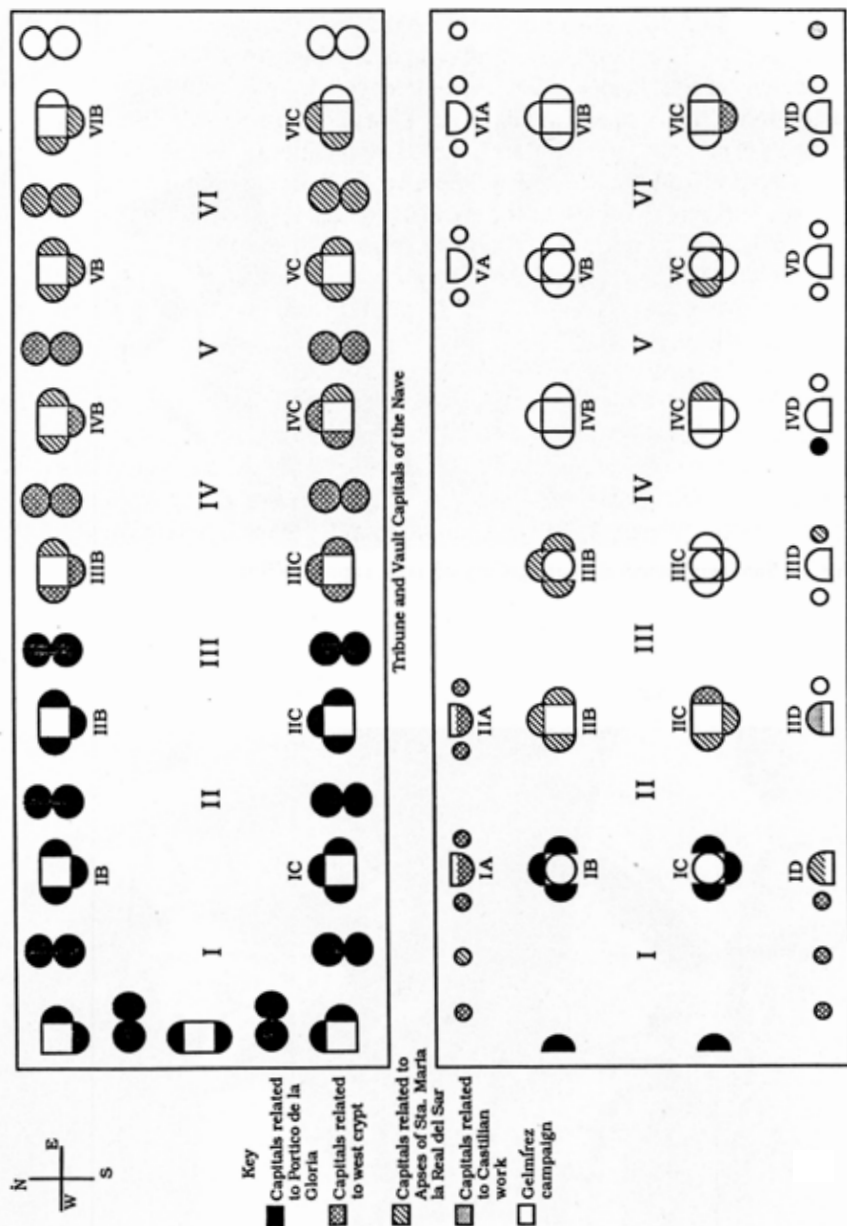




Fig. 1: Santiago cathedral, north gallery of nave, capital IVBm



Fig. 2: Santiago cathedral, north gallery of nave, capital IIIBw



Fig. 3: Santiago cathedral, west crypt, capital



Fig. 4: Santiago cathedral, west crypt, capital



Fig. 5: Santiago cathedral, west crypt, capitals



Fig. 6: Santiago cathedral, west crypt, capital



Fig. 7: Santiago cathedral, nave vault, capital IIIIBs



Fig. 8: Santiago cathedral, north gallery of nave, capital IIIIBc



Fig. 9: Santiago cathedral, south gallery of nave, capital IVCe



Fig. 10: Santiago cathedral, north aisle, capital IIA



Fig. 11: Santiago cathedral, west crypt, left portal, capital



Fig. 12: Santiago cathedral, nave, capitals IIBnw



Fig. 13: Santiago cathedral, nave, capitals IIIBen



Fig. 14: Santiago cathedral, north gallery of nave, capital VBw



Fig. 15: Santiago cathedral, nave vault, capital VICn



Fig. 16: Santa María la Real de Sar, Santiago, capital of respond between north and central apse



Fig. 17: Santiago cathedral, south aisle, capital IID



Fig. 18: San Vicente de Avila, north apse, capital

The *Codex Calixtinus* as an Art-Historical Source

SERAFIN MORALEJO

The Pilgrim's Guide constituting the fifth book of the *Codex Calixtinus* is justly recognized as an art-historical source of the first water.¹ As well as a detailed description of the City and Cathedral of Santiago as they were between 1130 and 1135,² it contains information on other monuments and works of art to be found on the ways to Compostela. These descriptions are moreover accompanied by explanations that are invaluable testimony of the reception of the iconographic programs by a viewer of that time. Purely aesthetic judgements are scarce and topical, betraying the author's rhetorical training rather than his personal taste.³

- 1 Editions and translations: W.M. WHITEHEAD (ed.), *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, I. Texto (Santiago de Compostela 1944); J. VIELLIARD (ed. and trans.), *Le guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (Mâcon 1963³); A. MORALEJO/C. TORRES/J. FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus, Traducción* (Santiago de Compostela 1951); the same version, with a facsimile reproduction of the Guide, in: *Libro de la Peregrinación del Códice Calixtino, Medievalia Hispanica I* (Madrid 1971); J. VAN HERWAARDEN (trans.), *O Roemrijke Jacobus – Bescherm uw volk. Pelgrimsgids naar Santiago* (Amstelveen 1983); K. HERBERS (trans.), *Der Jakobsweg, Mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela* (Tübingen 1986); P. CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN (trans.), *Guida del pellegrino di Santiago. Libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus, secolo XII* (Milan 1989); M. BRAVO LOZANO (trans.), *Guía del peregrino medieval ("Codex Calixtinus")* (Sahagún 1989); K.J. CONANT, *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (Cambridge, Mass. 1926), pp. 47-58. The latter only translates the chapter concerning Santiago and its church, excerpts of which are also included in some repertories or anthologies of art-historical sources: V. MORTET, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au Moyen Age, XI^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris 1911) p. 397-407 [after F. FITA/J. VINSON (eds.), *Le codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Liber de miraculis sancti Jacobi, l. IV* (Paris 1882)]; C. DAVIS-WEYER, *Early Medieval Art 300-1150. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs 1971; reprint Toronto 1986) p. 147-156 (after CONANT's translation); J. YARZA et al. [sic], *Arte Medieval II, Románico y Gótico Fuentes y documentos para la Historia del arte III* (Barcelona 1983) p. 142-150 and 180-181 (after VIELLIARD's translation, with some mistakes).

On the *Codex* and the Guide in particular, see P. DAVID, *Études sur le Livre de Saint Jacques attribué au pape Calixte II*, *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français du Portugal* 10 (1945) p. 1-41, 11 (1947) p. 113-185, 12 (1948) p. 70-223, 13 (1949) p. 52-104; L. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA/J.M. LACARRA/J. URÍA, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid 1948; reprint Oviedo 1981); C. HOHLER, A Note on *Jacobus*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 31-80; K. HERBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der "Liber Sancti Jacobi"* (Wiesbaden 1984); M.C. DIAZ Y DIAZ, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago. Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela 1988).

- 2 For the arguments to place between these dates the author's last visit to Santiago prior to the redaction of its description, see DAVID, 12 (1948) p. 217-223. Later datings of the Guide as a whole or its different strata have not taken into account the material evidence provided by the monuments. See A. DE MANDACH, *La genèse du Guide du pèlerin de Saint Jacques*, *Orderic Vital et la date de la Geste de Guillaume*, in: *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune II* (Gembloux 1969) p. 811-827; idem, *Du nouveau sur le "Guide du pèlerin des chemins de Saint-Jacques"*, in: *Les chemins de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Rapport du Congrès de Bamberg, Conseil de l'Europe. Patrimoine architectural. Rapports et études* 16 (Strasbourg 1989) p. 40-50; M. DE MENACA, *Histoire de saint Jacques et de ses miracles au Moyen-Age (VIII^e-XII^e siècles)* (Nantes 1987) p. 225-234.

- 3 This is the case of the much-celebrated passage on the emotional effects caused by the view of the

However, the fifth book is not the only Calixtine text of art-historical interest. The Pseudo-Turpin and various sermons also feature references to real or imaginary works of art, and in the compendium of literature, liturgy and Jacobean doctrine making up the Codex, the art historian can find abundant clues to the interpretation of the architectural and sculptural programs of the Compostelan basilica. Because of these figurative implications, it likewise seems probable that, before or after being collected together, these texts also served as a source to the artists and art patrons of the time, both in Compostela and other places. In this regard, I have pointed elsewhere to the possibility that the architectural conception of the Pórtico de la Gloria itself may reflect the mystic *ekphrasis* of the Cathedral in the sermon "Veneranda Dies", which echoes the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Apocalypse.⁴

Cathedral interior from its tribunes VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 92, whose source can be traced back to Dio Chrysostom (Or. XII, 52). See Y. CHRISTE, *Les grands portails romans* (Genève 1969) p. 13; J.J. POLLITT, *The Art of Greece 1400-31 B.C. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs 1965) p. 74. For this and other aesthetic or symbolic implications in the text of the Guide, see also M. SCHIAPIRO, *On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art*, in: *Art and Thought*, Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (London 1947) p. 130-150, reprint in: *idem, Romanesque Art* (New York 1977) p. 1-27, esp. 15; E. DE BRUYNE, *Estudios de estética medieval* (Madrid 1959) II p. 96-98; P. VERDIER, *La participation populaire à la création et à la jouissance de l'œuvre d'art*, in: P. BOGIONI (ed.), *La culture populaire au Moyen Age* (Montréal 1979) p. 63-80, esp. 70-73; E. PANOFSKY, *Abbot Suger On the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton 1978²) p. 226-229 [for the possible use of the expression "adversus aquilonem" (VIELLIARD [note 1] p. 88) in a mystic sense]; S. TARRAGO, *Las Matrioshkas de Santiago, Obradoiro 0* (1978) p. 45-61 [a plausible reconstruction of the geometrical modulation ruling the Cathedral's groundplan, according to the measurements given by the Guide, though untenable in its final esoteric conclusions]; E. DEUBER-PALLI/D. GAMBONI, *Suger, Théophile, Le Guide du pèlerin. Eléments de théorie de l'art au XII^e siècle, Etudes et lettres s. IV, 3* (Université de Genève 1980) p. 43-91; S. MORALEJO, *La imagen arquitectónica de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela*, in: *Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la Letteratura jacobea, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi* (Perugia 23-25 Settembre 1983) (Perugia 1985) p. 37-61. As is a rule in medieval sources, the descriptions of church treasures, like the shrine of St. Gilles or the liturgical furniture in Santiago, are much more extensive, plastic, and detailed than those of monumental ensembles, a fact which reveals the weight of the *ekphrasis* tradition rather than a personal aesthetic hierarchy. For attempts at an hypothetical reconstruction of the former, see R. HAMANN, *Der Schrein des Heiligen Ägidius, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1931) p. 114-136; *idem*, *Die Abteikirche von Saint-Gilles und ihre künstlerische Nachfolge* (Berlin 1955) p. 299-320; S. MORALEJO, 'Ars Sacra' et sculpture romane monumentale: le trésor et le chantier de Compostelle, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 11 (1980) p. 189-238; *idem*, *Les arts somptuaires hispaniques aux environs de 1100, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 13 (1982) p. 285-310, esp. 286-287 and 298, n. 12. Literary inspiration seems however to be prevalent in the sumptuous description of realia and regalia in book III, ch. iii (WHITFIELD [note 1] p. 296-299), which has been occasionally brought forward as actual art-historical evidence. See, on this passage, M. DIAZ Y DIAZ, *Descripción en el siglo XII de una procesión en Compostela*, in: *Studia Graecolatina Carmen Sanmillán in memoriam dicata* (Granada 1988) p. 79-89.

- 4 S. MORALEJO, *Imagen arquitectónica* (note 3) p. 48-55; *idem*, *Le Porche de la Gloire de la Cathédrale de Compostelle. Problèmes de sources et d'interprétation*, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 16 (1985) p. 92-116. For a pioneering attempt to relate the Compostelan sculptural programs to Calixtine texts other than the Guide, see J.M. DE AZCÁRATE, *La Portada de las Platerías y el programa iconográfico de la Catedral de Santiago*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 36 (1963) p. 1-20. For the iconography of St. James and its sources or parallels in the Calixtine liturgy and sermons, S. MORALEJO, *El patronazgo artístico del arzobispo Gelmírez (1100-1140) su reflejo en la obra e imagen de Santiago*, in: *Pistoia e il Cammino di Santiago, Atti del Convegno*

The documentary value of the Guide has been questioned on more than one point. Like all historic evidence, it must be approached with a full understanding of the literary genre to which it belongs, including comprehension of prevailing usage concerning stylistic formulae and interests, and the intentions behind the choice or presentation of information. But besides this, no critical or philological approach to this text should overlook something much more simple and obvious: that it is a human creation and as such subject both to error and to the personal preferences of its author as regards its subject matter. If in addition we take into account the author's being a foreigner who communicated with his local informants in Heaven knows what kind of Latin, and that the text as we know it seems to be the end result of compiling notes made from direct observation, memories that were perhaps not as reliable as they ought to have been, and written or oral hearsay that was not always truthful or properly understood; then the Guide's mixture of precision and vagueness, and even its flagrant contradictions, are hardly surprising.

Chronological questions

Among the artistic information supplied by the Guide, there is perhaps none that has given rise to so much controversy as the passage on the "ingens basilica veneranda" of Saint-Martin in Tours, of which it is stated that "*ad similitudinem scilicet ecclesie beati Jacobi miro opere fabricatur*".⁵ The support that the "pilgrimage churches" theory found in this contemporary testimony was vitiated by implicit chronological inconsistency in the view of those for whom the prototype of this architectural family was the church constructed in Tours by the treasurer Hervé between 1003 and 1014. The text of the Guide does indeed seem to suggest that the basilica of Saint-Martin was at the time being constructed "in imitation of the church of Santiago", which would of course place the latter at an earlier date. This not only defied the lost building's privilege of being proclaimed as the prototype of its class; it was also at odds with the evidence that the region of Tours had attained an artistic maturity with which it is hardly likely that Compostela could compete.

It is therefore not surprising that the literal interpretation of this passage has been vigorously opposed. Both G. Gaillard and P. David have in fact amassed ample evidence that the Guide's author was in the habit of erroneously using the present passive with past sense; of the north doorways of the Cathedral of Santiago, for example, he writes that they "*pulcre sculpuntur*", though no-one would make so bold as to conclude that they were being worked on at the time the Guide was

Internazionale di Studi, Pistoia, 28-30 Settembre 1984 (Perugia 1987) p. 245-272. On other iconographic aspects involving texts of the Codex, S. MORALEJO, *Artistas, patronos y público en el arte del Camino de Santiago*, Compostellanum, 30 (1985) p. 395-430, esp. 415-423; B. MARIÑO, 'Iudas mercator pessimus'. Mercaderes y peregrinos en la iconografía medieval, in: VI Congreso español de Historia del arte. Los caminos y el arte III (Santiago de Compostela 12-20 de junio 1986) (1989) p. 31-38.

⁵ VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 60-61. See C. LELONG, *La basilique Saint-Martin de Tours* (Chambray-lès-Tours 1986) p. 34-35 and nn., for a summary of the controversy.

written.⁶ Thus the assertion that the church of Saint-Martin "miro opere fabricatur" does not mean that it was *being built* with admirable work, but that it was *built* with admirable work.

As for the claimed similitude with the Cathedral of Compostela, John Williams has rightly pointed out that it might refer to the fact that both at Santiago and Tours a new basilica was erected over the sepulchre of the respective saint, for the disputed passage begins with a relative pronoun immediately following a description of the tomb of St. Martin: "Super quem [*i.e.* sarcophagum] ingens basilica veneranda sub eius honore ad similitudinem scilicet ecclesie beati Iacobi miro opere fabricatur".⁷ Turns of speech such as "ad similitudinem" or "ad instar", even when referring to conscious "copies" of renowned buildings such as St. Peter's in Rome or the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, were not employed in the strict art-historical sense that we should give them; a vague formal, symbolic or functional resemblance was sufficient to justify their use, as was probably the case of the sepulcher of St. Front in Périgueux, which is reported in the Guide as "*rotundum tamen ut dominicum sepulcrum*".⁸ It is also necessary to take into account the personal experience of the beholder. In the late 15th century, for instance, Hieronymus Münzer went so far as to compare the Cathedral of Santiago with the Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg, a rapprochement that no handbook would so much as take the trouble to refute. What Münzer wanted to tell his fellow citizens was simply that the Cathedral of Santiago was up to the standards of the best in his home town.⁹

The testimony of the *Codex Calixtinus* Guide is equally involved in the debate on the commencement of the Cathedral of Santiago. The date given in the Guide, 1078, is the same as that reported in the *Historia Compostelana*, which furthermore specifies the same day and month as are afforded by one of the proposed readings of the polemical epigraph on the Platerías doorway. This dating contradicts the date 1075 implied by an inscription in the *Capilla del Salvador*, according to which this

6 G. GAILLARD, *Les commencements de l'art roman en Espagne*, Bulletin Hispanique 37 (1935) p. 273-308, reprint in: idem, *Études d'art roman* (Paris 1972) p. 38-63, esp. 58, n. 37; DAVID, 12 (1948) p. 197-198; C. LELONG, *Note sur un passage discuté du Guide du Pèlerin*, Bulletin de l'Institut d'études latines de l'Université de Tours 3 (1968) p. 121-124. See also MANDACH, *Genèse du Guide* (note 2) p. 824-825, for a similar passage in which the Compostelan Codex reads "fabricatur" where its presumable source had "fabricata est".

7 J. WILLIAMS, *La arquitectura del Camino de Santiago*, Compostelanum, 29 (1984) p. 267-290, esp. 278-279.

8 VIELLEARD (note 1) p. 58-59 and n. 1. The Calixtinus testimony having been ruled out as irrelevant, elucidation of the relative chronology of Tours and Compostela must rely on other arguments. LELONG initially appears to have supported the priority of Compostela when on archaeological evidence and stylistic analogies he placed the commencement of the pilgrimage church at Tours in the final years of the 11th century. See his articles in Bulletin Monumental 131 (1973) p. 87-100 and 297-310; 133 (1975), 113-129, and 205-231. However, a reconsideration of his own arguments later led him to conclude that work had already begun in the years between 1070 and 1080, though he failed to speculate on the effects that the fire of 1096 would have had on this early structure (Basilique Saint-Martin [note 5] p. 78). In this case, the basilica of Saint-Martin would be practically coetaneous with that of Santiago, though the latter went up more slowly.

9 Edited by L. PFANDL, *Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii*, Revue hispanique 48 (1920) p. 1-179, esp. 95; J. GARCÍA MERCADAL, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Madrid 1952) I, p. 386.

chapel was consecrated "thirty years after the commencement of the works", and the *Historia Compostelana* refers to the same chapel as dedicated in 1105. It has been suggested, moreover, that the date 1078 mentioned in the Guide and the *Historia Compostelana* may be the result of their authors having misread the Platerías epigraph, for both are known to have been Frenchmen who may well have been unfamiliar with the Spanish custom of writing the numeral *L* as a V-shaped tail to a preceding *X*. When this is taken into account, the Platerías inscription is found not to refer to the year 1116 of the Spanish era (A.D. 1078), but to the year 1141 or 1142 (A.D. 1103 or 1104), and hence to some event quite different from the founding of the basilica.¹⁰

Whatever the correct interpretation of the Platerías inscription may be, new evidence appears to confirm that 1075 was the year in which the Romanesque basilica was begun or planned at least, and that the *Historia Compostelana* and the Guide are both mistaken on this point. A charter recently discussed by B.F. Reilly and published in full by F. López Alsina proves that Alfonso VI held a "concilio magno" in Compostela in January 1075, on his return from an expedition to the Kingdom of Granada to demand tribute.¹¹ As Reilly suggests, the reason for the monarch's journey may have been to endow the Church of Santiago with part of the 30,000 dinars booty that had been obtained, in which case the coincidence with the start of work on the new basilica would have allowed the latter to benefit from the

10 For the date 1078, see VIELLEARD (note 1) p. 116-117; *Historia Compostellana*, I, LXXVIII, ed. E. FALQUE REY, *Corpus Christianorum* 70 (Turnhout 1988) p. 121. For the Platerías and San Salvador epigraphs, A. DEL CASTILLO, *Inscripciones inéditas de la Catedral de Santiago*, *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega* 15 (1926) p. 314-317; X. CARRO GARCÍA, *A data da inscrición da Porta das Platerías*, *Arquivos do Seminario de Estudos Galegos* 4 (1932) p. 221-235; W.M. WHITEHILL, *The Date of the Beginning of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, *The Antiquaries Journal* 15 (1935) p. 336-342; M. SCHAPIRO, *A Note on an Inscription of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, *Speculum* 17 (1942) p. 261-262; F. BOUZA BREY, *El epígrafe fundacional de San Miguel de Tomonde y el de la puerta de las Platerías de la Catedral de Santiago*, *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 17 (1962) p. 175-182; AZCÁRATE, *Portada de las Platerías* (note 4) p. 17-18, n. 7. For the discussion of these data in the history of the building, see P. DISCHAMPS, *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le nord de l'Espagne*, *Bulletin Monumental* 82 (1923) p. 305-350; CONANT (note 1); M. GÓMEZ-MORENO, *El arte románico español* (Madrid 1934) p. 112-133; G. GAILLARD, *Les débuts de la sculpture romane espagnole*, *Leon, Jaca, Compostelle* (Paris 1938) p. 157-240; idem, *Etudes* (note 6) p. 53-57, and 279-295; W.M. WHITEHILL, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (Oxford 1941; reprint 1968) p. 267-284; E. LAMBERT, *Etudes médiévales I* (Toulouse 1956) p. 245-259; R. OTERO TUNES, *Problemas de la catedral románica de Santiago*, *Compostellana* 10 (1965) p. 961-980; J. Williams, 'Spain or Toulouse?' a half century later. *Observations on the chronology of Santiago de Compostela*, *Actas del XXXIII Congreso internacional de Historia del arte I* (Granada 1973) (1976) p. 557-567; S. MORALEJO, *Notas para unha revisión da obra de K.J. Conant*, in: K.J. CONANT, *Arquitectura románica da Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago 1983) p. 91-116 and 221-236; idem, *Le Lieu Saint: le tombeau et les basiliques médiévales*, in: *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 ans de Pèlerinage Européen*, *Europalia 85 España* (Gent 1985) p. 41-52.

11 B.F. REILLY, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI 1065-1109* (Princeton 1988) p. 84; F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela 1988) p. 410-411. Both authors attribute the charter to January 1075, but it cannot be later than 1 January. If some figure before the kalendas were lost, its date should be delayed to the last days of December 1075, which conflicts with another charter that places then the court in Castrojeriz (see REILLY p. 86).

regal munificence.¹² Later traditions attributing to Charlemagne the enlargement or construction of the Compostelan basilica with the spoils he took from the Muslims possibly preserve a transfigured memory of its initial finacing with moorish gold, which could not fit better the shrine of the saint patron of the *Reconquista*.¹³ Of no less significance seems to be the subsequent presence of King Alfonso and his court in Oviedo (March 1075), allegedly to assist to the revelation of the hoard of relics of the *Arca Santa*. The sudden promotion of this claimed Ark of the Covenant of the reconquest might be interpreted as a jealous reaction of the old Asturian capital to the monumental rise of the Compostelan Church.¹⁴

The content of the charter brought forward by Reilly and López Alsina, which specifies the domains of the obscure monastery of San Isidoro de Montes, by no means justifies the convening of the "concilio magno" referred to in its exordium, nor the gathering of such numbers of prelates, abbots and nobles as are mentioned as co-signatories. Yet more noteworthy is the fact that the wording of the initial clause dating the document, which mentions both the monarch and the prelate currently occupying the see, recalls that of the inscriptions accompanying their ephigies on two capitals that commemorate the commencement of the works in the Cathedral itself (figs. 1 and 2). Thus the epigraphs read:

- 12 The collection of the tribute is recorded in a meaty passage of the memoirs of King Abd Alla of Granada, whose chronology has been convincingly revised by REILLY (note 11) p. 83-84, n. 60. See E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL/E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ (trans.), *El siglo XI en 1ª persona. Las "memorias" de 'Abd Allāh, último rey zīrī de Granada, destronado por los almorávides* (Madrid 1980) p. 157-162. Prior to the publication of Reilly's book, López Alsina had already drawn my attention to the Compostelan charter referred to above and its probable connection with the foundation of the Romanesque Cathedral.
- 13 MÜNZER, *Itinerarium*, in: PFANDL (note 9) p. 94-95; GARCÍA MERCADAL, *Viajes* (note 9) p. 385. His source is surely the ch. v of the *Historia Turpini* (WHITEHILL, *Liber Sancti Jacobi* [note 1] p. 306), which reports that "ex auro quem Karolo reges et principes Yspaniae dedere, beati Iacobi basilicam tunc per tres annos n illis horis commorans augmentauit". In this connection, the same *Historia* furnishes a more striking parallel to the historic circumstances that the charter of 1075 allows us to guess at. If this refers to a "concilio magno" held then in Santiago "ad restaurationem fidem ecclesie" and attended by "pontifices... cum principes eius comes magnos" (LÓPEZ ALSINA [note 11] p. 410), which could comprise the decision of the rebuilding of the basilica, the *Historia* attributes to Charlemagne the call to an "episcoporum et principum concilio" in Compostela for the reorganization of the Spanish Church, during which the shrine of St. James was dedicated on "kalendis Iunii" (ch. xix; WHITEHILL p. 325). Taking into account that the 1075 council was held on "kalendas ianuarii", an hypothetically abbreviated dating formula like "kal. ian.", with the visigothic open "a", on some charter referring to it, might well have been misunderstood as "kal. iun.", the date of the apocryphal meeting. For other instances of epic transfiguration of historical facts in the *Historia Turpini* see LACARRA, *Las peregrinaciones* (note 1) I, pp. 484-489.
- 14 The charter reporting the opening of the *Arca Santa* on 14 March 1075 is regarded by B.F. REILLY as a forgery, though "probably based on a genuine donation of somewhat different content". The presence of the king in Oviedo at that time is moreover attested by other charters. See *The Chancery of Alfonso VI of León-Castile* (1065-1109), in: B.F. REILLY (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter. The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080* (New York 1985) p. 1-40, esp. 7 and 25, n. 40; Alfonso VI (note 11) p. 85. An extensive epigraph on the *Arca* refers to the same event, and the stylistic connections suggested by its repoussé-work point to a date in the time of bishop Arianus (1073-1092) (MORALEJO, *Arts somptuaires* (note 3) p. 288-289). For the political significance of the *Arca Santa*, see S. MORALEJO, *Le origini del programma iconografico dei portali nel Romanico spagnolo*, in: *Atti del Convegno Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romanica* (Modena 24-27 Ottobre 1985) (1989) p. 35-51, esp. 38 and 47-48, n. 22.

REGNANTE PRINCIPE ADEFONSO CONSTRVCTVM OPUS,
TEMPORE PRESULIS DIDACI INCEPTUJM OPUS FVIT;

and the diploma: "In tempore domini Adefonsi principe regnante... et in loco apostolico sancti Iacobi gratia Dei Didacus aepiscopus".¹⁵

As I have said, the solemnity of the document goes far beyond what is warranted by its content. It therefore seems likely that the scribe may have copied a heading composed for diplomas of greater importance signed at the same *curia* or "concilio magno", such as the minutes recording its resolutions or an endowment of the new basilica. The latter of these possibilities would better explain the similarity between the formulae employed in the heading and the epigraphs, for whoever composed the latter may have had the hypothetical deed in mind, or may even have been the person who drew it up. The execution of both the inscriptions and the capitals that bear them at a date close to that of the extant charter is suggested by the title "princeps", which had originally been adopted by Alfonso to intimate his precedence over his brothers García and Sancho but was gradually replaced by "rex" or "imperator" after Sancho's death in 1073 made it irrelevant.¹⁶ It is worth noting that in another charter related to the beginnings of the new basilica, the so-called *Concordia de Antealtares*, dated 1077, the monarch signs as "Adefonsus rex".¹⁷

I find no contradiction here with the fact that on the capitals Alfonso and Bishop Diego Peláez are both accompanied by angels and in an apparent state of beatitude – especially Bishop Peláez, who even seems to be shrouded in a winding-sheet¹⁸ – for both these scenes are to be understood as of a prospective or propitiatory nature; in other words, as showing the persons represented in the state to which they would attain by virtue of their initiative and munificence with regard to the new basilica (figs. 1 and 2). A capital in the church of Volvic, Auvergne, has an analogous scene of angels attending on a donor (fig. 3), and the corresponding inscription also reads, as Z. Swiechowski has pointed out, like the heading of an endowment charter:

15 LÓPEZ ALSINA (note 11) p. 410. For the epigraphs, see A. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela III* (Santiago 1900) p. 42.

16 See REILLY, Alfonso VI (note 11) p. 4-9. Setting aside the Compostelan charter, the latter document he refers to as bearing the "princeps" intitution is dated 7 August 1073. For a consideration of medieval inscriptions in terms of diplomatic criticism, see R. FAVREAU, *Fonction des inscriptions au moyen âge*, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 32 (1989) p. 203-232, esp. 210-218. V. GARCÍA LONO, *Las inscripciones medievales de San Isidoro de León*, in: *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII Centenario de su obra literaria*, 1185-1985 (León 1987) p. 371-398, esp. 384-388.

17 LÓPEZ FERREIRO, *Historia* (note 15) III, appendix I, p. 3-7. On the charter see F. LÓPEZ ALSINA, *Le concordat de Antealtares*, in: *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 ans de Pèlerinage Européen*, *Europalia 85 España* (Gent 1985) p. 203-204. The fact that this important document has left no trace in the Cathedral archives – it is only known through later copies coming from the monastery of Antealtares can help to explain the loss of the endowment charter we guessed at for the beginning of the works. The deposition of bishop Diego Peláez in 1087 and the subsequent confiscation of the estate of his Church – referred to in the *Historia Compostellana*, I, III, ed. FALQUE REY (note 10) p. 16 and 24 – surely caused the loss of a certain number of its title deeds. The documentary gap in such a decisive period in the history of the Compostelan see seems to be eloquent enough.

18 See WILLIAMS, 'Santiago or Toulouse' (note 10) p. 560.

"INCIPIIT DONALIA SANCTI PRE[jec]TI QUE RECIT GVILLELMES DE BEZAC PRO ANIMA SVA ET CO[n]jugis".¹⁹ The Auvergnat filiation recognized in the Compostelan capitals make this parallel still more significant.²⁰

Finally, it may be noted that the San Isidoro charter cites among its co-signatories one "Gundesindus presbiter" and one "Se[ge]redus tesarario", whom it is possible to identify as the persons referred to by the Guide as administrators of the Cathedral works.²¹ Their attendance at the "concilio magno" adds a supplementary support to the hypothesis that the beginning of a new basilica might have been reckoned in its agenda.

Just as controversial as the question sketched above is the Guide's mention of the placing of the "last stone" of the church, which it states took place forty-four years after the laying of the first stone: "Ab anno quo primus lapis in fundamento eius ponitur usque ad illum quo ultimus mittitur xliiii anni habentur".²² Counting from the year in which the Guide's author believed the Cathedral to have been founded, 1078, this quotation apparently dates the conclusion of the works in the year 1122, which at first sight seems difficult to reconcile with either the abundant archaeological evidence that the Cathedral was still unfinished at the time the Guide was written or the Guide's own declaration that "ex his que diximus alia sunt iam omnino adimpleta, aliaque adimplenda".²³ The contradiction can nevertheless be removed by a careful reading of the passage that puts the accent on the phrase "in fundamento"; thus the "last stone", like the first, belonged to the foundations of the edifice and the completion it implies is to be referred to the closure of the ground area originally assigned to the basilica.

19 See Z. SWIECHOWSKI, *La sculpture romane d'Auvergne* (Clermont-Ferrand 1973) p. 228, pls. 245-245.

20 See GAILLARD, *Débuts* (note 10) p. 172-174; P. DESCHAMPS, *Etude sur les sculptures de Sainte-Foy de Conques et de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et leurs relations avec celles de Saint-Isidore de León et de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, *Bulletin Monumental* 100 (1941) p. 239-264; J. BOUSQUET, *La sculpture à Conques aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Essai de chronologie comparée* (Lille 1972) p. 581-587; MORALEJO, *Notas Conant* (note 10) p. 103-104.

21 LÓPEZ ALSINA, *Ciudad de Santiago* (note 11) p. 411 and 409 (for another mention of Segeredus in a charter dated 1072); VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 116-117. For their career and the role they played in the Cathedral works, see MORALEJO, *Notas Conant* (note 10) p. 107 and 228; LÓPEZ ALSINA, p. 37-38, n. 26. One "Dacaredus presbiter" who also appears as a co-signatory can be identified as the person with the same name and title whose sepulchral slab was found near the north doorway of the Pre-Romanesque basilica. See J. GUERRA CAMPOS, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apóstol Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela 1982) p. 453, fig. 141. Unfortunately enough, the date of his death was left incomplete ("ERA IC"), which deprives us of a valuable testimony to the progress of the building campaigns.

22 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 116-117. The date 1122 is also marked by the epigraph on the monumental fountain built in front of the north façade by the *operarius* and treasurer Bernardus (VIELLIARD p. 94-95). Once more the *Historia Compostellana*, III, I, furnishes a parallel passage stating that the Cathedral was almost complete forty six years after its beginning, i.e. by 1124 (ed. FALQUE REY [note 10] p. 420).

23 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 104-105. For archaeological and textual evidence against the alledged completion of the Cathedral before the intervention of master Mateo, see J.M. CAAMAÑO MARTÍNEZ, *Contribución al estudio del Gótico en Galicia* (Valladolid 1962) p. 18-20; AZCÁRATE (note 4) p. 18-20; S. MORALEJO, *Esculturas compostelanas del último tercio del siglo XII*, *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 28 (1973) p. 294-310; M.L. WARD, *Studies on the Pórtico de la Gloria at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, (Ph.D. Diss. New York Univ. 1978). For the traditional views, J.M. PITA ANDRADE, *La arquitectura románica*, in: *La Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago 1977) p. 89-112.

A clear indication that the Guide describes an unfinished building is its stating the number of its windows. According to my calculations, the number mentioned accounts for the work done as far as the fifth or sixth bay of the tribunes of the nave. This is precisely the point at which the capitals begin to exhibit a different style, the abaci a different profile and the paired columns more slender proportions. However, this and other questions concerning the last phase of the Cathedral's construction will be dealt with more knowledgeably by James D'Emilio.²⁴

Terminological Problems

Other doubts about the reliability of the evidence provided by the Guide have concerned its use of terms whose meaning is uncertain, or which appear to be at odds with archaeological facts. A case in point is its description of the basilica's original roof as being of tiles and lead ("teolis et plumbo").²⁵ Remains of a stone roof of primitive appearance led to its formerly being accepted that the term "teolis" must have been used in an approximate sense to indicate tile-like stone shingles or slates.²⁶ This scholarly reconstruction of the past became material reconstruction when in the 1960's extensive restoration included roofing of the whole building with stone.

However, the literal truth of the Guide's testimony has been vindicated by recent restoration work on the roof of the main chapel, which uncovered the original tiled roof (fig. 4). This was buried under a thick layer of mortar and a covering of stone slabs which must have been laid down as paving as part of the military transformations undergone by the Cathedral between the 12th and the 14th centuries.²⁷ Unfortunately, the discovery of the true nature of the original roof has been completely ignored in restoration work of a yet more recent date, in which a stereotyped notion what a Romanesque Cathedral must have been like has led to stone again being used where once there were tiles.

"Teolis", from *teola*, is evidently a latinization of a romance form related to the French *tuile*, which derives from *tegula* and is recorded in the form *tiule* around

24 See MORALEJO, *Notas Conant* (note 10) p. 114, n. 45. CONANT (note 1) p. 28-30, had already realized that the forty-three glazed windows recorded by the Guide in the tribunes (VIELLIARD [note 1] p. 92-93) could not include those of the westernmost bays, but he preferred to guess at some mistake or erratum in the text and limited the incompleteness of the building to the upper west front. For the capitals on these bays of the tribunes, see J. D'EMILIO's paper in this volume and his *Romanesque Architectural sculpture in the Diocese of Lugo, East of the Miño* (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of London 1988) p. 73-93 and 158-176.

25 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 104-105.

26 LÓPEZ FERRERO (note 15) III, p. 141-142 was the first to state that "teolis" should be "baldosas de pizarra asentadas a manera de las tejas". CONANT (note 1) p. 54, n. 7, keeps "teolis" untranslated and suggests they probably were "stone slabs". VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 105, and MORALEJO/TORRES/FEO (note 1) p. 563, correctly translate "teolis" as "tuiles" and "tejas", as do HERBERS (note 1) p. 148, and CAUCCI (note 1) p. 127.

27 The research that J.A. Puente Míguez is carrying out on the Gothic additions to the Cathedral will surely throw a new light on the chronology of these military structures. I have to thank him for his kind help in the interpretation of these findings.

1170.²⁸ A similar history belongs to the term “cindrie” or “medias cindrias”, the same as the Catalan *cindria* (French: *cintre*; Spanish: *cimbra*), naming the semicircular framework upon which an arch is constructed.²⁹ The author of the Guide, however, applies this word in apposition to pillars or columns. For this reason, K.J. Conant preferred to relate the term to *cylinder*, and to translate “colonne cindrie” as “cylindrical columns” and “medie cindrie” as “semi-cylindrical columns”, whereas other authors suggested “colonnes engagées”, “arcs”, “demi-berceaux”, or the “piles” dividing the bays of the tribunes.³⁰ If we substitute *colonnettes* for “piles”, the latter interpretation, due to E. Lambert, seems to be the most likely. All the contexts in which the “cindrie” are mentioned fit indeed the paired columns dividing each span of the triforium in two: these provide a point of reference for the height reached by the aisles (“navicule usque ad medias cindrias tantum ascendunt”); they are found in the tribunes (“sed in navibus palatii inter pilares singulos, due simul colupne semper sunt, que vocantur colupne cindrie”); and they contribute to the bearing of their vaults (“ex uno quidem latere eas tenent parietes, et ex alio pilares... et duplices pilares qui a lapicidibus vocantur medie cindrie”).

It is the adjective “medie” that gives a clue as to why and how this term is used in the Guide. As in classical Latin or *medio* in the Spanish *arco de medio punto*, “medie” does not mean *half*, which would make “medie cindrie” *half-cindrias* or *halves of cindrias*, neither of which has much sense in this context, but rather *median, placed in the middle*. The columns in the middle of the triforium spans are in fact functionally analogous to permanent “cindrie” in the usual sense because they and their arches hold up the main triforium arcades. The term “ciborios” to designate the doorways arcades (fig. 7) attests to a similar extensive or approximate use of the technical vocabulary.³¹

28 P. ROBERT, Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française (Paris 1970) s.v. “tuile”. VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 105, n. 5, brings forward the term “teolica”, recorded by Du CANGE.

29 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 8-91.

30 CONANT (note 1) p. 50-51. MORTET (note 1) thought that “medias cindrias” were the “colonnes engagées dans les piliers, lesquelles supportent les arcs-doubleaux sectionnant la voûte de forme cintrée”, and referred the “colupne cindrie” to the columns in the tribunes, both engaged and free standing (note 1 p. 399-400, n. 4). VIELLIARD first followed E. Lambert’s suggestion identifying the “cindrie” as the “piles supplémentaires qui divisent en deux les baies des tribunes et peuvent être considérées comme des renforts”. However, she later accepted Puig i Cadafalch’s advice to translate “medias cindrias” as “demi-berceaux”, as an alternative to “renforts medians” (note 1 p. 88-89, n. 3, and 148).

31 See MORALEJO, ‘Ars Sacra’ (note 3) p. 221-223, where other debated terminological questions concerning the liturgical furniture are discussed. See esp. p. 212, n. 81, for the “picturis et debuxaturis” decorating the Compostelan “ciborios”, which led some authors to argue for a monumental use of enamels and niello work as early as 1105.

As for the term “vites”, referred to the substructures of the two towers found in the SW and NW corners of the transept crossing (VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 104-105), I see no reason to relate it to the Spanish term *cepas*, in the sense of *buttress* or *pillar*, as J.M. ZEPEDANO and J. CARRO OTERO have claimed, through a hazardous semantic path: from Lat. *vitis* (vine) to Span. *cepa* (stock; fig.: buttress). See J.M. ZEPEDANO y CARNERO, Historia y descripción arqueológica de la Basílica Compostelana (Lugo 1870) p. 99, n. 2; J. CARRO OTERO, Las fortificaciones de la Catedral de Santiago, La Voz de Galicia (La Coruña 25 July 1973). “Vites” and its more frequent variant “vices” are terms widely documented in medieval texts to designate tower staircases, and all the translators of the Guide have rightly understood the passage in this way. See Du CANGE, s.v. “vis”;

The vulgar forms of some of the technical terms used by the author of the Guide and his own invocation of the "lapicides" authority suggest that stonemasons, presumably Gallic or with a Gallic training, were among his informants in Compostela. On the other hand, the references to parts of the church yet unfinished – even perhaps not begun – and the detailed account of its measurements could reveal awareness of graphic or written records of the architectural project. This later possibility is also to be taken into account as regards the description of the iconographic programs.

Iconographic problems: The description of the façades

The Guide's description of the façades of the Cathedral poses problems of two kinds: as well as the suspicions aroused by the few vague lines devoted to the west front, which I will refer to later, there is a different sort of difficulty related to the vicissitudes suffered over the centuries by the other two portals, which are described in great detail. As far as we can judge from the Platerías façade – the only survivor – as it stands today, the Guide is generally descriptively accurate.³² The passage that has given rise to most doubts is a matter of interpretation rather than description, namely the affirmation that the woman with a skull on the left-hand tympanum (fig. 5) represents an adulteress condemned by her husband to kiss her lover's rotting head twice daily.³³ The scepticism provoked by this explanation – which Philip Verdier qualified as a "roman" – has encouraged the proposition of a number of other readings, including the presentation of the relief as "Eve, Mother of Death" – an opinion to which I adhered for some time – or as an even more anachronistic penitent Magdalene.³⁴

MORTET (note 1) p. 405, n. 2; A. CHOISY, *Histoire de l'architecture II* (Paris 1899) p. 177 and 394-395; J. FITCHEN, *The Construction of Gothic Cathedrals* (Chicago 1961) p. 21-23. The square groundplan of the Compostelan "vices" is no objection to this, for the term does not refer so much to an spiral structure as to the fact of having "to turn" in climbing it. As a matter of fact, the form "vices", if not a purely orthographic variant, suggests a possible influence of the classic term *vices* in the sense of *turns*.

32 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 98-103. On the Platerías façade, in which the three programs described in the Guide are involved, see A.K. PORTER, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston 1923) p. 211-239; idem, *La escultura románica en España II* (Firenze/Barcelona 1928) p. 16-18; GÓMEZ MORENO (note 10) p. 129-133; GAILLARD, *Débuts* (note 10) p. 166-168 and 186-219; idem, *Études* (note 6) p. 285-295; W. WEISBACH, *Reforma religiosa y arte medieval* (Madrid 1949) p. 119-133; J. GUDIOL RICART/J.A. GAYA NUÑO, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas* (Ars Hispaniae 5, Madrid 1949) p. 216-224; J.M. PITA ANDRADE, *Un estudio inédito sobre la Portada de las Platerías*, *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 5 (1950) p. 446-460 [abstract of J.H.B. KNOWLTON's unpublished Ph.D. Diss.]; O. NARSSGAARD, *Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et les débuts de la grande sculpture vers 1100* (Aarhus 1962); AZCÁRATE, *Portada de las Platerías* (note 4) p. 1-20; OTERO TORRES, *Problemas Catedral* (note 10) p. 964-968; S. MORALEJO, *La primitiva fachada norte de la Catedral de Santiago*, *Compostellanum* 14 (1969) p. 623-668; idem, *Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. Les portails retrouvés de la cathédrale romane*, *Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, 20 (1977) p. 86-103; idem, *Lieu Saint* (note 10) p. 44-51; M. DURLIAT, *La porte de France à la cathédrale de Compostelle*, *Bulletin Monumental* 230 (1972) p. 137-143; WILLIAMS, 'Spain or Toulouse' (note 10) p. 561-562.

33 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 102-103.

34 VERDIER takes this passage as an example of "comment la mentalité populaire est incapable de déchiffrer un symbole dans une forme plastique, mais y projette tout un roman" (note 3, p. 71-72).

Interpretations such as this one, that are so clearly wide of the mark, make one reflect that it is perhaps temerarious to think that modern scholars can understand a medieval image better than the contemporaries to whom it was addressed. More than ten years ago, and incidentally in this University, John Williams convincingly argued in favour of the Guide's interpretation of the relief as an *exemplum libidinis*.³⁵ It is a very early *exemplum* to be sure, and I too am inclined to see it as a sculpted equivalent of the *exempla* that the preachers of the time borrowed from secular literature in order to dress up their moral message. The Guide's closing words on this figure, which make an abrupt transition from prosaic description to rhetorical apostrophe – "Oh, how great and admirable a punishment the adulteress's to be told to all!" –, seem to echo the oral explanations of some clerical cicerone addressing the pilgrims, like the loquacious *aedituus* who guided Prudentius in the basilica of Imola.³⁶ Another version of this legend has been pointed out on a capital in the church of Santa Marta de Tera, Zamora (fig. 6), but the bearded head the woman exhibits there in her bosom, instead of a skull, casts doubt on her identity in favour of Salome.³⁷

This was also WEISBACH's opinion, arguing for an allegory of *luxuria* which lately came to generate its self-explanatory story (note 32 p. 121-123). The interpretation of the woman as Mary Magdalene, wrongly attributed to GAILLARD (Études [note 6] p. 292-293) by some scholars, is reported to, though not assumed, by J. VILLA-AMIEL Y CASTRO, La Catedral de Santiago (Madrid 1909) p. 32. "Eve as Mother of Death" was proposed by AZCÁRATE (note 4) p. 10-12, whom I followed in Primitiva fachada (note 32) p. 643, and Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (note 32) p. 98-99. T.W. LYMAN, surmises that the north portal was the former emplacement of this relief, where it could have provided a contrasting *pendant* to the Virgin of the Annunciation. Its later deployment on the Platerías doorway, neighbouring the Temptation scene, would have invested it with a new meaning, as an image of lust, and given rise to the story told in the Guide. See Motif et narratif: vers une typologie des thèmes profanes dans la sculpture monumentale sur les romerías, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa 10 (1979) p. 59-78, esp. 71-78. W. SAUERLÄNDER stresses the sensual treatment of the figure, paralleling the spirit of the *troubadours*, which makes ambiguous whichever content it might be intended to convey. See *Nisi transmutetis mores*. Riflessioni sull'ambiguità dell'iconografia románica, in: Wiligelmo e Lanfranco (note 14) p. 151-154. KNOWLTON seems to have thought of Apocalypse 17, 4 (PITA ANDRADE (note 32) p. 452-453, n. 27). NÆSGAARD (note 32) p. 46-47, discussed the relief in the framework of the interpretation given in the Guide, pointing out some textual parallels.

Independently of its intended meaning, an antique source may be guessed at for the style and some iconographic features of the piece. The long, untidy hair and the exhibition of one breast are characteristic of maenads and barbarian captives or personifications of conquered provinces in Roman iconography. See E. ESPÉRANDEU, Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine (Paris 1907-1955), X, supplément, nr. 488; XI, supplément, nr. 7655; G.C. PICARD, Les trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome (Paris 1957) p. 270-273, pl. X; J.-J. HATT, Los celtas y los galo-romanos (Barcelona 1976) pl. 95.

- 35 A brief abstract of WILLIAMS' lecture, delivered in 1976, is to appear in A. STONES, Arthurian art since Loomis, in: Proceedings of the 15th International Arthurian Society Conference (Leuven 1987), n. 36. My later discussions of the woman with the skull are greatly indebted to Williams' arguments. See S. MORALEJO, Artes figurativas y artes literarias en la España medieval: románico, Romance y roman, Boletín de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español 17 (1985) p. 61-70, esp., 66; idem, Origeni del programma (note 14) p. 42 and fig. 24, where I suggest a possible literary background for the neighbouring relief, which is in the same style, showing a man astride a lion and blowing a horn (see here fig. 5).

- 36 See Peristephanon, IX, 18ff. In the 13th century, an inscription on the Hereford map recalls for the onlookers that its images also are to be "heard". See C. MORELAND/D. BANNISTER, Antique Maps (Oxford 1986) p. 20-21.

- 37 M. GÓMEZ-MORENO, Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de Zamora (Madrid 1927; reprint

The frieze at the Platerías façade in Santiago (fig. 7) has been likened to a "collection of casts hanging on the walls of a *musée de province*".³⁸ Setting aside the supreme quality of the sculptures, this perjorative description reflects quite rightly the alluvial process by which part of this disparate collection was formed, by accumulation of relics coming from other parts of the building. But even before the incorporation of a certain number of reliefs from the destroyed north portal,³⁹ the sculptures there and in the Platerías façade already looked to an early seveneenth-century eyewitness like spoils from an earlier church,⁴⁰ and some of the puzzling disorder they present today is recorded in the pilgrim's Guide around 1130.

Two groups of apostles above the Platerías doorways – four at the left and five at the right – seem bear to witness to an original frieze-like arrangement for these areas of the façade, but problems arise regarding the central area. The blessing Christ on the axis of the trumeau is possibly a local version of a French *Beau Dieu* that can hardly be dated earlier than the 1230's (fig. 8), but this figure replaced an earlier one of similar type referred to in the Guide as "rectus", standing, with Saint Peter on its left and Saint James and Saint John to its right.⁴¹ Of the figures mentioned in the Guide as belonging to this "ordo mirabilis ex lapidibus albi marmoris", only James and John remain (figs. 7 and 8), but we must also include the plaque showing Abraham on the central spandrel (fig. 9), even though the Guide does not refer to it, for it is by the same sculptor who carved the relief of James, and the texts inscribed on both have in common their reference to the Transfiguration of Christ: one of the texts accompanying James is "HIC IN MONTE IHESVM MIRATVR GLORIFICATVM", and "TRA[n]SFIGV[rati]O: IHESVS is inscribed on the Abraham plaque.⁴²

1980) p. 185; PORTER *Pilgrimage Roads* (note 32) p. 214. A better parallel than the Toulousan and Platerías women holding animals on their breasts, which have frequently been compared to the adulteress, is furnished by a capital at the south end of the Compostelan transept. It shows a crouching long-haired woman holding a lion's head under her dress – apparently a dissuasive metamorphosis of her own sex as the mouth of Hell. See MORALEJO, *Artistas* (note 4) p. 422–423, fig. 13; M. CHAMOSO, *Galice romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1973) pl. 55. As in the case of the adulteress, the sensual appearance of the figure is violently contrasted by a deterrent attribute in apposition to – or as a metaphor of – her womb.

38 H. Focillon, *L'art des sculpteurs romans* (Paris 1964²) p. 155.

39 See MORALEJO, *Primitiva fachada* (note 32) p. 633–660.

40 J. Del Hoyo, *Memorias del Arzobispado de Santiago*, ed. A. Rodríguez González/B. Varela Jácome (Santiago n.d.) p. 52.

41 For the Christ, J.M. PITA ANDRADE, *En torno al arte del maestro Mateo: El Cristo de la Transfiguración en la Portada de Platerías*, *Archivo Español de Arte* 23 (1950) p. 13–25; GAILLARD, *Etudes* (note 6) p. 105; S. MORALEJO, *Escultura gótica en Galicia* (1200–1300) (Santiago 1975) p. 21–22. The Christ shown in niello work on the *ara* of Celanova can give us a vague idea what the former Compostelan figure might have looked like. Some of its stylistic features relate it closely to the St. James and Abraham figures on the Platerías frieze (MORALEJO, *Arts somptuaires* [note 3] p. 296, fig. 13; 'Ars Sacra' [note 3] p. 227).

42 PORTER recognized in this figure the image of "God the Father" reported by the Guide on the west portal (*Pilgrimage Roads* [note 32] p. 213), but he later identified it rightly as Abraham (*Escultura* [note 32] p. 17). GAILLARD guessed at the same provenance, arguing it represented St. James attending the Transfiguration (*Débuts* [note 10] p. 211–212). Though absolutely untenable, because of the epigraphic evidence, his opinion could be apparently backed by some Byzantine versions of

This group nevertheless poses two problems: first, the unusual presence of Abraham in the episode of the Transfiguration of Christ; secondly, the presence of the Transfiguration itself on the Platerías portal, when the Guide attributes the same subject to the western façade.⁴³

As regards the association of Abraham with the Transfiguration, A. López Ferreiro and E. Bertaux agreed in pointing to John 8, 56, as its scriptural basis: "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my Day: and he saw it, and was glad".⁴⁴ But neither of them pursued the meaning and implications of these words in relation to the Compostelan reliefs. The main occasion on which Abraham saw the Lord was no doubt the Theophany in Mamre (Gen. 18). In the most common exegeses, this episode is interpreted as a vision of the Holy Trinity, but some authors recognized in the three angels that appeared to Abraham a mystical image of Christ in his Transfiguration, between Moses and Elijah.⁴⁵ With this latter interpretation, the representation of Abraham at the feet of Christ would parallel those of the prophets or other Old Testament figures as witnesses of the New Testament events they prophesied.⁴⁶ However, another inscription on the same plaque establishes that the presence of the Patriarch in this episode is not just mystic or premonitory: "SVRGIT HABRAHAM DE TVMULO", Abraham has resurrected, and he indeed appears emerging from what seems to be his sepulcher.

The resurrection of Abraham associated with the Transfiguration can reasonably be explained in terms of the eschatological projection of the latter. The sermons of the *Codex Calixtinus* repeatedly refer to the Transfiguration as a foretaste of the Glory of Christ both in his Resurrection and his Second Advent. "O mira res. Vivi apparuerunt qui iam inter mortuos computabantur!" says the Pseudo-Calixtus

this episode in which the apostles, namely James, adopt similar attitudes. See, for example, the corresponding illustration in the Parisinus Gr. 510: D. TALBOT RICE, *Arte di Bisanzio* (Firenze 1959) pl. 85. The Transfiguration group is there provided a setting by two palm-trees recalling the "duas arbores cipressinas" that flank St. James on the Platerías frieze. For this figure and its certain attachment to the Transfiguration, see MORALDO, *Patronazgo artístico* (note 4) p. 252-254, esp. n. 20.

43 VIELLIARD (note 1) p. 102-105.

44 LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 15) p. 107; E. BERTAUX, *La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines au XIV^e siècle*, in: A. MICHEL, *Histoire de l'art II*, I (Paris 1906) p. 252.

45 See AMBROSIIUS, *Commentarii in Evangelium secundum Lucam*, I, Opera V (Paris 1569) col. 1622; idem *De fide*, I, 13, in: J.A. MCGUCKIN, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity* 9, (Lewinston/Queenston 1986) p. 262-263; ISIDORUS, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, In Genesim, xiv, P.L. 83, col. 243; BEDA, In Genesim expositio, viii, Opera V, col. 654; *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria* (Anvers 1634), I, col. 232, V, cols. 1161-1162. Typological biblical illustration also matched both episodes [see *Die Wiener Biblia Pauperum*, Codex Vindobonensis 1198 (Graz/Vienna/Cologne 1962) fol. 4r] and their respective iconographic formulae are very close in Early Christian art. See W.C. LOEBCKE, *Observations on the Representation of Doxa in the Mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine's, Sinai*, Gesta 20 (1981) p. 15-22, comp. figs. 5 and 7. Abraham's vision of the day of the Lord was related as well to his faith in the promise: "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 22, 18), a theme which is also implied in the Compostellan program. As LÓPEZ FERREIRO (note 15) p. 107 pointed out, the branch sprouting at the left of the patriarch surely alludes to his messianic offspring.

46 See, for example, the half-length figure of Habakkuk at the bottom of two Rhenish ivory plaques showing the Ascension of Christ, in the Victoria & Albert Museum: W. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit. XI-XIII. Jahrhundert*, III (Berlin 1923) p. 12, nrs. 5 and 7.

commenting on the presence of Moses and Elijah in that episode; and he concludes: "Transfiguratio Salvatoris nostri tipice formam resurrectionis future et speciem perhennis vite manifestat".⁴⁷ Whereas Elijah was supposed to have descended from Heaven to attend the Transfiguration, an actual resurrection of Moses, delivered from Hades or the "Gates of Death", was in fact assumed by some biblical interpreters.⁴⁸ As far as I know, no text exists according Abraham such a privilege on a historic level, but the apocryphal account of the Transfiguration known as Apocalypse of Peter refers to him as if expected and missed in the retinue of the glorified Christ. After having been made aware of Moses' and Elijah's presence, Peter asks the Lord: "Where then are Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous fathers?"⁴⁹

In any event, Abraham's vision of the Day of the Lord was to be fulfilled by the Resurrection of Christ, which the Transfiguration foreshadows just like the latter was prefigured by the Theophany in Mamre. The Compostelan Abraham indeed parallels the formula that shows Adam emerging from his sepulchre at the feet of the Crucified. As in the case of Adam, his resurrection summarizes, *pars pro toto*, that of all the righteous fathers, the saints risen after the death of Christ on a day he only was accorded to foresee.⁵⁰ The inspiration of the Compostelan program on John 8, 56, goes further than López Ferreiro and Bertaux had thought. As Jesus refers in the same passage to his glorification by the Father, an allusion to the Transfiguration/Resurrection might there be intended and both events should represent the most eloquent answer to the Jews' objection that "Abraham is dead, and the prophets" (John 8, 52), say, Moses and Elijah among them. The Transfiguration is thus represented in Santiago with all its implications. Only the concrete, absolute presence that is given to images allowed full expression of an exegetical theme in which, as in Eliot's *Quartets*, "all time is eternally present". In terms of medieval biblical interpretation, the typological and anagogical levels of meaning become fully historic or factual.

47 WHITFIELD, *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (note 1) p. 43-44, 128-129, and 175; MORALEJO/TORRES/FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (note 1) p. 59-60, 169-170, and 233. For the Transfiguration as a foretaste of the Resurrection and the Parousia, see also MCGUCKIN (note 45) p. 3-5, 121, 124, 163-164 (Origen's text relating the presence of Moses and Elijah to the resurrection of the patriarchs), 181, 205, 208, 219, 261-266, 273-274, 292; CHRISTE (note 3) p. 97-104. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Guide's author also defines an eschatologic context for the Platerías frieze as he sees the four angels blowing trumpets on the spandrels as "iudicii diem prenunciantes" (VIELLIARD [note 1] p. 102-103).

48 See MCGUCKIN (note 45) p. 122-123, 204, 271, and 287, with texts of John of Damascus, Jerome, and the Pseudo-Leo.

49 MCGUCKIN (note 45) p. 32-33. A historic-topographical relationship of Abraham to the Transfiguration episode is only implied by the placing of his encounter with Melchizedek on the skirts of Mount Tabor. See THEODORICH, *Guide to the Holy Land* (New York 1986²) p. 67.

50 See, particularly, a German base of a Cross reproduced by H. SWARZENSKI, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago 1967²) pl. 105, fig. 240. The gestures of the rising Adam exactly parallel there those of the Compostelan Abraham. For the risen saints or patriarchs in similar attitudes, associated both to the Crucifixion or the Anastasis, see A.D. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) pls. 49 and 57; G. CAMES, *Byzance et la peinture romane de Germanie* (Paris 1986) pl. 17, fig. 62. Abraham's burial place is reported as a "sepulcrum... pulcherrimo instructum marmore" neighbouring Adam's sepulcher in Hebron, See IUDORUS, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, VI, 16, P.L., col. 133; THEODORICH (note 49) p. 52-53.

The grieving horned figure emerging from a hole in a scaled surface underneath Abraham confirms that his resurrection was intended as real, for similar scaled patterns were frequently used for earth in Romanesque repertory, and this figure coming from the underworld is probably Hades, Lord of the Dead, conquered and bemoaning the deliverance of one of his subjects (figs. 9 and 11). A miniaturized initial in a manuscript from Nevers, showing the resurrection of a young man by Saint Benedict, features a similar horned figure below the sarcophagus (fig. 10), and Hades is also represented in Byzantine versions of the Resurrection of Lazarus, whose soul he tries to retain in the kingdom of the dead.⁵¹ The source of the attention paid to the infernal circumstances of resurrection seems to be a curious talk

51 For the manuscript from Nevers, containing the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, cod. W. 16, f. 32v), see E.G. MILLAR, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts I* (Oxford 1927) nr. 16 p. 62-64 and pl. XXXVIII, a; C. NORDENFALK, *Heaven and Hell in a Bohemian Bible of the Early Thirteenth Century*, in: *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York 1975) p. 283-294, fig. 4. The text it illustrates (P.L. 77, col. 149) does not make any reference to the horned figure and the corresponding versions on capitals in Vézelay and St-Benoît-sur-Loire omit it, adopting more realistic formulae. See C. JEAN-NEBMY, *Vézelay (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1970, pl. 20)*; J. BERLAND, *Hagiographie et iconographie romane à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 16 (1985) p. 117-174, fig. 16 A; St. GREGORY THE GREAT, *Dialogues* (New York 1959) p. 100-101. Thus we have surely to deal with a generic, though infrequent, motif literally expressing resurrection as deliverance from the captivity of Death, which is paralleled by the Byzantine representations of Hades trying to retain Lazarus' or Adam's soul. See G. SCHILLER, *Iconography of Christian Art I* (London 1971) p. 182, fig. 568; KARTSONIS (note 50) pls. 44a, 44b, and 46. For some western parallels of Satan as Death, see A. HEIMANN, *Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their Prototypes. Notes on the Iconography of some Anglo-Saxon Drawings*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966) p. 39-59, esp. 41-44, pls. 7a and 9a. From a strictly formal point of view, the head of the Compostelan Hades finds its closer parallels in some marginal motifs in Languedocian miniature. See D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *La peinture du Sacramentaire de Limoges, Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 14 (1976) p. 108-115, esp. p. 111 [Bible of Saint-Yrieix, fol. 212]; M. VIDAL, *Quercy roman (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1969²), fig. 59 [De bello judaico from Toulouse-Moissac, fol. 7]. As for the use of scales or imbrications to denote the ground, see M. PARK, *The Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha and its Relationship to North French Manuscripts*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973) p. 77-91, esp. 78 and n. 6; for parallels on other pieces of the Platerías portal, GAILLARD (note 10) pls. XCIII, XCVIII, CI, and XXVI.*

LOPEZ FERRERO's interpretation of this figure as Hagar (note 15 p. 106), did not take into account its horns, which led GAILLARD (note 10 p. 212) and NERGAARD (note 32) p. 81-92 to identify it as Moses. Setting aside its beardless and grimacing face, which barely fit the decorum of a patriarch, R. MELLINKOFF has shown that the horned Moses is exceptional before 1130, particularly in the context of the Transfiguration [The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought (Berkeley 1970) p. 62-70, figs. 47, 48, 50 and 71]. Even taking into account the rare examples this author seems to have missed, as an one-horned, satyr-like Moses attending the Transfiguration in the Uta-Codex [reproduced by CH. CAHIER, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire I* (1874) p. 15-46, esp. 43] or a very dubious instance in the Beatus of Gerona [N. MEZUGH, *Le tympan de Moissac: études d'iconographie, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 9 (1978) p. 171-200, esp. 189], the claimed Compostelan Moses would remain both anomalous and isolated in his time. Moreover, the figure is carved in the same plaque showing Abraham, as my fig. 11 shows, which makes it difficult to attribute it a fitting place in a Transfiguration ensemble. GÓMEZ-MORENO was surely closer to the truth as he identified it as a "demonio vencido" (note 10 p. 132). KNOWLTON followed him, though the wings he pointed out on the devil's shoulders look rather like the edges of a mantle. See PITA (note 33) p. 452; E. PUCKETT/J.H.B. KNOWLTON, review of GAILLARD's *Débuts*, *Art Bulletin* 21 (1939) p. 192-198, esp. 198.

maintained by Hades and Satan in the apocryphal Acts of Pilatus, just before the descent of Christ into hell.⁵²

As for the problem posed by the presence of the Transfiguration in both the Platerías façade and at the western portal, I have argued elsewhere, as others did, against the reliability of the description of the latter in the pilgrim's Guide. Its vagueness contrasts with the detailed information supplied about the numbers of columns, steps and other features of the north and south façades, which are described at much greater length in spite of their claimed lesser importance. The archaeological evidence also challenges the existence of a sculptured portal at the west end of the Cathedral around 1130.⁵³ Thus, its description in the Guide is perhaps that of a project that never reached its end; a work to be included among the "adimplenda", the unfinished parts of the building that the author of the Guide recognizes himself to have incorporated into its description. The evangelical phraseology he used to depict the Transfiguration scene seems to be further proof that it is a project that is being described or imagined, not a finished work.⁵⁴

It is even possible that the Platerías Transfiguration reliefs were originally intended for the west front, and were redeployed when the first project of its doorways was abandoned. This idea is supported by the fact that the format of the Abraham plaque does not fit the space it occupies (fig. 9), and the broken tree flanking Saint James seems to have been substituted for an earlier decorative plaque, one of whose fragments is still visible beside the apostle's head (fig. 8).⁵⁵ In describing these pieces, the author of the Guide was apparently not aware that they were part of a Transfiguration, and therefore did not realize that the west façade Transfiguration he had heard or read of had been afforded another destination. The apparent reduplication of programmes thus seem to stem from the use of contradictory sources of information.

52 Acta Pilati, II, iv (xx), in: A. DE SANTOS, *Los evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid 1979) p. 446-448.

53 See above n. 23.

54 See MORALEJO, *Esculturas compostelanas* (note 41) p. 296, n. 7; Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (note 32) p. 103.

55 The provenance of the Abraham plaque (including the "Moses" or Hades) from the west portal was guessed at by PORTER, GAILLARD and NIELGAARD (note 51). As far as I know, KNOWLTON was the first to propose the same original location for the St. James, in spite of its mention in the Guide as part of the south portal decoration, which he obviates by supposing that another version of this figure previously existed on the Platerías frieze (PITA [note 32] p. 457, n. 41). AZCÁRATE (note 4) p. 15-20, suggested the possibility of a partial duplication of programs: an extended version of the Transfiguration on the west façade – whose completeness he seriously questions – and a reduced one, with James as the only witness, on the Platerías frieze, which he tried to back with some passages of the Calixtine liturgy and sermons. OTERO TORRES (note 10) p. 966 takes for granted a restoration of the Platerías portal after the Cathedral's assault and fire of 1117, in which the Transfiguration pieces that had been carved in advance for the west façade should have been used. In my opinion, the simple fact of an interruption or long delay in the progress of the works could explain the decision to display these sculptures on the completed parts of the building.



Fig. 1: Cathedral of Santiago. Capital representing King Alfonso VI (from a cast in the museum)



Fig. 2: Cathedral of Santiago. Capital representing Bishop Diego Peláez (from a cast in the museum)



Fig. 3: Volvic, Auvergne. Capital representing a donor (after Z. Swiechowski, La sculpture romane d'Auvergne)

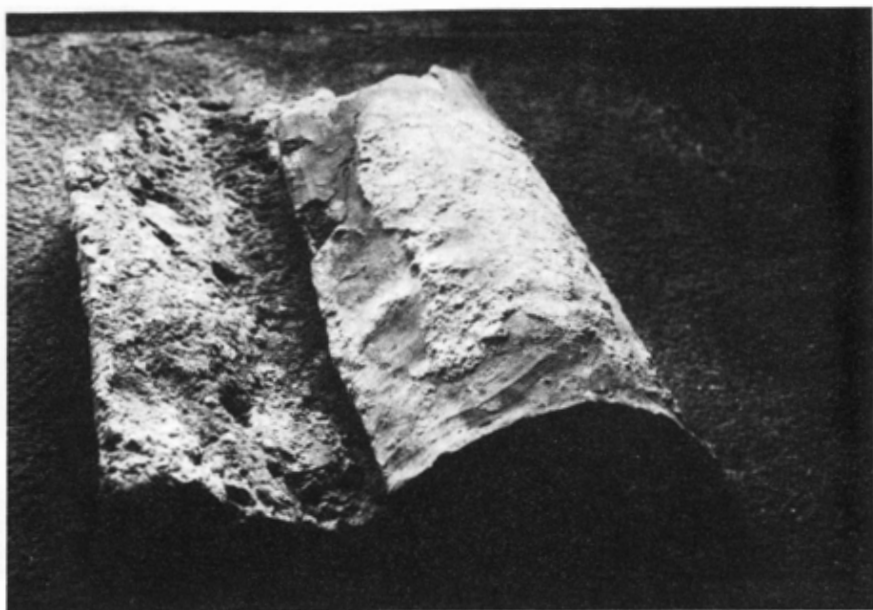


Fig. 4: Cathedral of Santiago. Tiles from the primitive roofing of the main chapel



Fig. 5: Cathedral of Santiago. Left-hand tympanum of the Platerías portal. The Woman with the Skull



Fig. 6: Santa Marta de Tera, Zamora. Capital representing a woman with a man's head



Fig. 7: Cathedral of Santiago. Frieze of the Platerías façade



Fig. 8: Cathedral of Santiago. Frieze of the Platerías façade. Saint James and Christ



Fig. 9: Cathedral of Santiago. Frieze of the Platerías façade. Abraham and Hades



Fig. 10: Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, Nevers, 11th cent. (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, cod. W. 16, f. 32v). Risen young man and Hades (drawing: author)

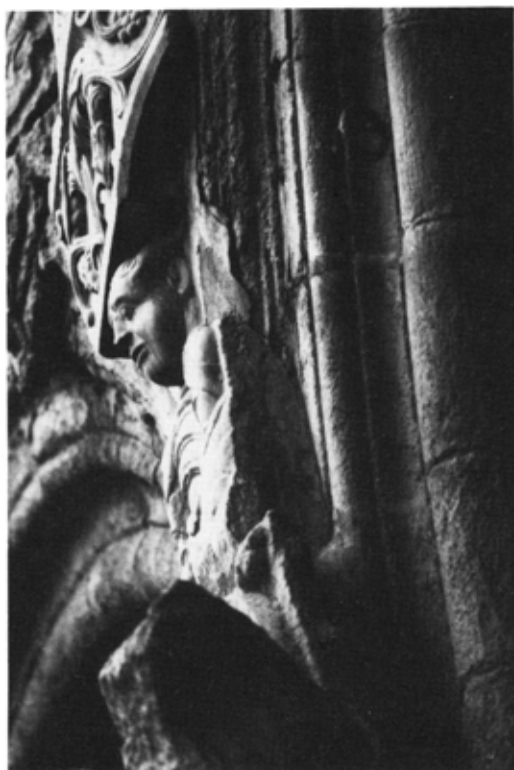


Fig. 11: Cathedral of Santiago. Frieze of the Platerías façade. Hades

Commentators

The Absence of St. Martial of Limoges from the Pilgrim's Guide: A Note Based on Work in Progress

RICHARD LANDES

Around the time that the Pilgrim's Guide appeared, a prior at the monastery of Vigeois in the Limousin wrote a gossip history of the region (c. 1182). In the middle of an account of the aftermath of Jerusalem's capture in the First Crusade, he related the tale of Ivo, prior of Cluny, who visited Limoges in about 1106.¹ This talented hagiographer was commissioned by the monks at St. Martial to do a life of Saint Pardulf, to which he added a hymn in the saint's honor, and composed another hymn to Martial, the apostolic lord of the Aquitanians. "This verse, the monks of Chambon despised because it was silent about [their saint] Valery..."² The touchiness of the monks of Chambon here should not be surprising since they had long been rivals as well as tributaries of Martial's cult.³ In fact a century earlier Martial's monks had published a lengthy account of his life that made no mention of the martyred Valery's cephaloforia.⁴ Nor did this reaction distinguish the monks of Chambon from many others: rival saints cults looked anxiously at each other's writings, calendars, liturgies, resenting with urgency and even violence when others ignored them, passing over their claims in indifferent silence.

In this light, and to those familiar with the history of relic cults in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the information about Limoges that the Guide for Pilgrims to St. James provided seems rather provocative. The only relics mentioned, ones that define this particular route that starts in Vézelay, are those of St. Leonard of Noblat. Now granted St. Leonard was a popular saint, someone every Crusader had heard of, but his cult only dated back to the early eleventh century, and his international fame had come only recently.⁵ It could hardly compare with that of the saint in

1 GEOFFREY OF VIGEOIS, *Chronica*, 32, ed. P. LABBE, *Novae Bibliothecae* (Paris 1657) II, p. 297. The date is derived from the mention that at this time Philip I handed over his throne to his son Louis VI. The narrative returns immediately to the Middle East, suggesting that this "digression" derived from its temporal coincidence, and the fact that a figure in the preceding tale of Franks in Palestine and one in this account contracted leprosy.

2 Hunc monachi Cambonenses contempserunt quia de Valeria tacebatur... *ibid.*

3 "Historically" Valery was Martial's most spectacular convert, but as a virgin martyr she had a higher status than a bishop confessor. Chambon was founded c.985 to get Valery out of Martial's shadow, and the less than generous attitude of Martial's monks is clear in the *Vita Prolixior* and the "corrections" they worked on the local hagiographical work. For an analysis of the manuscripts and texts, see L. DUCHESNE, *St. Martial de Limoges*, *Annales du Midi* 4 (1892) p. 297-8. R. LANDES, *The Dynamics of Heresy and Reform in Limoges: A Study of Popular Participation in the "Peace of God" (994-1033)*, in: *Essay on the Peace of God: The Church and the People in Eleventh Century France*, ed. T. HEAD and R. LANDES, special edition of *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 14:3 (1987) p. 476 n. 33, 477 n. 37 [see revised and expanded treatment in *The Peace of God: Religious Responses to Social Turmoil in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, forthcoming)].

4 *Vita Prolixior*, in: *De probatis sanctorum vitis*, ed. L. SURRUS (1618) VI, p. 365-74.

5 The continuation of the *Miracula* of St. Leonard were composed by Walram of Naumberg (d.1111),

Limoges itself, in whose wake Leonard's cult had had its first successes. And Martial's international reputation was older and far more prominent in the development of St. James' own pilgrimage.⁶ Had not Martial first converted the whole region, Martial the apostle, Simon Peter's nephew, the patron of Aquitaine, whose relics lay inside a towering basilica, model of the pilgrimage type?⁷ Were there not depictions of Martial serving at the Last Supper along the route to St. James? To recommend Leonard and not mention Martial was a little like the *Guide Michelin* advising people to see the Centre Pompidou *sans souffler mot de Notre Dame* down the road.

One can imagine the feelings of the monks at Limoges if they heard that a guide to St. James made no mention of them, and see the glee with which their rivals at Noblat would have dwelt upon this slight.⁸ But why? Was such a slap in the face merely gratuitous pique or some arbitrary local partisanship on the part of the Guide's composer? Or did it reflect a larger body of opinion that looked on the cult of St. Martial with disfavor? Recent research on the apostolic cult of Saint Martial in the two centuries before the composition of the Guide suggest a possible explanation to this curious anomaly.

Historians of the Gallican church often rehearse the tale of the apostolic controversy about Martial of Limoges: First, sometime in the later tenth century came an elaborate hagiographical cycle that presented Martial as a younger cousin of Peter, and a companion of the historical Jesus. Riding a wave of enthusiasm for Martial that had just produced a large new basilica dedicated in 1028, the monks introduced a revised, apostolic liturgy for their patron the following year. According to a remarkably detailed documentation, this liturgy, and the claims upon which it was based, ran into opposition from certain ecclesiastical quarters, but eventually, with the help of a papal epistle and two major councils, Martial's apostolicity received official sanction. Despite some vigorous opposition from some outside skeptics, the monks successfully appealed to a credulous but enthusiastic popular piety, and with

ed. AASS III, November, p. 159-73, and contain the miraculous liberations from the infidels that Leonard purportedly effected for some Frankish nobles during the First Crusade. For a recent discussion of Leonard's cult, and its origins in the early eleventh century, see S.D. SARGENT, *Religious Responses to Social Violence in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine, Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques* 12:2 (1985) p. 228-40.

6 The presence of Martial in Spanish iconography along the pilgrims' road and of an early copy of the *Vita Prolixior* from the scriptorium at Silos argue that this connection was both strong and early (J. WILLIAMS, *Marcialis Pincerna* and the Provincial in Spanish Medieval Art, *Hortus imaginum: Essays in Western Art*, ed. R. ENOASS and M. STOKSTAD [Lawrence, U. of Kansas Press, 1974] p. 29-36). Martial and James were two of the major successes in early eleventh century, and both received favorable attention from William V, Duke of Aquitaine (989-1030), according to Ademarr of Chabannes, a repeat pilgrim to Santiago (*Historia*, III, 41). William's close ties with Sancho of Navarre (1009-37), including their meeting at Angély to celebrate the discovery of the head of John the Baptist (III, 56) suggests a policy of support to "apostolic" relic cults. In 1102 Gelmírez paid a visit to Limoges to honor Martial's cult (*Historia Compostelana*, CCSL, 1989 v. 70, p. 38).

7 On the basilica of St. Martial, see M. DUCHEN, *La basilique du Sauveur à l'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* [= BSAHL] 83 (1951) p. 284-311.

8 Given that we do not know the Guide's circulation at this point, we cannot know if the news ever reached the Limousin. On the other hand, the Guide itself necessarily relied on, and reflected, an oral consensus more widely known. See below.

support from the pope and a series of regional councils, they had enshrined Martial in the liturgy as an apostle. This early and spectacular example of such formal claims to apostolic status in turn encouraged others, until by the twelfth century one finds the characteristic Gallican mania for apostolic cults.⁹ "It was," wrote one historian, "as if all the characters in the Gospels had given themselves rendez-vous in Gaul."¹⁰

Given the success of other, no less grandiose claims in subsequent generations (including Mary Magdalene where this route to Santiago starts, and St. Fronto, the next stop), and the clear evidence of scriptorial manipulation in the monastery's rich manuscript collection, historians had little reason to doubt the evidence.¹¹ If the first-rate historian Orderic Vitalis could include the "apostolic" life of Martial in his first book of the History of Christendom right after his Evangelical material, then who in this credulous age might doubt.¹² Perhaps a Guibert of Nogent, that proto-modern individual whom we moderns clearly respect more than did his contemporaries,¹³ but probably very few others. In fact, it took all the scholarly and rhetorical weight of Louis Duchesne's pen in 1892 merely to establish that these apostolic claims were an invention of the early eleventh century, and not a reflection of Martial's true status.¹⁴ And yet, however he might consider the apostolic cult a hoax, no historian, not even Duchesne, considered the possibility that many of those living 4-8 centuries earlier thought the same way. It was as clear as the forgeries involved: from the eleventh century on, Martial's cult "fit loi" in Limoges.¹⁵

Not until 1925 did anyone raise doubts. At that point, in a series of three articles for the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, a publication from Toulouse with a wide readership in academic Catholic circles, a non-medievalist, Mgr Louis Saltet published a remarkable rereading of the evidence.¹⁶ Far from the smashing success that the sources depict, the apostolic cult failed utterly in its trial flight on August 3rd, 1029. On that day, before vast crowds drawn to celebrate the inauguration of the

9 For a typical discussion of the larger apostolic movement and Martial's role in it, see the treatment by A. DUMAS, in *L'Eglise au pouvoir des laïques 888-1057, L'histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, 7 (Paris, 1943), p. 179-86.

10 E. MALE, *La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes* (Paris, 1950) p. 23.

11 On Mary Magdalene's cult, which first takes off in the mid-eleventh century, see V. SAGER, *Le culte de Marie-Madeleine en occident des origines à la fin du Moyen Age*, Cahiers d'archéologie et histoire, 3 (Auxerre 1959); on St. Fronto, whose legend may precede that of Martial's, see A. V. GILLES, *L'évolution de l'hagiographie de St. Saturnin de Toulouse et son influence sur la liturgie, Liturgie et musique, IXe au XIVe siècles*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 17 (1982) p. 359-79.

12 Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiae*, ed. M. CHIBNALL (Oxford 1968) I, p. 190f.

13 See the fine description of Guibert's psychological isolation from even his own monks in R.I. MOORE, *Guibert of Nogent and his World in: Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (London, 1985) p. 107-17.

14 See note 3.

15 H. LECLERCQ, art. Limoges in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. CABROL and H. LECLERCQ (Paris 1930) IX, 1, c. 1155.

16 L. SALTET, *Une discussion sur St. Martial entre un Lombard et un Limousin en 1029*, *Bulletin de la littérature ecclésiastique* 27 (1925) p. 161-86, 278-302; *Une prétendue lettre de Jean XIX sur St. Martial fabriquée par Adémar de Chabannes*, *ibid.* 27 (1926) p. 117-39; *Les faux d'Adémar de Chabannes: prétendues discussions sur saint Martial au concile de Bourges du 1^{er} novembre 1031*, *ibid.* 27 (1926) p. 145-60; *Un cas de mythomanie bien documenté: Adémar de Chabannes (988-1034)*, *ibid.* 32 (1931) p. 149-65.

apostolic cult, a Lombard prior humiliated the author of the new liturgy, Ademar of Chabannes, in public debate. By nightfall the debacle was complete, and in his apologetic letter recounting the debate, Ademar admitted that only he and one other monk still supported the good cause.¹⁷

But the story did not end there. Isolated and mocked by his fellow monks at Angoulême, whom he depicted as serpents and scorpions, Ademar turned to forgery (papal letter, conciliar decrees) and historical fiction (sermons, lengthy accounts of the conciliar debates) in order to paint a picture of the events of that day and subsequent events that specifically inverted reality on the topic of the apostolicity.¹⁸ Having completed this brilliantly deceptive dossier that provided the monks of Saint-Martial with all the documentary support he himself had lacked, Ademar bequeathed it to Saint-Martial and left for a final pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he died in 1034. It was apparently not until the 12th century that the monastery managed to relaunch the apostolicity, but they then succeeded to such a degree that – with the help of further manuscript “correction” – the century hiatus between Ademar’s failure and their triumph was lost to posterity.¹⁹

On the other hand, if the exegetical discovery that these texts were forgeries and fictions had permitted Saltet in 1930 to reconstruct Ademar’s situation so remarkably and so differently, his reinterpretation made little impact on the historical profession: historians continued to cite Ademar’s most inventive material as if it were from the pen of a scribe writing for the bishop of Limoges.²⁰ Even within Ademar studies, his interpretation found no partisans, and for the next fifty years Saltet’s work went unmentioned by historians of the period, the region, even the man himself.²¹ As a result, and even though all the detailed research since has corroborated Saltet’s hypothesis,²² this new perspective has yet to have much effect on the

17 See also LANDES (note 3). Most extensive treatment in R. LANDES, *History and Denial in an Apocalyptic Age: The Life and Times of Ademar of Chabannes (989-1034)*, forthcoming.

18 Part of this isolation came from the fact that Ademar was not a monk of Saint-Martial, but of Saint-Eparchius of Angoulême, and that to become the impresario of Martial’s relics, he turned his back on his monastery of origin and his original patron saint. His ignominious return in the wake of his defeat made him completely vulnerable to all their envy and resentment. For the best discussion of his work during this last period of his career, see D. CALLAHAN, *The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges*, *Revue bénédictine* 86:3-4 (1976) p. 251-95; and, Ademar de Chabannes et la Paix de Dieu, *Annales du Midi* 89 (1977) p. 21-43.

19 This twelfth and thirteenth century manipulation included buying up the older liturgical works from surrounding abbeys in order to correct them, thus providing the library with an exceptionally large collection of tenth and eleventh century musical works that prompted discussion of a Martialian school alongside that of Saint Gall for this period. Not until 1960 did musicologists realize that many of these manuscripts did not originally come from St. Martial: J. CHAILLEY, *L’école musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu’à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris 1960). See, most recently, A. SOHN, *Der Abbatat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063-1114)*, (Münster, 1989).

20 G. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum, nova et amplissima collection* (Florence-Venice, 1767) XIX c. 501-48, published the material as anonymous but official accounts of the councils of Bourges and Limoges, and J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris 1880) 142, c. 1353-1405, published them under the name of the presiding bishop, Jordan of Limoges.

21 R. LANDES, *A Libellus from St. Martial of Limoges Written at the Time of Ademar of Chabannes: Un faux à retardement*, *Scriptorium* 37:2 (1983) p. 195f. n. 68; see also DUMAS who rejects Saltet’s analysis (note 9 p. 184, n. 4).

22 CHAILLEY (above, note 19); P. HOOREMAN, *Saint-Martial de Limoges au temps de l’abbé Odolric (1025-1040)*, *Revue belge de musicologie* 3 (1949) p. 5-36; J.B. PORTER, *Rites for the Dying in the*

way in which historians treat subsequent events, in the history of Limoges, of the abbey, or the apostolic controversy itself.²³

And yet surely the dramatic reversals in the fortunes of the abbey (sold to Cluny by the viscount in 1062) and the episcopacy (1096 dethronement) as well as the virtually permanent and often violent rivalry between the inhabitants of the monastic castle and the episcopal cité, need to be considered in light of manuscript evidence that shows apostolic activity in the monastery in the middle of the century, and again, decisively, around the turn of eleventh-twelfth.²⁴ Did, for example, the same Clunian abbot (Ademarus, 1062-1114) preside over the scriptorium that 1) produced a martyrology calling Martial a confessor (c. 1065),²⁵ and 2) the opulent copy of the Apostolic Life of Martial that looks like an appendix to the New Testament (c. 1100)?²⁶ By the middle of the twelfth century, however, the apostolic cult reigned in Limoges, and found support in such prestigious intellectual circles as Normandy, England and Spain.²⁷

As long as it looked like Ademar had accomplished all this back in 1031 with the approval of the pope and the highest provincial councils, these confirmations of Martial's apostolic status from the twelfth century seemed perfectly logical. And yet they were, for the most part, quite recent developments, reflecting an initiative that could not have occurred without some resistance, without at least provoking derision among some who did not have either religious or material reasons to want to forget the past. There is a proverb that I have been unable to trace, "Limoges the Mother of Lies" that may reflect the countertradition that accompanied the apostolicity. The silence of the Pilgrims' Guide, which would most surely be taken as an insult, may also reflect this resistance.

This line of speculation, which may be no more than that, may on the other hand shed some light on another curious anomaly, this time in a draft of Ademar's *Historia*, that was copied around the same time as the Pilgrim's Guide. This

Early Middle Ages, I: St. Theodulf of Orleans, *Journal of Theological Studies* ser. 2, 10 (1959) p. 43-62; J. VEZIN, *Les manuscrits datés de l'ancien fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Scriptorium 19 (1965) p. 88-9; CALLAHAN (above, note 18); R.L. WOLFF, *How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême*; or, *The Pursuit of a Hare in an Oxcart* in: *Essays in Honor of Sir Steven Runciman*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 4 (1979) p. 162-209; LANDES (above notes 3 and 21).

23 For two recent examples, see M. AUBRUN, *L'Ancien diocèse de Limoges des origines au milieu du XIe siècle*, Institut d'Etudes du Massif Central fasc. 21 (Clermont-Ferrand 1981) p. 202-17; and SARGENT (note 5) p. 224, 230-31.

24 For the middle of the century, see the copy of the forged Papal letter and the forged canons of Bourges copied into the great Bible (BN lat. 5, II f. 130); toned down copies of Ademar's sermons (BN lat. 3785 ff. 182-92); and possibly a number of the clumsier corrections of *confessor* to *apostolus* (brief discussion in LANDES, "Libellus," [note 2] p. 198 n. 76). For the turn of the next century, see the magnificent version of the *Vita Prolixior* along with the newly discovered "Letters of Martial to the Bordelais and Toulousains" (BN lat. 5296A).

25 BN lat. 5257; discussed by J. VEZIN, *Les manuscrits datés de l'ancien fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Scriptorium, 19 (1965) p. 83-89.

26 Note 24.

27 On England, see F. WORMALD, *The Litany in Arundel Ms. 60: Appendix*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 64 (1946) p. 84-6; on Spain, see WILLIAMS, (note 6); on Normandy, see above note 12. In all there are some 80 manuscripts of the *Vita Prolixior* from all over Western Europe. A critical edition of this text is in preparation for the *Corpus Christianorum* as part of the collected works of Ademar of Chabannes.

manuscript (BN lat. 5926) contains a text some 30% longer than that of all other copies. Both of the nineteenth century editors of the work have attributed these additions to the scribe of the copy, who added as he copied. The attribution of these occasionally lengthy, always detailed and informative passages to this "twelfth century interpolator," despite the vigorous arguments of Jules Lair, and the published assent of Lot and Halphen, remained the consensus of historians for most of the twentieth century. An astonishing conclusion merely on the basis of a close textual analysis,²⁸ this conjectured interpolator has not survived the discovery of an autograph fragment from Ademar's History.²⁹

This fragment covers from the end of Bk I, most of II, and the first pages of III, and all but one passage correspond precisely to the contents of BN 5926. This single exception is itself unusual, having no relevance to Limoges, but rather to the claims of the monastery of Figeac to be free of the influence of Conques, and dates from the later eleventh century.³⁰ Why, when he had copied Ademar's chronicle rather slavishly, indeed unintelligently, did this twelfth century scribe interpolate this single curious passage. When we consider that our copyist had access to Ademar's autograph copy of the final version, hence he would have either worked at St. Martial or been closely associated with it, the addition might reflect a Martialian response to the Guide's insult. To add such a text might have been an act of solidarity between two monasteries which had both seen their rivals raised to the status of defining sites along the roads to Santiago.³¹

Whether or not this last conjecture is correct,³² it at least has the virtue of reading examples of adoptions (and rejections) of Martial's apostolicity as more than mere and typical examples of (or, conversely, rare exceptions to) the depths of medieval credulity. To the contrary, it sees them as actions occurring within a larger debate

28 The scribe is neither attentive, nor a particularly good latinist; the interpolations are all highly detailed, and include changes in the existing text as well as additions. Already in 1899, they were identified as the work of an early eleventh century composer by J. LAIR, *Etudes critiques sur divers textes des Xe et XIe siècles II: L'Historia d'Ademar de Chabannes* (Paris, 1899); analysis confirmed (and attributed to Ademar) by both F. LOT, *Etudes sur le règne d'Hughes Capet*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes) fasc. 147 (Paris 1903) p. 304 n.1, 351-60; L. HALPHEN, *Remarques sur la Chronique d'Ademar de Chabannes*, *Revue historique* 98 (1908) p. 294-308.

29 Text discovered by D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *Un dessin d'Aix la Chapelle*, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 14 (1964) p. 233-5; relationship to the text in BN lat. 5926 examined by P. GATTI, *Intorno al Chronicon di Ademaro di Chabannes: L'edizione Duchesne del Chronicon*, *Studi Medievali*, 3e ser. 21 (1980) p. 347-65. The editors of the *Historia* for the Corpus Christianorum (P. BOURGAIS, R. LANDIS and G. POW) will call this recension γ (known as C in the edition by J. CHAVANON). See note 31.

30 For a copy of the original Figeac forgeries from the later eleventh century, see E. BALUZZI, *Miscellanea...* 4 vols. (Lucca 1761-4) iv, 1-2; and G. DESJARDINS, *Essai sur le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Foi de Conques en Rouergue (IXe-XIIe siècles)*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 33 (1872) p. 260-1. It is on the basis of this interpolation that H. BEHMANN, argued that all of γ consisted of twelfth century additions: *Grab und Thron Karls des Grossen zu Aachen*, in: *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. L. Braunfels, (Düsseldorf 1967) IV, p. 17-23, esp. n. 101. For a counter-argument see R. LANDIS, *The Making of a Medieval Historian: Ademar of Chabannes and Aquitaine at the Turn of the Millennium*, (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton 1984) p. 18, 238 n. 51.

31 If correct, this text then may offer a clue to the dating of the Pilgrim's Guide, although BN lat. 5926 can only be dated by its hand.

32 And further paleographical and textual analysis may support or disprove it.

in which miracle and realpolitik sided against a lively, but – at least as far as most official documentation is concerned – minority criticism. In that sense, the Pilgrim's Guide may be one of the most eloquent if subtle echoes of a much broader criticism of the apostolic cult among contemporaries, a current of belief clearly dominant in the summer of 1029, yet not to reach the historians' attention (i.e. the documents) again, until the full-fledged accounts of post-Gutenberg debates between Protestants and Catholics, debates that went on for another 300 years until even the (academic) Catholic camp acknowledged a fraud. Only when we begin to understand how far back this larger debate went, and what alignment of forces gave the apostolic version dominance in the twelfth to fifteenth century can we answer the kind of question – central to more important matters – posed, for example, some fifteen years ago by one of the editors of this volume:

“Who among the representatives of Church or State determined that the Gallic saints Martial and Martin should adorn the vaults of the burial place of the kings of León, while saints Isidore and Vincent, whose relics reposed in splendid coffers nearby, should not?”³³

33 WILLIAMS, *Marcialis Pincerna* (note 6) p. 34.

Comments on the Question of Illumination

WALTER CAHN

Although serious study of the textual and historical problems of the *Codex Calixtinus* have been carried on for nearly a century, attempts to localize the manuscript on the basis of paleographic and stylistic criteria are few and of a fairly recent date. Walter Cook took it for granted that the work was of Castilian origin, but found in the miniature of Charlemagne's warriors preceding the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle "the ugly facial type, long nose, receding chin, characteristic of English drawing of the twelfth century".¹ René Louis, who thought that Aymericus Picaud brought the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* to Santiago from Vézelay, concluded that the decoration of the work was closely related to contemporaneous Burgundian book illumination.² More recently, François Avril has connected this decoration with Normandy, and in particular, with the manuscripts produced for William of Saint-Calais (Carleph).³ The new monograph of Manuel Díaz y Díaz concludes instead that the *Codex Calixtinus* originated in Compostela, though its production was the work of scribes from southern France.⁴

This wide divergence of opinion focuses attention on some of the difficulties encountered in the localization of Romanesque manuscripts that will be familiar to all students of the subject. In the area of paleography, we lack for scriptoria of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries the kind of clear local profile that has been established for earlier periods in places like Luxeuil, Corbie, Tours or Reims. It may well be that this situation will eventually be remedied by specialized study. But it is also a fact that Romanesque manuscript holdings of almost any cathedral or monastic library will often show considerable variety and no consistent scribal habits. The individualism of the scribes, the rise of lay and mobile professionals capable of supplementing and even substituting for the activity of established scriptoria are some of the contributing factors in this picture.⁵ With respect to decorative features and illumination, the situation is not very different. There are, of course, examples of a marked local style: one thinks of the Cîteaux manuscripts produced for Abbot Stephen Harding, or the books written by Sawalo at Saint-

1 W. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia I*, *Art Bulletin*, 5 (1923) p. 100.

2 R. Louis, Aimeri Picaud, compilateur du '*Liber Sancti Jacobi*', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1948-49), p. 82.

3 F. Avril, in: *Les royaumes d'Occident* (Paris 1983) p. 256, 259.

4 M. Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago: estudio codicológico y de contenido*, (Santiago de Compostela 1988). I have not yet had an opportunity to acquaint myself with this work, and my references are to the author's entry on the Calixtinus in the Exhibition catalogue, *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen* (Gent 1985) p. 237-38, no. 39, as well as to his contribution to the Pittsburgh symposium.

5 On these questions and other aspects of the production of manuscripts in the Romanesque period, see M.-C. Garand, *Manuscrits monastiques et scriptoria aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, *Codicologica* 3 (1980) p. 9-33.

Amand. But such cases are exceptions. In many instances, we have only isolated works without an identifiable pedigree. Such is the case with the *Codex Calixtinus*.

The comparative material assembled in very welcome fashion by Alison Stones for this congress and her forthcoming edition of the Pilgrim's Guide which forms the fifth and final section of the manuscript helps to delimit a certain zone in which the production of the work can most plausibly be situated. This zone, however, remains embarrassingly large. We make connections on the basis of parallels that we encounter, necessarily working in a somewhat eclectic way. Initials structured in a roughly similar manner, the occurrence of an identical motif, an element of technique, even Cook's "ugly facial type" may serve our argument. Inspired by the study of Italian Renaissance painting as constituted of distinct local schools, we assume that a *genius loci* presides over every place and hope to isolate its constituent and lasting elements. How to distinguish what truly "counts" for such a definition of local specificity, however, is an uncertain enterprise at best, and we can have no assurance that it was always so marked as to have left unambiguous traces.

Setting these vexing problems aside, what can be said about the place where the *Codex Calixtinus* was written and illuminated? First, it must have been a center of some importance, able to procure for itself the various textual components that make up the manuscript, most of which cannot have enjoyed a very wide circulation. Contradicting this impression to a degree is the fact that the manuscript is by no means conspicuous in its refinement, as might be expected of a practiced workshop laboring on such an exceptional project. The prefatory page of the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle (f. 162v) is awkwardly composed, leaving a wide empty zone with sluggish linear flourishes along the bottom. The puzzling scene in the middle register showing the fortified cityscape of Aachen and six warriors has thus far not received a convincing interpretation.⁶ It may well be that deficiencies of the artist's narrative skills have contributed to our difficulties. The illumination of the manuscript is also carried out in a fairly economical range of colors, applied in a parsimonious way. Ochre or yellow substitute for gold.

Where should this scriptorium be localized? I believe that northeastern France and southern England can reasonably be eliminated from consideration, in spite of the fact that some of the comparisons adduced by Stones are drawn from that area. The case for Compostela made by Díaz y Díaz deserves a careful and comprehensive review, though this cannot be undertaken here. The disposition of this author to regard the manuscript as a work of hands brought over from France, however, concedes a basic point: the manuscript in its formal aspects is not really explicable in terms of local antecedents. The question of localization is thus resolved in only its most literal terms, and we are invited to look elsewhere for the origin of the artistic culture that the *Calixtinus* displays.

The case for Burgundy has for it the connections with Vézelay that were stressed by R. Louis. It has also the favor on the musicological side of Michel Huglo, who

⁶ The fullest discussion, but no satisfactory resolution, is found in R. Lejeune and J. Steinhilber, *The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages* (London 1971) p. 51-60, esp. 54.

points out that the notation of a number of liturgical pieces in the manuscript follows usages recorded for Nevers and southern Burgundy.⁷ The reference to Cluny in the famous subscription at the end of Bk. V (f. 213v), though highly problematic and often tendentiously interpreted, might argue in the same sense. On the art-historical side, the Burgundian thesis has less support from the evidence. One might mention as not too distant from the style of the *Calixtinus* illumination the decoration of the Saint-Bénigne Bible (Dijon, Bib. Mun. 2), especially that which is found in the highly ornate canon tables (ff. 402v-405v). Vézelay and other centers of the region have unfortunately little of relevance to contribute,⁸ but a Bible of unknown provenance at Beaune (Bib. Mun. Ms. 1) deserves some mention here, since it furnishes at least a rough approximation of the style which interests us, insufficient, however, to found a strong claim for attribution.⁹

In the present state of our knowledge, it seems to me, the best connection that can be made is that which ties the *Calixtinus* to the area reaching from Normandy to the Middle Loire valley. This is the region to which some of Alison Stones's most telling comparisons point: the already-mentioned Carleph books, the Psalter and Ritual from Fleury at Orléans (Bib. Mun. 123), a Bible from Loches (Bib. Sainte-Geneviève Ms. 1) and other books from Tours and Le Mans (as Elizabeth A.R. Brown points out in her lecture at this symposium, a copy of the Pseudo-Turpin is recorded at Marmoutiers, near Tours, in the 1170's or 80's). One of the hands in the Poitevin Lectionary (Bib. Nat. lat. 5323), which also figures among the comparative illustrations collected by Stones, does not seem so close to the mark, but mention of Poitou in this context will immediately quicken the pulse of any *Calixtinus* student, since Parthenay was the home of the otherwise elusive Aymericus Picaud.¹⁰ Unfortunately, given the scarcity of illuminated books from Poitou thus far identified, this is a connection impossible to further exploit. For the sake primarily of its iconographic significance, I want to draw attention to a heretofore neglected illustration bearing on the subject of pilgrimage in a manuscript from Maillezais, an important Benedictine house in the county, located near Fontenay-le-Comte (Vendée) (fig. 1). The manuscript contains a number of texts, including a copy of the chronicle of Saint-Maixent.¹¹ The drawing, found near the end of the volume, has apparently no connection with the surrounding text, and may have preceded the writing. Left unfinished and regrettably depreciated by later "improvements" inflicted by an unskilled hand, it shows a triple arch sur-

7 See HUGLO's report Le 'Codex Calixtinus' et le tombeau de Saint Jacques à Compostelle, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 32 (1989) p. 101-102.

8 On book illumination in this region see my unpublished dissertation, *The Souvigny Bible. A Study in Romanesque Bible Illumination* (New York 1967) p. 333ff., and *Autour de la Bible de Lyon. Problèmes de l'art roman tardif dans le centre de la France*, *Revue de l'art* 47 (1980) p. 11-20.

9 W. CAEN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca 1982) p. 267, no. 53.

10 On this manuscript, see E. BURN, *Réflexions sur quelques aspects de l'enluminure dans l'ouest de la France au XIIe siècle: le manuscrit latin 5323 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, *Bulletin monumental* (1985) p. 209-25.

11 Paris, BN lat. 4892. The manuscript was brought to my attention by François Avril. A description of the contents is found in J. VERDON (ed.), *La chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751-1140* (Paris 1979) p. xx-xxvii.

mounted by a fantastic architectural prospect. In the left and middle arch, there is a seated, severely frontalized and overscaled figure wearing episcopal vestments, flanked by a pair of smaller clerics, the first carrying a crozier, the second displaying an open book. It is evident that these drawings illustrate the *Benedictio perarum et baculorum*, the ritual blessing of pilgrims' purses and staffs before setting out on their journey, for which a formula exists in certain sacramentaries or rituals.¹² At the left, two pilgrims displaying purses humble themselves before the bishop, who places a Greek cross on their shoulders. At the center, having donned their purses, the pilgrims kneel to receive the blessing of the staff.

The compiler of the *Codex Calixtinus* went to exceptional lengths to present the work as a thing out of the ordinary, written by a pope and diffused in the entire world. As a piece of book making, on the other hand, the manuscript seems to have been conceived in a more familiar mode. It is an expanded and somewhat eccentric version of the type of compilation consisting of hagiographical and liturgical pieces concerning a given saint, of which the best known and perhaps the prototype is the collection in honor of St. Martin diffused from Tours under the title *Martinellus*. Such *recueils* have by definition no fixed table of contents. The distinctive feature of the *Calixtinus* is the wedding it accomplishes between the figure of St. James and his shrine at Compostela, each having equal weight and neither really separable from the other in the compiler's mind. In its makeup, it has a curious affinity with another, otherwise unrelated, anthology of this kind, the ensemble of texts concerning Cluny produced at Saint-Martin-des-Champs towards the end of the twelfth century (BN lat. 17716). Here too, we find in a luxurious presentation a collection of miracles, musical pieces, a saint's *vita* and historical material concerning a major shrine.¹³ But the shift from biography to topography is, if anything, even more pronounced. The book shares one other trait with the *Codex Calixtinus*, though this is perhaps no more than a coincidence: it, too, has no very clear stylistic connection with the place for which it was made.

12 On this rite, see R. Plötz, 'Benedictio perarum et baculorum' und 'coronatio peregrinorum'. Beiträge zur Ikonographie des Hl. Jacobus im deutschsprachigen Raum, Volkskultur und Heimat. Festschrift für Josef Dünninger zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. D. HARMENING and E. WIMMER, Quellen und Forschungen zur europäischen Ethnologie, III (Würzburg 1986) p. 349ff. I am very grateful to Professor Plötz for sending me an offprint of his study.

13 On the contents of this manuscript, see L. DELISLE, Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds de Cluni (Paris 1884) p. 223-226, no. 129, and most recently on the decoration, the exhibition catalogue, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae* (Cologne 1985) I, 185, no. B. 20.



Fig. 1: Paris, BN lat. 4892, fol. 208v° (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)

The Illumination of the *Codex Calixtinus*: A Norman Dimension

LARRY M. AYRES

In its celebration of St. James the Apostle the *Codex Calixtinus* stands as another manifestation of the role of his shrine in promoting ties between the Iberian peninsula and a larger Christian Commonwealth. Art historians engaged in the study of the miniatures and ornamental initials of the *Codex Calixtinus* are at once confronted with issues of European dimensions, because artistic characteristics of this manuscript touch on a broader artistic panorama which had developed North of the Pyrenees in the Romanesque period. It is not only a question of possible French connections or sources but of the widespread distribution of Romanesque artistic languages which had crossed geographical or regional boundaries by the middle of the twelfth century.

The interest of this paper will be to investigate some stylistic sources underlying the art of the illuminator (hereafter Apostle Master) who created the miniature of St. James¹ at the beginning of the first chapter of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* (fig. 1) and also the ancestry of an ornamental initial style of Book I (fig. 8). The aim is to affirm once again features of internationality in Romanesque artistic enterprise along the pilgrimage roads. Rather than focusing on monuments situated directly on the four great pilgrimage routes from France to Santiago de Compostela, artistic antecedents for the art of the *Codex Calixtinus* will be found in a perimeter or tributary region, in Normandy.

Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* provides models and directions for the liturgy of St. James. On folio 4 recto the image of St. James, which also functions as the initial "I", inaugurates the text of the Epistle for the Vigil of the apostle. A sentinel-like figure of St. James is depicted in a frontal pose holding a book in his left hand and raising his right in a gesture of benediction. In this context the disposition of the apostle at this juncture in the volume presumably had pictorial antecedents in the illustration tradition of author-portraits, since the image also serves as the initial "I". The opening of the text of the Epistle of St. James in a Romanesque Bible from

1 J. CARRO GARCÍA, *Las miniaturas*, in: *Liber Beati Jacobi (Codex Calixtinus) III*, ed. by W. MUIR WHITEHILL, G. PRADO and J. CARRO GARCÍA (Santiago de Compostela 1944) p. lxix ff., Lám. II; C. SOBREVILA, in: *L'art roman, Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par le gouvernement espagnol sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Europe* (Barcelona and Santiago de Compostela 1961) nos. 1768-69, p. 532-33, pl. LXXXVIII; A. STONES, *Four Illustrated Jacobus Manuscripts*, in: *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. by A. BORO and A. MARTINDALE, B.A.R. International Series 111 (Oxford 1981) p. 197ff., pl. 14.3; F. AVRIL, *Les arts de la couleur*, in: *Le Monde roman, 1060-1200: Les royaumes d'Occident* (Paris 1983) p. 259; K. HEBBERS, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der Liber Sancti Jacobi*, *Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, Historische Forschungen, VII (Wiesbaden 1984) p. 21ff., pl. 4; M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El Códice calixtino de la catedral de Santiago: estudio codicológico y de contenido*, *Monografías de Compostellanum*, 2 (Santiago de Compostela 1988) esp. p. 62ff., 206ff., 216-217, 314ff., with reference to additional sources.

Limoges provides another example of this type of union between figure and script character (fig. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8 [II], f. 228).² Furthermore the use of standing apostles or saints as an introduction to liturgical texts was known in other centers of Romanesque manuscript illumination. For example, a cycle of standing apostles prefaces the Siegburg Lectionary (fig. 3: London, British Library, Harley MS 2889, f. 2v), although in this instance the apostles are each rendered as full-page miniatures.³

The alignment with the pictorial tradition of author-portraits may also be suggested by comparing the style of the miniature of St. James with that of the evangelist-portrait of St. John in a Gospel Book attributed to the region of Agen-Moissac in the first quarter of the twelfth century (fig. 4: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 254, f. 67v).⁴ Both images share a psychological neutrality and are rendered in terms of linear pattern. This avoidance of plastic or volumetric potential contrasts sharply with styles found in several other schools of Romanesque painting which were more receptive to Byzantine or Byzantinizing influences and adapted them to such pictorial canons as the "damp-fold style."⁵

Unlike the illuminators of the Limoges Bible or the "Agen-Moissac" Gospels, the Apostle Master in the *Codex Calixtinus* did not employ an architectural setting to house his image of St. James. The use of architectural enframement with arcading pervades Romanesque art. Among the most celebrated examples in stone sculpture are the apostle reliefs from the cloister at Moissac.⁶ It also manifests itself in tomb sculpture as displayed by the tomb of Widukind, Duke of Saxony (Enger-bei-Bielefeld) and in metalwork in the enameled funerary plaque of Geofroy Plantagenêt (Le Mans, Musée de Tessenay).⁷ On the other hand, architectural enframement was not ubiquitous in funerary or sepulchral imagery. The bronze tomb slab of Rudolf, King of Swabia (c. 1080, Merseberg Cathedral) depicts the monarch within a rectangular framework.⁸ Rudolf, however, remains confined within the rectangular format, whereas the apostle in the *Codex Calixtinus* trespasses its boundaries. While not conclusive, comparison with the tomb of Rudolf may

2 D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IX^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris/Geneva 1969) p. 86ff., pl. 131.

3 D.H. TURNER, *Romanesque Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1971) p. 16-17; P. BLOCH, *Das Siegburger Lektionar*, in: *Siegburger Lektionar: Zwölf ganzseitige Miniaturen aus der Handschrift Harley 2889 des Britischen Museums in London* (Siegburg 1964) p. 7, 20-21.

4 J. PORCHER, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle*, Exhibition Catalogue (Paris 1954) no. 314, p. 107; *AVRIL* (note 1) p. 187, 366, fig. 343.

5 For the significance of Byzantine influence and the "damp-fold style" in Romanesque art, see in particular W. KOEHLER, *Byzantine Art in the West*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1 (1941) p. 61ff.; E. KITZINGER, *The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966) p. 368ff.

6 M. SCHAPIRO, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac* (New York 1985) p. 7ff.

7 E. PANOFSKY, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. by H.W. Janson (New York 1964) p. 50-52, figs. 190, 199; R. WESENBERG, *Frühe mittelalterliche Bildwerke: Die Schulen rheinischer Skulptur und ihre Ausstrahlung* (Düsseldorf 1972) p. 79f.; M.-M. GAUTHIER, *Emaux du moyen âge occidental* (Fribourg 1972) p. 81ff.

8 PANOFSKY (note 7) fig 197; WESENBERG (note 7) fig. 496a; M.F. HEARN, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca 1981) p. 31ff., fig 14.

suggest that a sepulchral significance is also allied to the miniature of St. James, an image which decorates a volume prepared for the church that housed the apostle's tomb.

Turning to the pictorial style of the St. James miniature, we observe an artistic outlook defined in linear rather than plastic terms. The apostle exhibits a distinctly ornamental character. Contour lines rather than subtle gradations or transitions in modelling are employed to achieve this abstract quality. On the other hand, an impression of harsh stylization is avoided through a planar highlighting or webbing of St. James' cloak and by the linear rhythms which animate, particularly at the edges, the abundant drapery which clothes the apostle. These linear folds express themselves laterally in an overlapping manner across the surface, and as a result, they enhance the prevailing surface values which guided the Apostle Master's approach to the design of this miniature. St. James' face is cast in a mask-like symmetry and is designed with a Romanesque spirit of strict, geometric simplicity uppermost in the illuminator's mind.

Stylistic associations with French Romanesque art must figure prominently in discussions of the artistic sources or antecedents of the Apostle Master. This illuminator need not necessarily have been trained in the vicinity where the *Codex Calixtinus* was written, but his work nevertheless seems integral to the production of Book I. French connections for the art of the Apostle Master have been implicit in some suggested localizations for the volume. For example, in the catalogue of the great 1961 exhibitions of Romanesque art held in Barcelona and Santiago de Compostela, Carmen Sobrevila summarized the state of the question on the research pertaining to the date and place of origin of the *Codex Calixtinus* by assigning the manuscript a possible North French home ("Nord de la France?") in the first half of the twelfth century.⁹ In the recent monograph on the book by Manuel Díaz y Díaz, the *Codex Calixtinus* has been localized to Santiago de Compostela and dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps in the years around 1160.¹⁰ Research on the internal evidence of the *Codex Calixtinus* suggests a date between 1139 and 1173 for this composite manuscript. A date towards the middle of the twelfth century, in the earlier years of the span between 1139 and 1173, has generally been favored. The style of the Apostle Master would likewise suggest a date in the earlier rather than in the later half of that span.

Comparisons have been drawn between the image of St. James in the *Codex Calixtinus* and miniatures in manuscripts from Limoges and the region of Agen-Moissac, and these comparisons thereby propose further investigations into the rich artistic production found in the West and Southwest of France during the Romanesque period – in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine and the Aquitaine.¹¹ This area encompassed the heartland of the pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela

9 SOBREVILA (note 1).

10 DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (note 1) p. 77f.

11 For developments in Romanesque painting in these regions, see the overviews by O. DEMUS, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York 1970) p. 101-108; L.M. AYRES, *The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1974) p. 193-203; AVRIL (note 1) p. 159-188.

north of the Pyrenees and has been seen as belonging to an international artistic "block" which fostered cultural unions between Northern Spain and regions of France.¹² Some features of the decoration of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus*, however, indicate that the artistic sources of the Apostle Master may also have links with Norman centers, thereby expanding the scope of the artistic sources of the manuscript.

Serafín Moralejo and François Avril observed that sources for some initials of the *Codex Calixtinus* could be traced to Anglo-Norman illumination in the period around 1100.¹³ In particular, they made associations between the *Codex Calixtinus* and a group of Norman Romanesque manuscripts gathered around the Bible of William of St. Carilef (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4).¹⁴ A Norman artistic context is likewise suggested by the art of "Hugo pictor", the illuminator whose work is known in several manuscripts from Jumièges.¹⁵ The figure of Isaiah in a Norman volume by Hugo (fig. 5: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717, fol. Vv) exhibits a strict frontality, linear precision and calculated ornamental effect which anticipates the abstract principles expressed later in the image of St. James in the *Codex Calixtinus*. An almost geometric ordering informs Hugo's composition in the Isaiah miniature, and abstract values are reinforced by the effects of local color.

The inventiveness of Norman scribes in the realm of ornamental lettering also seems to have left its mark on pages of the *Codex Calixtinus*. The manuscript of St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah decorated by "Hugo pictor" and such other Norman volumes of the era as the Bible of William of St. Carilef are adorned with ornamental initials which combine zoomorphic, rinceau and interlace elements into lattice-like patterns. The emphasis on overall pattern in the design of the historiated "E" initial by Hugo in the Oxford *Isaiah* (fig. 6: f. VIv) shows a new spirit at work and demonstrates that this ornamental design is more than a carry-over or legacy from the vibrant trellis motifs found in Anglo-Saxon illumination. The decorative scaffolding which houses sacred scenes in the "E" initial of the Oxford *Isaiah* looks ahead to the type of ornamental letter design inhabited by the

12 See the review by L. GRODBICKI, *Romanesque Internationale*, in: *Art News* 60 (1961) p. 43-44.

13 S. MORALEJO ALVAREZ, "Ars Sacra" et sculpture romane monumentale: le trésor et le chantier de Compostelle, in: *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 9 (1980) p. 218, note 102; AVRIL (note 1) p. 259; DIAZ Y DIAZ (note 1) p. 72-73.

14 H. SWARZENSKI, *Der Stil der Bibel Carilefs von Durham. Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen England und dem Kontinent, in Form und Inhalt, Kunstgeschichtliche Studien Otto Schmitt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 1951) S. 89-105; C.R. DODWELL, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge 1954) p. 115-118; F. AVRIL, in: *Manuscrits normands, XI-XII^e siècles. Exhibition Catalogue* (Rouen 1975) p. 41-47; W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca 1982) p. 271; L. ROSS, *Anglo-Norman Hagiographic Illustration at Canterbury in the Early Romanesque Period* (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Santa Barbara 1987) p. 232f; A.C. BROWNE, *Bishop William of St. Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory*, in: *Scriptorium* 42 (1988) p. 149-51; S. MORALEJO ALVAREZ, *El patronazgo artístico del arzobispo Gelmírez (1100-1140): su reflejo en la obra e imagen de Santiago*, in: *Pistoia e il Cammino di Santiago: Una dimensione europea nella Toscana medioevale, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Pistoia, 28-30 settembre 1984* (Perugia, 1987), p. 264-67.

15 O. PÄCHT, 'Hugo Pictor', in *Bodleian Library Record* 3 (1950) p. 96-103; AVRIL, *Manuscrits normands* (note 14) p. 47-56; AVRIL, in: *L'enluminure romane normande*, in: *Les siècles romans en*

figure of Turpin blessing in the "T" initial at Book IV of the *Codex Calixtinus* (fig. 7, f. 163).¹⁶

In pursuing comparisons between Norman work and the *Codex Calixtinus* the ornamental dragon "S" initial (fig. 8) which punctuates Chapter 19 of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* is clearly later in date than the "S" which opens the text of Book III of the Oxford *Isaiah* (fig. 9), but there is no denying strong family resemblances in their decorative vocabularies. In conforming to alphabetic shape both dragons coil with kinetic vigour, but the vegetal, leaf forms in *Calixtinus* ripened later in the Romanesque season and are, as a result, more complex and more loaded with ornamental detailing. In the *Codex Calixtinus* the treatment of the ornamental vocabulary is more stylized and severely patterned. Similar parallels in ornamental features may also be drawn with examples of Romanesque manuscript illumination in the West of France,¹⁷ England,¹⁸ Burgundy¹⁹ as well as with Normandy.²⁰ That a Norman or Anglo-Norman dimension nevertheless seems closely involved in the branching of the Romanesque family tree leading to the art of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* seems likely on the basis of the comparisons mentioned above, and, especially, in light of the fact that these affiliations touch on both figurative and ornamental grounds.

In figurative and ornamental styles, the decoration of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* betrays links with the tradition of Norman illumination of the early Romanesque period. Furthermore, the longevity of this artistic phase is confirmed

Basse-Normandie, Art de Basse-Normandie, no. 92 (1985) p. 74-76; A. DE LA MARE, in: Trésors des abbayes normandes, Exhibition Catalogue (Rouen and Caen 1979) no. 145 p. 126-7; J.J.G. ALEXANDER, in: English Romanesque Art 1066-1200, Exhibition Catalogue (London 1984) no. 5, p. 87.

16 C. GARCIA (note 1) *Lâm. VI*; STONES (note 1) p. 222, pl. 14, 15; AVRIL (note 1) fig. 219.

17 AYRES (note 11), fig. 35. Further materials from this region were introduced for discussion by A. STONES and W. CAHN during the symposium, *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James* (November 3-5, 1988, University of Pittsburgh). See also, E. BURIN, *Réflexions sur quelques aspects de l'enluminure dans l'Ouest de la France au XII^e siècle*, in: *Bulletin Monumental* CXLIII (1985), p. 209-225.

18 For example, the first volume of a Romanesque Bible from Winchester (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E. infra 1) and related manuscripts; C.M. KAUFFMANN, in: *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London 1975) no. 63, p. 120; W. OAKESHOTT, *Some New Initials by the Entangled Figures Master*, *The Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) p. 230-232.

19 As, for example, such manuscripts from Cîteaux as Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 141; C. OURSEL, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux* (Dijon 1926) p. 73, pl. XXXI. Important for understanding the figurative and ornamental styles leading to the illumination of the first volume of the Oxford Bible (Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E. infra 1) mentioned above are the initials of Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 135, (OURSEL, p. 75-77, pls. XXXVI-XLIII). PORCHER has noted connections with Normandy for the initials of Dijon MS 135, "Dans le texte, profusion de lettres ornées, dont certaines sont historiées et peut-être d'une autre main: quelques-unes font penser à l'ouest de la France, plus précisément à la Basse-Normandie (f. 77v.: cf. les mss 57 et 58 de Bayeux, no. 196)." PORCHER (note 4) no. 289, p. 100. The Bayeux manuscripts in question belong to the group of manuscripts centered around the Bible of William of St. Carleif (note 14). For Dijon MSS 135, 141, see now Y. ZALUSKA, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au XII^e siècle* (Cîteaux, 1989), nos 6, 19; p. 82-84, 114-16, 128.

20 Works from Fécamp in the period c. 1120-30 may play a role in assessing possible intermediary sources or developments. For the Fécamp manuscripts, see AVRIL, *Manuscrits normands* (note 14) p. 73-78. For the Fécamp Bible, see also H. SWARZENSKI, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago 1967²) p. 62-63, fig. 305; K.E. HANEY, *Norman Antecedents for English Floral Ornament of the Mid-Twelfth Century*, *Scriptorium* 36 (1982) p. 84-86.

since the *Codex Calixtinus* postdates 1139.²¹ It remains therefore to attempt to chart the path of artistic elaboration and transformation which separates this Norman heritage from the art of the *Codex Calixtinus* proper. In the search for the connecting links leading from Normandy to the *Codex Calixtinus* further study will be required not only of monuments originating on French soil but of the artistic aims and forces in Spain promoting synthesis.

The Spanish context calls to mind a possible stylistic analogue in ivory sculpture to the type of art historical complexities encountered in the study of the *Codex Calixtinus*. The famed whalebone carving of the Adoration of the Magi with the kings carrying pilgrim staffs (fig. 10; London, Victoria and Albert Museum) has at times been attributed to a Norman or Anglo-Norman workshop of the late eleventh century, but more recently art historians have favored a Spanish origin for this great monument of Romanesque ivory carving.²² Danielle Gaborit-Chopin in supporting the Spanish origin for the Adoration ivory has pointed to similarities between the style of the ivory and that of the miniatures of the *Codex Calixtinus*.²³ Could the styles of the St. James miniature and the Adoration ivory therefore share a common artistic ancestry which bridged Normandy and Northern Spain and combined Norman dexterity in linear schemes of design with Spanish strengths in expressive power? The introduction of a Norman dimension into the heritage of the *Codex Calixtinus* thereby reconfirms the internationality of Romanesque artistic expression along the pilgrimage roads and expands our concept of the geographical scope of the cultural forces which were marshalled to glorify the cult of St. James.

21 HERBERS (note 1) p. 38, 47.

22 SWARZENSKI, Monuments (note 20) p. 60, fig. 286; J. BECKWITH, Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England (London 1972) no. 63, p. 61-62, 131, ills. 121-123; P. LASKO, *Ars Sacra 800-1200* (Harmondsworth 1972) p. 172; idem, in: Ivory Carvings, English Romanesque Art 1066-1200 (note 15), p. 210; P. WILLIAMSON, Medieval Ivory Carvings, Victoria and Albert Museum (London 1982) p. 16-17, 34-35, pl. 17; idem, The Medieval Treasury, The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London 1986), p. 126-127; D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, in: Les arts précieux, le monde roman 1060-1200: les royaumes d'Occident (Paris 1983) p. 310-315, fig. 279.

23 D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, Ivoires du Moyen Age (Paris 1978) p. 119. In addition, see the contribution on the importance of developments in the minor arts for Romanesque art in Spain by S. MORALES-ALAVARIZ, Les arts somptuaires hispaniques aux environs de 1100, Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa 13 (1982) p. 285-310. Comparative materials in Spanish ivory carving can also be found in J. BOUSQUET, Les ivoires espagnols du milieu du XI^e siècle: leur position historique et artistique, Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa 10 (1979) p. 29-58; C. GOMEZ-MORENO, Medieval Art from Private Collections (Exhibition Catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1968), nos. 75-77.



Fig. 1: St. James, Codex Calixtinus, Catedral, Santiago de Compostela, f. 4. (Photo: Paula Gerson)



Fig. 3: St. James the Less, Siegburg Lectionary, London, British Library, Harley MS 2889, f. 2v. (Photo: By permission of the British Library)

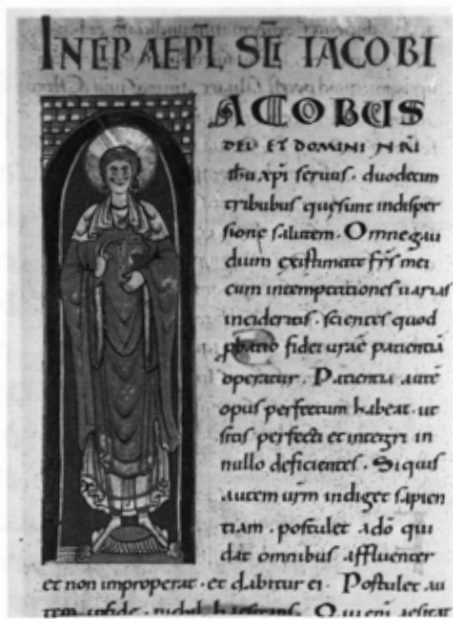


Fig. 2: St. James, "Second" Bible of St. Martial de Limoges, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 8 [II], f. 228. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)



Fig. 4: St. John, Gospel Book of Agen-Moissac, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 254, f. 67v. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale)



Fig. 5: Isaiah, St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717, f. Vv. (Photo: Bodleian Library)



Fig. 6: Historiated "E" initial, St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717, f. ViV. (Photo: Bodleian Library)



Fig. 7: Historiated "T" initial, Codex Calixtinus, Catedral, Santiago de Compostela, f. 163. (Photo: Paula Gerson)



Fig. 8: Ornamental "S" initial, Codex Calixtinus, Catedral, Santiago de Compostela, f. 95v. (Photo: Paula Gerson)



Fig. 9: Ornamental "S" initial, St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717, f. 31v. (Photo: Bodleian Library)

Fig. 10: Adoration of the Magi, whalebone carving, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 142-1866. (Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



The Guide's Language: Some Subtext in a Wider Context

THOMAS W. LYMAN

The Pilgrim's Guide is bound to bring out the story teller even in art historians who have few occasions to tell stories in the line of duty. The Guide's story about the woman with the skull has an authenticity we cling to desperately, whatever its possible bearing on an original program of Gelmírez. A decade ago, in a stab at narratology published with the prefix, *Motif et narratif*, I argued that the Guide's "literary" interpretation might be read as a subtext for a larger scenario in the mind of Gelmírez that began in Toulouse and ended in Santiago. In response to Seraffin Moralejo's observations and the remarks of others about reading the program through the language of the Guide – and by way of turning our discussion to the architecture program and James D'Emilio's provocative observations about the tardy completion of the nave – permit me to retell that story briefly here as a step toward understanding the overall thrust of the text describing the cathedral of Santiago.

My story begins with the program planned for the altar set up over the burial place of St. Saturninus in Toulouse and ends with the one described in the final pages of the Guide over that of St. James in Compostela.

[Among the many parallels worth noting between the two basilicas of Saint-Sernin and Santiago, one pointed up by Theodore Hauschild about the original setting for the Apostle's body is worth returning to here. The rivalry between the two shrines may already have been implicit in their inception. They were both undertaken in the course of the 1070s, it appears, beginning with a decision to destroy all of an earlier church except the lower part of the enclosure harboring the saint's remains which, in both cases, served to establish the width of the new sanctuary, approximately 8 meters.]

Capitals related to the altar table signed by Bernardus Gelduinus were reused at the so-called Porte Miègeville whose location in the nave is in fact related through geometry to the original setting of the altar [and may have instigated an urban scheme linking the faubourg of Saint-Sernin to Toulouse]. The capitals in question juxtaposed the Fall of Adam and Eve to the right with an Incarnation cycle, including the Annunciation and Visitation, to the left. The portal program deployed above these reused capitals includes two famous reliefs, one representing St. Peter above Simon Magus, shown in defeat, the other SANCTUS JACOBUS, whose identity is thus left ambiguous. This image has often been compared to its counterpart in Santiago. Whereas the latter's inscription is univocal (he is St. James, the son of ZEBEDEE, brother of St. John, first apostolic martyr, and patron of Compostela) the identity of the St. James in Toulouse remains ambiguous, perhaps intentionally.

The true identity of St. James on the Porte Miègeville at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse turns on two apocryphal traditions involving Peter's triumph over the

Magician, both referred to earlier by Robert Plötz: the Abdias legend associated with the first bishop of Babylon (which, we learned, had Franco-Latin roots) and that of the pseudo-Clementine Letters. While the Legend of Abdias dwells on the life of St. James the Greater, the Pseudo-Clementine story begins with a dialogue between Peter and James the Less, the first bishop of Jerusalem, who shares advice with Peter on the administration of the new church in Rome. Both traditions were invoked by Anna Maria Cetto in 1956 to explain the complex program at the Porte Miègeville. Because of papal sponsorship at Saint-Sernin, it can be argued that the fall of Simon Magus portrayed beneath St. Peter derives from the Petrine tradition, especially when it is recalled that William of Poitiers, whose claim to Toulouse was based on his recent marriage to the daughter of Count Guilhem IV, had just launched his abortive crusade in the Holy Land where his predecessor, Raymond de St. Gilles, had distinguished himself in the taking of Jerusalem in 1099. The two reliefs on the spandrels would thus represent a dialogue between two bishops, one of an old and the other of a new Christian capital.

The ambiguous identity of St. James at the Porte Miègeville is matched by the ambivalence of a number of twinned females arguably related to the etiological theme of the Fall represented on the displaced capital below. These in turn center on a well-known representation of the ascension on the tympanum which, in its literalness, evokes the Acts of the Apostles. But it is even more evocative of the ascension as it was recounted in the apocryphal revelation to St. Peter. In this vivid apocalyptic account, Christ's final theophanies begin with St. Peter being invited with "certain others" to witness the first theophany of the transfiguration. This vision is followed by Peter's questioning of Christ about the Last Things and leads immediately to another in which Christ is lifted up as angels flock together. The second theophany in turn is the direct prelude to the final vision in which Christ appears in glory as judge. The Petrine tradition in which the Apostle of Rome is singled out to be present at the final tripartite theophany thus stands in opposition to the other in which St. James in Compostela has a place.

As I said, the Porte Miègeville theophany and its setting is the first half of a story that ends with the Apocalyptic theophany over the body of Santiago. But the iconographic programs at Santiago turn out to be less the sequel than the response to Toulouse. Whatever the pretensions of Toulouse regarding the possession of the body of both of the Jameses in question, the description of the Guide makes unmistakably clear the preeminence of the other St. James – not the brother of Jesus, but of St. John – in the Christian economy of salvation, not just once but at every opportunity.

The second part of this story begins then with the Guide's description of the portal and sanctuary programs at Santiago. But since it is the full text that concerns us here, we should remember that the description begins with the overall dimensions of the church and its parts recounted in terms relating them to human scale and sensibilities and then returns to the *paradisus* before the Puerta Francés. The north portal, disassembled in the 18th century and transferred piecemeal to the south transept Puerta de las Platerías, presented the image of God in Majesty

flanked by the Evangelists. Serafín Moralejo's reconstruction of the portal in the 1970s made a major contribution to the literature on the subject. The vision is described by the Guide as being surrounded by episodes from Genesis referring to the Fall. The theme that underscored the vision of the ascension in Toulouse is here expanded across the entire surface of the double portal. The Guide signals what was the pendant of the Fall in Toulouse, a single reference to the Incarnation in the lefthand "ciborio" in the form of the Annuciation. The mention of many women on the same portal among other various creatures suggest to us that the female images now at the south portal came originally from the north and conveyed a similarly misogynous message. The Guide's mention of the woman with the skull on the south portal also tells us it had already been displaced. I will not go into my reasons for suspecting that the displacement may have resulted from the insurrection of 1117 when Urraca, it should be recalled, was stripped bare and humiliated by a throng next to the palace – and to the north portal. In any event, the displacement of the provocative image would have created the new context that prompted the Guide to draw a lesson about human temptation from the fact that Christ's own Temptation was portrayed alongside the woman with the skull. Had it remained where I believe it was, it might have invited a similar reponse about temptation, but in the context of the Fall.

The Guide's description of the three portal programs lends itself to a chronological scenario that moves on from the preoccupation with the Fall announced at the Porte Miègeville to embrace Christ's birth, passion and transfiguration. But far more important in my mind than the ostensibly narrative continuity of the portal programs is an even more insistent subtheme featuring St. James Zebedee. Each portal description concludes with a reference to the apostle, and with increasing insistence on the share he had in Christ's transfiguration. At the end of the discourse on the north portal that begins with a theophany and the Fall, the Guide, after mentioning Peter and Paul to the left, signals James along with John on the righthand jamb. Then, at the south portal, James and John are mentioned, again after St. Peter, alongside the Lord. Rather than identify the group as members of a transfiguration, the Guide this time concludes with a reference to another theophany in the form of angels announcing the Last Judgment. It is at this point that his discourse turns to what Serafín Moralejo characterizes as "evangelical phraseology" to describe the transfiguration at the west portal, a vision the Guide tells us in conclusion was witnessed by St. James along with John and Peter, to whom above all others Christ chose to show himself transfigured.

The parallelism in the Guide's description of each portal I insist upon here requires taking exception to Serafín Moralejo's conclusion. He plausibly suggests that the Guide may not have recognized that the figures of Christ flanked by Peter, James and John at the south portal were in fact displaced elements intended for the transfiguration at the west portal but then concludes that "the apparent duplication of programs ... seems to stem from the use of contradictory sources of information." This is to say that, in not recognizing the transfiguration at the south door, the Guide's ocular source of information – his own eyes – would have betrayed him

whereas a programmatic source couched in the language of the Gospel would have persuaded him that the transfiguration was to be found in fact at the west portal. I can see the archeological merit of the argument that the figures on the Puerta de las Platerías spandrels may have been displaced. I also range myself with those who believe that the Guide “free-associated” when interpreting the woman with the skull. But I would argue further that a programmatic scheme lay behind the repeated reference to St. James, like preludes to the climax at the west portal, at the end of each portal description. The symmetry of a discourse that links the first theophany at the north portal to an implied Last Judgment at the south portal and, where the Fall is concerned, in a descending order that is reversed before the Christological program, betrays more cunning than is evident in the language itself. Can the Guide’s author alone be accounted the source of an overall scheme that begins and ends with theophanies of which the most climactic is as evocative as any of the great theophanies described in St. John’s Book of Revelation: the altar of the apostle himself, with its frontal and ciborium? It is the comprehensiveness of the entire text, when set alongside other texts of the sort, that suggests that our Guide, however guileless its language, evinced a program worthy of plans laid by Gelmfrez.

It has always seemed obvious, even before Michael Ward proved that the west end of the nave was completed after the mid-twelfth century, that the Pilgrim’s Guide was composed before the west facade was completed. Does the later dating of the *Codex Calixtinus* proposed by Díaz y Díaz at the beginning of these deliberations alter that conviction? Certainly not, if the theophany of Master Matteo, which effectively upstaged the altar and ciborium, were planned when work resumed on the nave. It is noteworthy that medieval descriptions of churches typically focus on relics and altars but never on portals as the effective climax of the building’s meaning as a *topos* for a lesson. Even so, the unusual attention given here to portals speaks of a time when they were novel but when the climax, following a general evocation of the building as a whole, including a final reference to ramparts and towers, was located not outside but inside and at the principal shrine.

One additional reason for continuing to believe that the Pilgrim’s Guide – whether or not it belonged to an original *Liber Sancti Jacobi* – reflects an original program enunciated by Diego Gelmfrez early in the century has to do with the term *medie cindrie* and its variant, *columpne cindrie* commented upon by Seraffín Moralejo. Applied to three seemingly unrelated parts of the building’s elevation – the vaults of the side aisles, the compound piers with engaged columns and the twin columns in the tribunes – the term *cindrie* has defied a simple explanation. The reasoning that may account for the third instance proposed here – that the twin shafts did indeed act as part of the centering for the tribune arches – rightly points to a familiarity on the part of the Guide with technical terminology passed on by the masons.

[One reservation should be offered as an aside, however, about that thesis: there is reason to believe that the intermediate twin shafts were inserted after and not before the principal arches were centered.]

I would argue instead that the Guide's description of the cathedral, which is in so many ways a response to a program enunciated in Toulouse, was as much marked by the memory of its rival with regard to architecture as it was to iconography. For example, that the Guide described the nave termination with a median pier identical to those inside the transept portals suggests either that an earlier campaign took place or, what I think is more likely, that a feature not found at Saint-Sernin was projected at Santiago to make the entire building program that much more perfect, and like the portals, more unified.

It is with this memory of what took place at Saint-Sernin in mind that the question of the terminology applied to three different architectural elements makes sense. In a recent study of the elevation of Saint-Sernin, I was able to prove that the centering for the basilica was based very exactly on the division of the nave elevation into two equal parts, one extending from the tops of the bases at ground level to the floor of the tribune galleries – now marked by a 13th-century cornice at Saint-Sernin – and the other rising from the tribune bases to the apex of the vault. Thus, the bases of all of the engaged columns as well as those of the twin columns in the tribune arcade would in fact have marked the bottom of one-half of the elevation. However, at Santiago, while the elevation of each vessel is similar, the vaults of the side aisles are closer to the mid-point between the lower bases and the apex of the vault. Hence their centering might correctly be termed *medie cindrie*. And the application of the same modifier to compound piers and to the twin columns in the tribune galleries suggests that terminology that applied in fact to the construction of Saint-Sernin was carried over and used by workmen when setting up the main arcades and tribunes at Santiago shortly after 1100.

Saint-Sernin thus furnished a starting point not only for the iconography of Santiago, and a pretext for making the presence of St. James with John and Peter the penultimate theophany preparing the pilgrim for the ciborium inside; it also provided the ideal architectural scheme the builders at Santiago, with the guidance of Diego Gelmírez, saw themselves surpassing.

Comments on the *Codex Calixtinus* as Art-Historical Source

MARILYN STOKSTAD

The chronology first proposed by Michael Ward for the construction of the western bays and facade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, and reaffirmed by the research of Seraffin Moralejo and James D'Emilio (reported at this symposium), places the beginning of the construction of the western bays of the nave in the 1150's and the western crypt in the 1160's. The traditional early dating of the *Codex Calixtinus* indicates that its author could not have seen the completed cathedral and that his description of the western portal records his understanding of the intention of the builders for the proposed, but incomplete, narthex. If, however, we accept a later dating of the *Codex Calixtinus* to a period between 1150 and 1173, and accept the early dating of beginning of work on the western bays of the cathedral, the *Codex Calixtinus* description takes on additional interest. The author might be describing the actual state of the project. As Thomas Lyman asked, "Is the description a program, or is it a wish?"

A re-reading of the pertinent passage suggests that the author could be describing the Pórtico de la Gloria. Certainly the Pórtico de la Gloria surpasses the north and south transept portals in "beauty, size, and workmanship;" it is "more beautiful" and "admirably decorated." The "many stairs that lead up to it from outside" did exist, as we now know from the work of José Puente, who has recently discussed evidence for stairs under the present western platform (Pórtico de la Gloria Symposium, Santiago de Compostela, October, 1988). Furthermore, the "two entrances" (although probably of the type seen on the north and south transepts) could be construed to be the portals of the upper and lower levels of the westwork-like narthex, rather than two doors side by side as seen in the transepts. By the 1170's the western crypt, its two inner stairs to the upper level, the outer stairs, and the architecture of the porch were finished or well under way. That the author mentions the marble columns suggests that he did indeed see them, together with "images of men, women, animals, birds, saints, angels, and flowers." His reference to angels and flowers suggests that the ribbed vault so richly adorned with gigantic flowers could have been planned, if not in place. The initial impression given by the Pórtico de la Gloria is of floral splendor: the succulent leaves, vines, and flowers of the capitals, moldings, marble columns, and a ribbed vault are unusually, and memorably, dominant.

The tympanum could not have been in place this early, for the sculpture was inserted at the end of the campaign and is of inferior quality. Perhaps the author of Book V was correct in describing a proposed tympanum when he wrote of the Transfiguration in glowing but non-sculptural terms: the "dazzling cloud," the "face shining like the sun," "clothing gleaming like snow." The description suggests an image as imagined, not as seen. Transfiguration iconography may have

been planned, however. Sts. James, Peter, and John, together with St. Paul, form a group of Apostles on the right side of the central portal, and St. James is repeated on the trumeau. Until Serafín Moralejo demonstrated that the column figures may be based on liturgical drama (Pórtico de la Gloria Symposium, 1988), I was tempted to suggest that the representation of St. James twice had some reference to an intended Transfiguration in the tympanum. This subject could have been suggested by Byzantine apse mosaics, for Byzantine influence – especially in its Italian/Sicilian form – is strong in the sculpture of the Pórtico de la Gloria. However, the theme so dazzling in gold-glass tesserae does not translate well into granite sculpture. By the second half of the 12th century the new iconography seen in the great portals at Beaulieu and St. Denis clearly attracted the notice of the patrons in Santiago de Compostela, who could have modified and modernized the program underway at the time of the description in Book V, a relationship between the *Codex Calixtinus* and the Pórtico de la Gloria could be used as evidence to reinforce a late date for the one and an early date for much of the latter.