Drew University
College of Liberal Arts



Santiago Matamoros:
*Reconquista* and Identity in Twelfth-Century Iberia



A Thesis in Comparative Religion

by

Eliza Mauhs-Pugh



Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor in Arts
With Specialized Honors in Comparative Religion

May 2014

Abstract:

"*Reconquista*" is a historically fraught term that emerged in the nationalist context of the 19th century and has largely been rejected by historians due to its highly problematic implications, especially those of unified identity and rightful ownership. However, a survey of twelfth-century Iberian texts, both religious and temporal, reveals a narrative of conquest which evidences a strikingly similar contemporary understanding both of Iberian identity and rightful ownership of the Iberian Peninsula. Through an analysis of these texts I hope to provide a window into twelfth-century Iberian notions of identity and, accordingly, the way in which *reconquista* might be re-imagined. My analysis will revolve primarily around the *Codex Calixtinus*, supported by readings of the *Historia Silense*, *Primera crónica general*, *Poema de mio Cid*, and *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. I will first explore the ways in which history is constructed in these texts, particularly the narrative of Iberian apostasy and subsequent redemption, and how these constructions enable authors to make claims upon Saint James, and hence Iberia, in service of different interests. The second section is dedicated to an analysis of liturgical representations of Saint James and how they both foster unity of identity, centered around the figure of the Apostle, and reiterate and reinforce the narrative of conquest. Finally, all of these elements will be drawn together in a twelfth-century narrative of conquest that closely mirrors the contemporary notion of *reconquista*.

Contents

*Decorauit Yspaniam*
*Apostolus prouinciam*
*Illamque gentem impiam*
*Christi fecit ecclesiam.*[1]

[1] Walter Muir Whitehill, transcribed, *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 1935), 256.

## Introduction

> According to the *Gran Enciclopedia Navarra*, the *reconquista* was:
>
> A collection of military efforts undertaken by the Christian kingdoms and nuclei of the Iberian Peninsula to expel the Muslims who had invaded in 711. Between the beginnings of this enterprise, which was commenced at the battle of Covadonga (722), and its culmination with the seizure of Granada (1492), there stretched eight centuries in which the Christian liberation of the territory constituted one of the underlying principles of the new Hispanic monarchies.[2]

"*Reconquista*," however, is not a medieval term. It appears in precisely none of the

medieval sources purportedly concerned with it; it was not even part of the vocabulary of

the authors of these texts. The term instead dates to the mid-nineteenth century; it

appears in the title of an early 19th-century history published in Mexico, and then makes

an appearance in its plural form in the 1841 edition of Joseph Ortiz Y Sanz's *Compendio*,

followed in 1850 by the works of Modesto Lafuente.[3] The concept itself is a young thing,

barely two-hundred years old, which only gained traction in the nineteenth century,

precisely that period in which Spain began to organize itself as a state, drafting

constitution after constitution and flirting with rebellion and republicanism. Any

application of such a modern word to a medieval phenomenon is highly suspect, and

historians are rightly wary of using it.[4] However, *reconquista* is not entirely without

---

[2] "Reconquista," *Gran Enciclopedia Navarra* (Pamplona: Caja Navarra, 1990), author's translation.
[3] Juan Bautista de Arizpe, *Patriotismo y gloriosas empresas del Excelentísimo Marqués de la Romana en la reconquista del reino de Galicia*, reimpreso en México, Casa de Arizpe, 1810.
Martin F. Ríos Saloma, "De la Restauración a la Reconquista: la construcción de un mito nacional (Una revisión historiográfica. Siglos XVI-XIX)," *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005), 402.
[4] Adam J. Kosto provides an excellent synthesis of the historical and historiographic reasons for distrusting the term *reconquista* in "Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Historics of Iberia, ca. 1000-1200," *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, edited by Thomas F. X. Noble and John van Engen, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame UP, 2012), 93-116.

basis in medieval thought.  By the twelfth-century, Christian Iberians were defining themselves as Iberians in addition to the use of local identifiers, uniting geographical and religious identity, and setting themselves over and against the Muslim as invaders.

Several further characteristics of the term "*reconquista*" are particularly notable: in the first place the term is typically used in the singular, implying that this *reconquista* was a monolithic movement.  It is imperative to bear in mind, however, that medieval political entities were a far cry from the modern nation-state; medieval "Spain" was little more than a geographical marker with ambiguous boundaries.  It certainly was not a united political entity with a single foreign policy; the various Christian kingdoms of northern Spain did not act in any consistently cohesive manner, and frequently neither did their Muslim neighbors to the south.  Second, the term is typically employed from the 19th century onwards to describe the entirety of the 781 year period between 711, when Muslim forces first entered the Iberian peninsula from Northern Africa, and 1492, when Isabella II of Castile and Leon and Ferdinand II of Aragón conquered the last remaining Muslim kingdom of Grenada and began the Christianizing project that would result in the near-total expulsion of Jews and Muslims from the peninsula.  Such a definition should set off alarm bells; any kind of military operation that purportedly spans nearly eight centuries is an improbability, if not an impossibility.  Third, the prefix "re" indicates not only that Spain was previously in Christian hands, but furthermore implies that it was so rightfully, that the Muslim conquest was somehow an unjust invasion that the Christian

forces had to remedy by returning the territory to its original and proper Christian state.[5]

Even a brief investigation of the subject reveals the historical circumstances that belie the veracity of reconquest; if in the present day Spain is not a geographically, ethnically, or linguistically united political entity, it was even less so in the Middle Ages. Medieval Iberian history is a labyrinth of Sanchos, Ferdinands, "Miramolíns," and interminable Alfonsos, all grappling with one another for territory, but a general sketch of the complexities of the situation will suffice for our purposes.

Joseph O'Callaghan records the exemplary story of Alfonso IX of León (r. 1188-1230) in which Pope Clementine III not only excommunicated the Leonese king – tantamount to declaring open season on him – but actively encouraged his Christian neighbors to attack him, promising them remission of sins if they did so.[6] This same King died in the midst of a military campaign moving southward in which he routed Ibn Hūd, lord of several cities in the southern peninsula, and seized the cities of Mérida and Badajoz from Muslim hands. Clementine was thus actively working to thwart a Christian king who was engaged in conquering a Muslim lord, and employed the papal tools of excommunication and remission of sin to do so. Clearly, the expansion of Christian territory was only one goal among many; equally clearly, the Peninsula was not neatly divided along a Christian/Muslim line. Warring with coreligionists and shifting allegiances across religious divides were far from novelties in this day and age; Alfonso

---

[5] "Ni puede decirse la España cristiana desde la época en que se declaró la victoria y la superioridad a favor de los defensores de la cruz, porque cristiana ha sido la España antes y después de la reconquista." Modesto Lafuente, *Historia general de España desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días* (Madrid: Imprenta de F. P. Mellado, 1850), XXVI, in Martin F. Ríos Saloma, "De la Restauración a la Reconquista: la construcción de un mito nacional (Una revisión historiográfica. Siglos XVI-XIX),"407.
[6] Joseph O'Callaghan, 76, 88-9.

IX was unique for having so raised the ire of the Pope that he was made the object of what was, for all intents and purposes, a crusade, but the Christian kingdoms were forever vying with each other for supremacy, often allying themselves with Muslims along the way.

The Muslim conquest of Iberia was rapid and decisive; after the defeat of the Visigothic King Rodrigo at the Battle of Guadalete in July of 711 local resistance crumbled.  By the late eighth century Muslim forces had spread throughout the majority of the peninsula, except the northernmost mountainous regions of Asturias and Galicia, and had swept up into southern France, only repulsed by Charles Martel at Poitiers in 732. Muslim domination of the area – and we would do well to recall that Muslim-controlled regions remained majority-Christian until the 15th century – would continue for several centuries, even as nascent Christian kingdoms began to form in the north: León, Castile, Navarre, Aragón, and Catalonia.

Iberian Peninsula c. 1150 CE

**Map 1: Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula c. 1150.**

Frontiers were highly theoretical entities in Medieval Iberia, not so much

permeable as physically nonexistent, but for simplicity's sake one may say that until the

middle of the eleventh century the territory from the northern coast south to the Duero

River was largely under Christian control, encompassing the cities of Barcelona, Aragon,

Pamplona, Burgos, León, and, importantly for our purposes, Santiago de Compostela.[7]

Beginning in the latter half of the eleventh century this "border" would begin to fluctuate

with greater rapidity, and slowly the Christian-held lands would expand.  However, even

---

[7] Joseph O'Callaghan, 2.

such an analysis of medieval Iberian geography is biased in favor of *reconquista*

historiography, which prefers to map the peninsula by religious adherence instead of

political alliances or lordship, and thus ignores the level of exchange, negotiation, and

cooperation which took place between Christians and Muslims.  The infamous Alfonso

IX had in fact been excommunicated in response to his stubborn persistence in allying

himself with the Muslim Almohads against Castile and Sancho VII.[8]  After the collapse

of the Umayyad Caliphate, Muslim rulers frequently solicited protection from Christian

neighbors in return for payment of the *parías*, just as the early Christian Kings had of the

Caliphate.[9]

All of the above makes evident that "*reconquista*" is a tricky term to be handled

only with the greatest of delicacy, preferably somewhere far distant from the era of

Iberian history which it purports to describe.  Not only is the term not a contemporary

creation, but it ascribes certain characteristics to the area (complete unity, singularity of

purpose) which were most certainly not present.  Moreover, it plays nicely into a nation-

state teleology of the sort promoted by Francisco Franco, who appropriated the emblems

of Queen Isabella (a yoke) and King Ferdinand (arrows) and combined them in the

standard of the Falange Española, the ideological branch of his regime.[10]  Analyzing

Iberian conflicts strictly along Christian/Muslim lines and viewing the period as a single

'process' establishes a trajectory in which the nation-state is the natural end-point of the

---

[8] *Ibid*, 62-3.

[9] Brian A. Catlos, Christine Carpenter, and Rosamond McKitterick, *Victors and the Vanquished : Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (West Nyack, US: Cambridge UP, 2004), 72.

[10] Américo Castro's *La realidad histórica de España* (1954), a work covering the majority of the history of the Peninsula with a large section on the Camino, contains the following dedication: "A Francisco Franco, artífice de la paz."  The work, needless to say, establishes the nation-state as the endgame and adjusts history accordingly.

medieval conflicts. The imposition of such a trajectory frames the period in thoroughly modern terms and does violence to the realities experienced by contemporaries, and as such is clearly problematic. However, the complexity of the situation notwithstanding, by at least the twelfth century pan-Iberian notions of identity had begun to surface, according to which Iberia was conceived as a single territory in whose recovery from Muslim hands all of the Christian kings were, or at least should have been, engaged. In 1064 the city of Barbastro, which lies northeast of Zaragoza, fell to a motley band of Christians which included not only Iberian Aragonese and Catalans, but also soldiers from the Italian peninsula, Normandy, and Burgundy, who had been drawn to the effort by the Papal approval and encouragement expressed for it.[11] This battle would be the first of many sanctioned by various Popes who would promise participants remission of sin and the possibility of achieving martyrdom, and who occasionally gave Christian leaders Papal banners under which to fight; participants would also frequently don the cross. This leads us to another troublesome term which has long dominated discussions of the Middle Ages: "crusade."

Contrary to popular historiography, there were not seven, eight, or even nine fully distinct crusades. "Crusade," just like *reconquista*, is not even a medieval term; however muddled the reports may be, it is certain that Pope Urban II never employed it when he spoke at Clermont in 1095, nor did any of his successors. It is difficult to even distinguish the Council of Clermont as the beginning of the Crusades, however many they may be, given that from Barbastro onwards Iberia witnessed several military

---

[11] The Pope at the time was Alexander II (1061-73). Joseph O'Callaghan, 25-7.

campaigns which predated the Council and which bear all the crucial markers of a "crusade": papal sanction, remission of sin (the "crusading indulgence"), the possibility of achieving martyrdom, and the taking of the cross.  Joseph O'Callaghan presents a marvelous analysis of the confluence of crusade and reconquest in *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, clearly and soundly establishing the Iberian origin of crusade. The popes did not cease to sanction military actions in Iberia after the beginning of the crusades to the Holy Land; indeed, several popes were forced to discourage eager Iberian Christians from setting out to Jerusalem and instead promised them the same spiritual rewards in return for their staying in the peninsula and fighting the Muslim threat there.[12]

Barbastro is also a convenient marker of more clearly defined Christian/Muslim strife.[13]  The eleventh and twelfth centuries were a period of shifting power in the peninsula; early in the eleventh the Ummayad Caliphate had given way to a series of small states (*ta'ifas*) which frequently allied with the ascending Christian kingdoms against one another and other Christian kingdoms, and some of which sought assistance in the face of the invasion of the North African Almoravid dynasty in the late eleventh century.  The very beginning of the thirteenth century saw the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which has been identified as something of a turning-point in the history of Iberia.[14]  It was only after this Battle that Christian-held territories began to grow relatively steadily with fewer and fewer major setbacks.

Nearly one hundred years prior to Tolosa, around the year 1135, a new text

---

[12] Clementine III, Celestine III, Gregory VII. Joseph O'Callaghan, 58, 60.
[13] Brian A. Catlos, Christine Carpenter, and Rosamond McKitterick, 86.
[14] Joseph O'Callaghan, 78.

entered the Iberian peninsula from its northern neighbor; a largely liturgical work, the

*Codex Calixtinus* or *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Book of Saint James) has been the subject of

some scrutiny for its careful preservation of liturgical music, including early polyphonic

works, and its detailed fifth book, the *Liber Peregrinationis*, which is the earliest

recorded guide to the Camino de Santiago (Way of Saint James), the pilgrimage route

which traverses the northernmost sections of the Iberian peninsula from the Pyrenees to

the city of Santiago de Compostela, situated in the modern-day autonomous community

of Galicia. The modern revival of the pilgrimage route has generated a renewed interest

in this early guide, which may be found translated into English in William Melczer's *The*

*Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*.[15]

The original document, composed in Latin, consists of five books and an

appendix of miscellaneous polyphonic musical arrangements, sermons, and miracle

stories. The first and third books are largely liturgical in nature, being composed almost

entirely of homilies, sermons, and orders of Mass for the feast days of the Apostle. The

second, translated into English by Linda Kay Davidson, Thomas F. Coffey and Maryjane

Dunn,[16] records twenty-two miracles attributed to Saint James, prefaced by an

introduction attributed to Pope Callixtus II in which the reader is assured that only

miracles which have been affirmed by "the most truthful of people" have been

recorded.[17] Taking a detour from liturgical concerns, the *Codex* then inserts a version of

the Turpin History, also known as the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, which

---

[15] William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993).
[16] Linda Kay Davidson, Thomas F. Coffey, and Maryjane Dunn, *The Miracles of Saint James* (New York: Italica Press, 1996).
[17] Davidson, Coffey, and Dunn, *The Miracles of Saint James*, 57.

contains a rendition of the famous early-French epic *La Chanson de Roland*.[18] Despite the disparate styles (and likely authors) of the books, they all revolve around the figure of Saint James, his resting place at Santiago de Compostela, and the pilgrimage which drew so many to him.

According to tradition, the sacred remains of Saint James were discovered not far from the shores of Galicia in the year 814 by a hermit named Pelagius. Though the details vary, the narrative holds that the body of the Apostle was transported to Galicia *post haste* after James' martyrdom by Herod's sword. The first church at the site was constructed in 829, later replaced by a more elaborate stone cathedral in 899. The body of the present Romanesque cathedral was begun in 1075, though according to the *Codex* the structure would not be finished until 1211 and consecrated until 1228, under Alfonso IX of Leon (1188-1230). It was in 1075 when the ground had just been broken for the new construction that Santiago was made an Episcopal see; part of the ambitious projects of Bishop Diego Gelmírez who was dedicated to amplifying Santiago's power and establishing it as international devotional center.[19]

Though any study of medieval texts is necessarily restricted by the lack of surviving contemporary sources, the *Codex Calixtinus* lies in the company of several great Iberian chronicles: the *Primera crónica general de Alfonso el Sabio*, commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252-84) and completed between 1282 and 1284; the *Historia*

---

[18] All quotations from the *Codex* will reference the Book in which they are found: Books 1 and 3 will be denoted as such, Book 2 will be referred to as *Miracles of Saint James*, Book 4 as the *Historia Turpini*, and Book 5 as the *Liber Peregrinationis*. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own English renditions of the 1951 Spanish translation of the original Latin text by Moralejo, Torres, and Feo.

[19] Barbara Abou-El-Haj, "Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez," *Gesta* 36.2 (1997), 166.

*Silense*, of hotly contested origins, written between 1109 and 1118[20]; and the *Cronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (c. 1153-57) of Alfonso VII of León (r. 1126-57). Finally, there is the epic *Poema de mio Cid*, the record of the exploits of the famous Spanish hero Rodrigo Díaz, known contemporaneously by the appellation "*El Campeador*" (The Champion), written around the turn of the thirteenth century.

These other works have been investigated by various historians in relation to the *reconquista* question, but the *Codex* has been in large part omitted from this discussion; unjustly so, in my opinion, as in the *Codex* there are to be found notions of pan-Iberian identity that lend themselves so well to the rhetoric of righteous (re-)conquest. An analysis of the *Codex*'s treatment of Saint James, patron saint of "Spain," in conjunction with an examination of the images of Moorish conquest and Christian recovery painted in the other sources, will serve to reveal that *reconquista* is not quite so much of a modern imposition as one might think.

This analysis will be split between an exploration of contemporary historical narratives and the liturgical enactment of these narratives. The first section will examine constructions of history in the *Codex* and related sources – that is, how the Muslim conquest and its aftermath was understood and what narratives of identity were built around it – including a narrative of disobedience and divine castigation whereby the Muslim conquest was perceived to be God's punishment for past iniquities of Iberian society, from which devout Iberian monarchs must extricate the peninsula. Furthermore,

---

[20] The composition of the *Historia Silense* remains something of a mystery; the title of "Silense" seems just as much a misnomer as that of "Calixtinus." However, there is some evidence that it was authored somewhere in Leon, possibly by either Don Pedro or Don Diego (1087-1112), both Leonese bishops. M. Gómez-Moreno, Introduction to the *Historia Silense* (Madrid: Est. Typografico sucesores de Rivadanera, 1921), XXIV-XXV.

this section will expose the tensions between two notions of identity, Iberian and pan-Mediterranean, respectively, which are expressed in the *Silense* and the *Codex*. The second section will deal with Saint James himself, the ways in which he is presented in the liturgy of the *Codex*, his increasingly militarized image, and how he became a locus of these two competing identities which yield two differing notions of reconquest. The notions of identity which emerge from these two types of constructions, historical and liturgical, will be shown to revolve around precisely those two concepts – unified identity and rightful ownership – which make *reconquista* such a slippery term.

Aquella España Naciente: Constructions of History

### *The Christian People*

One of the most problematic implications of the term "*reconquista*" is that of continuity; that somehow a campaign begun in the early eighth century was sustained for nearly eight-hundred years by a single, united group. The supposed Christian agents of this process were far from united and the pushback against Muslim forces far from continuous, but several medieval Iberian sources do construct a historical narrative of sin and subsequent redemption built around just such a Christian continuity in which the past is idealized, the Christians (and Christendom) are set in opposition to the Muslims as invaders, and individual victories are understood to participate in a larger whole.

The lengthy *Primera crónica general* of Alfonso X the Wise records that, upon his deathbed, Ferdinand III of Castile and León called Alfonso, his oldest son, to his side, and spoke the following words to him:

> My Lord, I leave you all the land from the sea there, which the moors had won from Rodrigo, King of Spain; and all of it falls under your rule: part of it conquered, the other tributary. If in this state in which I give it, you know how to keep it, you are as great a king as I; and if you win more for yourself, you are greater than I; and if you diminish it, you are not as good as I.[21]

Such a view of continuity from before the Muslim invasion was not unique to the *Primera crónica*. The *Historia Silense* establishes Alfonso VII as the heir of the Goths who had dominated the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Muslim invasion in 711. Such a genealogical claim was common; various Iberian kings since the election of King Pelayo

---

[21] *Primera crónica general* vol. 2, p. 772-3, ch. 1132.

(r. 719-737) in Asturias, also purportedly a member of the royal Visigoth line, had claimed for themselves a direct line of descent from the Visigoths.[22]

This claim was likely part of a play for legitimacy; as evidenced by Isidore of Seville's description of a "monarchia hispanie" in his *Historia de Regibus Gotorum*, the Visigoths had long been construed as having reigned over a kingdom whose reach extended across the entirety of what had been the Roman diocese of Spain, including Mauritania.[23] As the *Historia Silense* is careful to note, "The Hispanic kings governed also, from the Rhône, greatest river of the Gauls, to the sea that separates Europe from Africa, six provinces in a catholic manner … they furthermore subjected under their dominion the province of Tingitania, a site in the last confines of Africa."[24] This asserts a narrative of pre-Muslim Visigoth dominance of a region that included the sections of northern Africa from which the invaders would come – it is to precisely this last province of Tingitania, which corresponds roughly to modern-day Morocco, that Count Julian and others whom Rodrigo had offended fled – into which the Iberian kings were able to insert themselves, by aligning themselves with their Visigoth "ancestors," and so legitimize their territorial claims.

Born into the Arian heresy, the Visigothic King Recaredo (r. 586-601) renounced the misdeeds of his forefathers and adopted the orthodox faith, from which point forward, the *Silense* alleges, the Visigothic kings were wholeheartedly devoted to the "catholic

---

[22] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 5.
[23] *Ibid*, 4.
[24] *Historia Silense* LXVII (67).

faith."[25]  Recaredo, highly devout, moved to suppress the Arian heresy in his kingdom and to repulse the Franks who were "determined to destroy the divine cult."[26]  The *Silense* author orchestrates a narrative of direct causation wherein pious actions had corresponding territorial rewards: it is only after the monarch's conversion and the suppression of Arianism that the Visigothic kingdom is described as covering all of Iberia as well as parts of northern Africa, which area was of course governed "in a catholic manner."

All good things must come to an end, however, and the Visigoths soon met their decline under King Witiza and his successor, Rodrigo (r. 710-11).  Again, the *Silense* author provides a moralizing historical narrative in which he understands the loss of territory to come as a result of the Visigoths' own evil actions; this notion was in circulation as early as the middle of the eighth century, when the *Chronicle of 754* claimed that the defeat of King Rodrigo, last of the Visigothic kings, was due to "wicked rivalries."[27]  Similarly, the *Primera crónica general* relates an intricate account of court intrigue and vengeance, in which Rodrigo abducted and dishonored the daughter of a certain Count Julian who subsequently, in order to take his revenge upon the king, traveled to the northern coast of Africa, where he made an agreement with the North African *emir* Musa ibn Nusair to assist in the invasion of the Peninsula.[28]  Julian would

---

[25] *Ibid*, LXV (65).  "Catholic" should not be understood as sharing in its modern meaning; the notion of a "Roman Catholic Church" was only born in the 15th and 16th centuries as a distinction from the various Protestant denominations which had sprung up.  "Catholic" in the medieval sense means only orthodox Christianity; in this case it is opposed to the Arian Heresy, which held that the Son of God was created, and thus an entity distinct from God Himself.
[26] *Ibid*, 65-7.
[27] *Ibid*, 5.
[28] E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969), 250.

later help a host led by Tariq ibn Ziyad, Musa's commanding officer, to cross the strait and enter the southernmost tip of Iberia.[29]

The *Silense* paints a similar picture of the amoral acts of the king, attributing to this moral decline the rout of the Visigoths at the hands of the invaders, but he expands upon it: the iniquities of the Visigoth kings were not limited to court intrigues and indulgence of carnal desires, but included direct offenses against the church: "Effectively; all divine religion unseated, all the medicines of the soul scorned … Even the bishops and others who honored God were despised; the offices of the sacrosanct Church, the doors shut, stood upon nothing . . ."[30] Such an estrangement from the church merited a corresponding estrangement from God; God abandoned the Visigoths in response to their egregious sins, and having been so abandoned they were unable to withstand the attack from the south: "Certainly, the hand of the Lord had turned away from Spain for the inveterate malice of her kings, to the end that He might not protect her at the time of this ruin."[31] The Muslim invasion came as a direct consequence of the Visigoths' immorality.

The author of the *Historia Silense* synthesizes these various elements in explaining the goal of his work: "then, after so much ruin of the Spains, the merit of my job is in relating how the divine piety that wounds and heals made to grow, like a shoot from the revived root, the Gothic people, their strength recovered."[32] Note the plural use of "the Spains" ("Yspaniarum") to describe the state of the peninsula at the end of Visigoth rule. Though consciously propagating the legend that the Visigoths had

---

[29] *Primera Crónica General*, 308-10.
[30] *Historia Silense* LXXIIV – LXXIV, LXII.
[31] *Ibid* LXXV.
[32] *Ibid* LXXVI.

achieved dominion over an extended geographical area, the author of the *Historia Silense* did not yet view it as an entirely unified entity. [33]  This plural usage disappears almost entirely later in the chronicle, when it deals more fully with Alfonso VII (El Emperador, r. 1126-57) and his predecessors, and is replaced by the singular "Yspanie."  Alfonso VII is portrayed as the "revived root" of the Gothic line, and his dominance and the expansion of his power is a direct result of his "divine piety"; he is, moreover, the hope of redemption for a land which fell through its own wickedness.  Alfonso is the pinnacle of the *Silense*'s model, whereby moral, orthodox rulers become agents of unification.  This narrative of fall, punishment, and gradual redemption at the hands of pious kings is exactly that kind of narrative which *reconquista* implies and of which historians are wary; Spain is seen as not only the rightful domain of the Visigoths and their supposed descendants but of Christendom itself, and the Christian acquisition of land entails its return to this original state.

This argument deliberately constructs the Muslim invasion as divine punishment; something inherently "other," "evil," and opposed to the "native" Iberians.  A brief study of the area of the Thaghr (Arabic *thaghr*: gap) – modern-day Aragón – reveals a level of cooperation and exchange, both intellectual and material, that belies the assumptions of unity in opposition that underlie such a narrative, but such othering of Muslims was far from an unusual practice in the Middle Ages.[34] In the very first verse of the *Chanson de*

---

[33] From the original Latin text: *Historia Silense*, ed. Francisco Santos Coco (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1921), 17.

[34] The Thaghr region displayed a strong sense of regional identity which frequently manifested in resistance against the leading powers of al-Andalus, often in the form of alliances formed with neighboring Christian kingdoms.  Brian A. Catlos, Christine Carpenter, and Rosamond McKitterick, *Victors and the Vanquished : Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 66.

*Roland*, from which Chapter 21 of the *Turpini* was adapted, both Mohammed and Apollo

are identified as the deities of the (Muslim) King of Zaragoza. Verse 195 has two so-

called Saracens invoking Mohammed, Apollo, and one Tervagant – a sort of "pagan anti-

trinity" which appears elsewhere in medieval works.[35] Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, a

tenth-century poet and nun, arrayed the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III in the garb of Roman

idolatry in a poem which recounted and lauded the death of the Cordoban martyr

Pelagius; the Caliph is depicted as harboring an unholy lust for the young Pelagius which,

for Hrotsvitha, was directly inspired by the demons whose idols he worshipped.[36]

Furthermore, the Caliph was galvanized to quell the province of Galicia, whose people

had rebelled against his idol-worship, in defense of these practices.[37] The attribution of

such practices to the Caliph and his men serves to further delineate these two groups,

which are envisioned to be diametrically opposed both religiously and politically.

　　This imagery of "pagan" Muslims was heavily exploited in "crusading" rhetoric:

three disparate accounts of Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont (1095) record

the use of the term "pagan" in reference to the Muslim forces which had occupied

Jerusalem. According to the version written by Archbishop Balderic of Dol, Urban

despaired of a city which, "because our sins demanded it, has been reduced to the

pollution of paganism … But why do we pass over the Temple of Solomon, nay of the

---

[35]This anti-trinity may be found in a miracle play by the name of *Le jeu de Saint Nicolas* (performed 1201). See Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 2009), 212.
[36] Pelagius was a member of a group of Christians who have come to be known collectively as the "Cordoban Martyrs"; from 850 to 859 these Iberian Christians who lived under Muslim rule deliberately committed capital offenses – frequently the public denouncement of Mohammed – to invite martyrdom. John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia UP, 2002), 107.
[37] *Ibid*, 107.

Lord, in which the barbarous nations placed their idols contrary to law, human and divine?"[38] A summons written and published by Pope Eugene III in 1154 waxed nostalgic about the first armed expedition to Jerusalem and the efforts of the European armies, which "did free from the filth of the pagans that city where our Saviour willed to suffer for us."[39] Moreover, this construction of Islam as a form of pagan worship allowed the participants in the crusades to regard their contemporary struggle as the continuation of a historical conflict between Christianity and paganism, which would inevitably culminate in the annihilation of the latter.[40]

A chapter of the *Historia Turpini* mentions a strange idol it calls by the name "Salam de Cádiz," which Thomas Rodd has identified as "Ṣanām Cádiz" (Idol of Cadiz), in Muslim legend a giant figure that blocked the Strait of Gibraltar with strong winds and tempests.[41] The existence of any such figure remains a question for another day, but the legend portrays it as a creation of Mohammad's own hands which sickens any Christian who approaches it and kills any bird which flies above it.[42] It is described as an object of worship, enforcing the polemical dichotomy in which Islam is depicted as a pagan faith. This "Ṣanām Cádiz" is one in a series of imagined Muslim idols, frequently richly bedecked with gemstones and arrayed with scepter and crown, which peppered Christian

---

[38] Balderic of Dol's account of Urban's plea for a Crusade, in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, ed. August. C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1921), 33-34.

[39] "Pagan" appears three times in the text, and "Muslim" never. Doeberl, *Monumenta Germania Selecta*, vol. 4, p. 40, trans in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 333-336.

[40] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, 109.

[41] Thomas Rodd, *History of Charles the Great and Orlando*, vol. 1, (London: 1812), 6.

[42] *Historia Turpini*, 415.

texts from the eleventh century.[43]  Apollo is depicted in such a way in the *Chanson de Roland*; the first Crusade gave birth to a similar legend, according to which the Christian soldiers dashed to a pieces a silver idol that Muslims had placed in the Temple of Solomon.[44]  Whether the recorder of legend of the idol of Cádiz had any knowledge of the tenets of Islam or not, the reiteration of such a legend would serve to reinforce the notion of Islam – and as such Muslims – as foreign and barbaric; utterly "other."

A sophisticated theological debate between the figure of Roland, lauded hero of *La chanson de Roland*, and Ferragut, "a giant of the lineage of Goliath" is laid out in the seventh chapter of the *Historia*.[45]  Roland and the giant, who are to continue a duel begun the day before, during their brief truce begin a systematic rehearsal of the primary theological differences between Islam and Christianity, beginning with the nature of the oneness of God, and working their way through the birth of Jesus and his death and resurrection.[46]  This entire discussion reveals a knowledgeable, if not nuanced, authorial hand; the mere identification of traditional Muslim objections to Christian theology is a sharp and dissonant contrast with the numerous crusading texts of the period, in which

---

[43] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval Imagination*, 105.

[44] Al-Aqsa Mosque was understood by some "crusaders" to be the Temple of Solomon, which had actually been destroyed in 70 CE.  See Balderic of Dol's record of Urban's speech at Clermont, and the account of the conquest of Jerusalem given by Raymond d'Aguilers: August. C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, (Princeton: 1921), 33-36, 64-67.

[45] "Un gigante del linaje de Goliath." *Historia Turpini*, 447.

[46] "El tema fundamental de la disputa entre musulmanes y cristianos era el de la Trinidad, y en especial, lo que se refería a la esencia divina de Cristo, creencia que los musulmanes, al igual que los judíos, vieron como una forma de vulneración de la idea de la unidad divina. Esto era una barrera tan insalvable, que incluso a los moriscos, luego de convertirse al cristianismo, les resultaba muy difícil de superar." Ron Barkai, "Dialogo filosófico-religioso en el seno de las tres culturas ibéricas," in *Dialogo filosófico-religioso entre el cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la Península Ibérica*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Belgium: Brepols 1994), 6.

Islam is viewed, or at least depicted, as merely a version of paganism.[47]  One should note

that Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny under whom the *Codex* may have been

compiled, had commissioned the first ever Latin translation of the Qur'an and wrote

several treatises on Islam; any polemic against Islam in a document produced under his

oversight would almost certainly have been well-informed, and any depiction of Muslims

as pagans deliberate.[48]

The author goes so far as to cite, in the mouth of Ferragut, a passage of the Quran

around which many early Muslim theological responses to Christianity had been formed:

"That just as [God] was not begotten of anyone, neither did he beget anyone.  Then God

is one and not three."[49]  The original passage, from Sura 112:3, reads: "[God] has

begotten no one, and is begotten of none."[50] This would suggest a high level of inter-

religious exchange and depth of knowledge which is nevertheless marred by the way in

which, having fallen to Roland's dagger, Ferragut begins to invoke Mohammad, crying

"Mohammed, Mohammed, my God, help me, for I am dying!"[51] explicitly identifying the

Prophet with God, against all that he had previously said on the subject of the

impossibility of the trinity and the strict oneness of the uncreated God.[52]  How is the

juxtaposition of these two contradictory understandings to be explained?  At the very

---

[47] See August. C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton U, 1921).

[48] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1960), 18-19.

[49] *Historia Turpini*, 449

[50] "Say: 'He is God, One,　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　"قل هو الله احد

God, the Eternal.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　الله الصمد

He has not begotten nor has he been begotten,　　　　　لم يلد ولم يولد

And for Him there is no equal.'"　　　　　　　　　ولم يكن له كفوا احد."

(Qur'an 112:1-4)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(112: 2-14)

*The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation*, trans. Arthur J. Droge (Sheffield, England: Equinox, 2013).

[51] *Historia Turpini*

[52] *Historia Turpini* 449-450.

least, we cannot simply dismiss any polemic against Muslims as the work of an ignorant

mind confronted with something foreign and unknown; the author of the *Historia Turpini*

had some comprehensive knowledge of the other, indicating that this was a deliberate

theological construction designed both to elevate Christianity (Ferragut eventually

concedes to each of Roland's points) and lay out the precise distinctions between the two

faiths.

Prior to the continuance of the duel, the debate culminates in Ferragut's promise

to resume the fight upon the condition that "if this faith which you hold is true, I will be

vanquished, and if it is false, you will be. And the people of the one vanquished will be

eternally filled with shame, and that of the vanquisher of eternal glory and honor instead,"

to which Roland consents.[53] Such agreements appear repeatedly throughout the *Historia*

*Turpini*, in which the soldiers are seen to act as defenders of the honor of the entirety of

their faith. A single battle becomes representative in miniature of a greater religious

struggle.

When Charlemagne confronts Aigolando, a "pagan king of Africa" – note here

the use of "pagan" to refer to this Muslim leader – in the city of Zaragoza, Aigolando

speaks to him the following words, almost perfectly echoing the speech of the giant

Ferragut:

> I and my people will fight against you and yours, on the condition that if our
> religion is more pleasing to God than yours, we will vanquish you; and, if your
> religion is better than ours, you will vanquish us. And let the vanquished be
> eternally filled with shame, and the vanquishers with renown and glory.

---

[53]"Si es verdadera esa fe que sostienes, sea yo vencido, y si es falsa, lo seas tú. Y el pueblo del vencido se
llene eternamente de oprobio, y el del vencedor en cambio de honor y gloria eternos." *Historia Turpini*,
452.

Furthermore, if my people is vanquished, I will receive baptism, if I survive.[54]

The honor of both groups rests upon the outcome of the battle, as does the individual faith of Aigolando, who has volunteered to submit to the sacrament of baptism should he be vanquished. These military confrontations are framed as confrontations between religions; violent tests of the truth of each faith. Clearly and deliberately, the *Turpini* author has built a narrative in which Charlemagne's involvement in Iberia was, 1) unilaterally and uncompromisingly Christian in scope and aim, which is historically not the case, and 2), the enactment in microcosm of a macrocosmic confrontation between the two faiths. The Latin *populus,* here translated "people," is not plural but singular, typically used to refer not to a conglomeration of individuals so much as a united whole – the term might also be translated "nation." "My people" then refers to a unity; in this case not necessarily a geographic or ethnic unity, but rather a religious one; these confrontations are explicitly in the *Historia Turpini* a question of the faith of (what is portrayed as) a united group.

Before laying down the condition upon which he will fight the battle, Aigolando asks of Charlemagne why he had taken their lands, to which Charlemagne replies: "Because our Lord Jesus Christ, creator of heaven and earth, selected our people among all the peoples, that is, the Christian people, and he established that it would dominate all the peoples of the world, and for this I have subjected to our religion, as much as has been possible, your Saracen people."[55] This is a reiteration of a theme begun in Chapters 1 and 2 of the *Turpini*: "Lord Jesus Christ, for whose faith I have come to combat in these

---

[54] *Historia Turpini*, 439. It is unclear who Aigolando is and whether or not he represents a historical figure.
[55] *Historia Turpini* 439.

lands an infidel people, let me conquer this city for the glory of your name. Oh Saint James! If it is true that you appeared to me, let me conquer it."[56] Charlemagne views his conquests as a religious duty; every victory that he achieves is directly linked to the supremacy of the Christian faith. What is visible here is not a retelling of local territorial squabbles, driven by competing loyalties and threats, but a sweeping project of domination.

As already noted, the *Historia Silense*, which concerns itself primarily with the person of Alfonso VII, similarly structures Alfonso's conquests as carrying religious value, setting up a dichotomy between the "sacrilegious hands" who had held the land and the "faith of Christ" to which the land is returned upon being conquered:

> Alfonso, then, springing from the illustrious lineage of the Goths, had great strength in plans and in arms which is hardly found among mortals; in effect, we see that one comes forward for fear of death, and the other with the boldness of strength. But how much ardor there was in this man to increase the kingdom of the Spaniards and make war with the barbarians, enumerating one by one the provinces snatched from their sacrilegious hands and returned to the faith of Christ, I will tell in time, provided the skill of my wit allows it.[57]

This is a tale of the fall and redemption not only of a people (the benighted Visigoths) but of an entire Peninsula which must be safely returned to the "faith of Christ" from which it had been violently torn.

This historical narrative is presented very strongly, as shown above, in both the *Codex Calixtinus* and the *Historia Silense*, but the question is somewhat more complicated when it comes to some of the contemporary works, including the *Primera*

---

[56] *Historia Turpini* 409.
[57] *History Silense* LXVIII (68).

*Crónica General* of Alfonso X and the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. This last, similarly to the *Historia Silense*, was written during the time of Alfonso VII and lauds his deeds and conquests, but in contrast with the grand lineage and sweeping projects which the *Silense* author attributes to Alfonso,[58] the *Chronica* presents a much more localized and nuanced account. One section, for instance, recounts how the Muslim King Zafadola, threatened by the Almoravids, pledged his allegiance to Alfonso, whom he would serve until his death.[59]

The terms "pious," used so frequently by the *Silense* author to describe the various Iberian kings, and "catholically," used to describe their rule, make not a single appearance in the *Chronica*; the author is very little concerned with the personal piety of the King; the only mention made of it is limited to two sentences which record the King's journey to Santiago de Compostela to pray.[60] Churches are referenced primarily as landmarks and meeting-places. Nowhere is it indicated that Alfonso's campaigns had any sort of religious merit; there is certainly none of the rhetoric from the *Historia Turpini* which asserts that the honor of an entire faith rests upon the outcome of a battle.

---

[58] *Historia Silense*, LXXII.

[59] "Zafadola" is Saif ad-Dawla, son of ʿAbd al-Malik and last king of the *taʾifa* of Zaragoza. The Almoravids, Al-Murābiṭun, were a Berber dynasty located in modern-day Morocco, invited into southern Iberia in 1086 to assist in the defense of Muslim territories against attacks from the north. By 1094 Yusuf ibn Tashfin, king of the Almoravids, had taken control of all the *taʾifas* (small kingdoms leftover from the period of Umayyad domination) except Zaragoza.
"The leaders of the Spanish Moslems in the South and their people realized that their misfortunes were increasing. They saw that the Emperor and his army were coming annually to their territory. They witnessed the yearly destruction or their land by the armies of Toledo, Segovia, Ávila and Salamanca. Therefore, they assembled in their plazas and in their mosques to discuss the problem. First, they fully realized that they could not withstand the war with the Emperor and his armies. Some of them spoke out and said that it was the Almoravides who were seizing their choicest lands and possessions. They had confiscated their gold and silver, and kidnapped their women and children. The Spanish Moors, therefore, decided to fight the Almoravides and drive them from Spain." *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, 6-7, ch. 188.

[60] *Historia Silense*, LXVIII.
*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, 17.

The *Primera crónica general*, which contains a thorough rehearsal of Iberian history from just prior to the reign of King Rodrigo up until the life of Alfonso X, by whom it was commissioned, is much more interested in the fate of various reclaimed churches and the personal piety of various rulers, but presents a similarly intricate account of battles and campaigns. Christian and Muslim rulers ally with each other against other Muslim or Christian powers. The Cid, after being exiled by Alfonso VI, found work in the court of the Muslim ruler of Zaragoza, and achieved great victories at the side of his Muslim allies over both the Muslim ruler of Lérida and the Christian King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, before reentering the service of Alfonso.[61] These annalistic accounts lack the unity of message found in the *Codex* and the *Silense*.

The fundamental difference between the chronicles, on the one hand, and the histories on the other is the nature of their composition: the chronicles would have been written in the court, under the direction of the king whose name they bear, whereas both the *Historia Turpini* and the *Historia Silense* came together in religious establishments. It is perhaps obvious, then, that the two histories would make so much more use of religious terminology and would focus more closely on religious concerns, but this is to miss the point; these texts emphasize not purely religious matters, but political actions framed in religious rhetoric. When Charlemagne defeated various Muslim leaders in the peninsula, he did so for the glory of the name of Christ.[62] Alfonso VII was not merely a brilliant political and military leader; he was a pious man whose piety enabled him to

[61] Ian Michael, introduction to *The Poem of the Cid: A New Critical Edition of the Spanish Text* (Manchester, England: Manchester UP 1975), 1-2.
[62] *Historia Turpini* 409.

achieve the success that he did.[63]  In recording the legend of the Idol of Cádiz and the

debate between Ferragut and Roland, the author of the *Historia Turpini* deliberately set

Christianity up against Islam, through a combination of nuanced theological argument

and blind polemic.  These constructions of otherness (Islam) and of self (Christendom),

closely linked as they are, emerge most strongly from the two *Historias*.  The *Chronica*

*Adefonsi Imperatoris* in particular lacks the overarching framework or goal which such a

moralizing narrative necessitates.  The clergy-authored texts on the other hand, in

addition to the *Primera crónica* to a certain extent, deliberately set forth a history in

which contemporary conquests were conceived as attempts to return to an idealized

Christian past.

---

[63] *Historia Silense* LXXVI (76).

*From Iberia to the Mediterranean*

> A little while ago, while I found myself in Vienna somewhat sickened by the scars from my wounds, you commanded that I write for you how our emperor, the famous Charlemagne, liberated from the power of the Saracens the Spanish and Galician land . . .[64]

So begins the *Historia Turpini*, the fourth book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, pseudopigraphically attributed to the Archbishop Turpin of Reims (d. 800). It opens with the tale of a miraculous dream in which a trail of stars appeared to Charlemagne, proceeding away from him down into the Iberian Peninsula to its end in Galicia, at the place where Saint James' body lay. After several nights spent contemplating this sight, a knight appeared to Charlemagne in a dream, declaring himself to be "Saint James, Apostle, disciple of Christ, son of Zebedee, brother of John the Evangelist, whom with ineffable grace the Lord deigned to select, beside the sea of Galilee, to preach to the peoples" and instructing Charlemagne to follow the stellar path to "prepare my way and liberate my land from the hands of the Muslims," and "combat the perfidious pagan peoples, and to liberate my way and my land."[65] This vision would repeat itself three times before Charlemagne took up his sword and marched southwest with his army into the Iberian Peninsula.

There follows the account of the *Historia* of all the battles fought and won, the cities vanquished, and the Muslim leaders conquered by Charlemagne (including a version of the *Chanson de Roland*), deeds whose purpose and merit are directly linked to

---

[64] *Historia Turpini*, 403.
[65] *Historia Turpini*, 407-8.

Saint James and the establishment of his cult at Compostela.[66]  The account of this period

given by the *Historia Silense* differs drastically: "For the rest, against such ruin, outside

of God the Father, who tends insistently to the sins of men with a rod, none of the foreign

peoples is known to have favored Spain.  Not even Charles [Charlemagne], of whom the

Franks falsely assure that he snatched several cities from the hands of the pagans below

the Pyrenees mountains."[67]  Charlemagne, the author of the *Silense* alleges, had very little

to do with any progress made in the peninsula.  Both of these works further a sweeping,

unified vision of the Christian conquest of the northern regions prior to and during the

twelfth century, but the two texts come into tension when it comes to Charlemagne: he is

as spineless and villainous in the *Silense* as he is heroic in the *Turpini*.  This tension is a

symptom of a greater conflict between the works: whereas the focus *Silense* is adamantly

internal, eschewing outside influence as detrimental, the *Codex* manifests a pan-

Mediterranean character, into which it co-opts the traditionally Iberian James.

The historical Charlemagne was born somewhere around 742, crowned Emperor

of the Romans by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day of the year 800, and died 14 years later.

Though Charlemagne did indeed spend some time embroiled in battles in the Pyrenees

and northern Iberia, the Charlemagne discussed in the *Turpini* has little to do with this

historical figure, and the campaigns and victories described even less so.

The brief section which deals with Charlemagne in the *Historia Silense* makes no

mention whatsoever of Saint James; it attributes Charlemagne's entrance into the Iberian

---

[66] "Después que el famosísimo emperador Carlomagno conquistó en aquellos días toda España para gloria del Señor y de su apóstol Santiago, de regreso de España . . ." *Historia Turpini*, 463.
[67] *Historia Silense* LXXV (75).

Peninsula rather to a territorial, expansionist desire: "Then King Charles, following the persuasion of said moor (Hibinalarabí, governor of Zaragoza), conceiving in his mind the hope of taking cities in Spain, congregated the army of the Franks and beginning the walk through the deserted Pyrenean mountains . . ."[68] Note that this "hope of taking cities in Spain" is incited by a Muslim king, not by any Christian zeal or desire. [69]

The author is determined not only to discredit Charlemagne's involvement, but to paint him a bit of a fool as well, claiming that his return north to Gaul was spurred by an extravagant desire: "Charles yearned, in effect, to bathe soon in those hot-springs which for this purpose he had handsomely constructed in Aachen."[70] Focused on physical pleasures as he is, this man is a far cry from the heroic and noble Charlemagne of the *Turpini*, who returned to Gaul only after he had "conquered all of Spain for the glory of the Lord and his Apostle Saint James,"[71] who detoured to transport the body of his dead companion, Roland, to his resting place in Blaye, and who on the same journey gave "to the poor of Arles twelve thousand ounces of silver and as many talents of gold."[72]

The *Silense* author seals his intent with a last remark:

> In truth, let those who persist in describing the mansions of certain Frankish kings note that, instead of the foods of Christmas or Easter, which they assure us they have consumed in various places, we describe works of the army of the Spanish kings to liberate the holy Church from pagan rites and hardships, not banquets and delicate tableware. Examine, in relation to this, that the gifts with which Charles had mitigated the fury of the barbarians in order to redeem his borders from

---

[68] *Ibid*, LXXV-LXXVI (75-6).
[69] Though this king is mentioned as Hibinalarabí, likely a rendering of the common Arabic name "Ibn al-'Arabi," the ruler who in fact invited Charlemagne was one Husayn of Zaragoza (d. c. 781). Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain: 710-797* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 179.
[70] *Ibid*, LXXVI (76).
[71] *Historia Turpini*, 462.
[72] *Ibid*, 476.

captivity were stripped from their hands by the victory of the Spanish King.[73]

The investigation and description of certain luxurious habits of French kings is here directly juxtaposed with what the author sees as the goal of his work: the efforts of *Spanish* kings to liberate the Church. Charlemagne is identified with frivolity ("banquets and delicate tableware") and weakness ("the gifts with which Charles had mitigated the fury of the barbarians"). An earlier passage had painted him as greedy and cowardly, for, having arrived at Zaragoza, he was so lazy and so corrupted with the desire for gold that, "in the custom of the Franks," he turned tail and left without making a single effort to "liberate the holy Church of the domination of the barbarians."[74] The message is clear: far from the pious, courageous champion depicted in the *Turpini*, Charlemagne was nothing but a weak, detrimental, and – note the use of the phrase "custom of the Franks" and the continual reminders of Charlemagne's Frankish origins – thoroughly *foreign* influence. Even the pre-Carolingian Franks, the *Silense* asserts, were the bane of Iberian existence, for it was they who attacked Recaredo, the first orthodox Christian King of the Visigoths, with great fury in an attempt "to destroy the divine cult."[75] For the *Silense* author, Iberia stands or falls by the merit of Iberians alone.

The *Codex* stands opposed to the *Silense*'s strong statement of Iberian identity: the *Turpini* serves Frankish and Carolingian interests first and foremost.[76] Though scholarly opinion is not unanimous on the subject, it is likely that the *Codex Calixtinus* was compiled in the Abbey at Cluny, located in the east of modern France, probably

---

[73] *Historia Silense*, LXXXVIII (88).
[74] *Ibid*, LXXVI (76).
[75] *Ibid*, 65-7.
[76] William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, Introduction, 32.

under the auspices of the Abbot known as Peter the Venerable (d. 1156).[77]  Between 1076

and 1078 the Abbey had established three dependencies on the pilgrimage route to

Santiago as a result of an increasingly close relationship between Abbot Hugh and

Alfonso VI of Leon.[78] The Abbey was furthermore the happy beneficiary of the

substantial financial support provided by the Leonese king, who had increased the

amounts paid by his father, Fernando I, who had originally supported the Abbey with

treasure taken in raids against Muslim cities.[79]  As such, the *Codex Calixtinus* can be seen

as an outgrowth of the expanding Cluniac interests in northern Iberia, and thus it is

unsurprising that the text should paint such a noble picture of the Carolingian empire.

The Charlemagne of the *Codex* was not untested and untried; the *Turpini*

describes him rather as a veteran of many military exercises, through which he acquired,

"with the power of his invincible arm and strengthened with divine assistance, different

kingdoms, to wit, England, Gaul, Germany, Bavaria, Lorraine, Burgundy, Italy, Brittany,"

etc.[80]  The period of Charlemagne's life in which he was most heavily involved in the

Iberian Peninsula falls several years before his coronation as Emperor of Rome, but this

description already attributes to him an incredibly dominant presence in the northwestern

Mediterranean, giving over to him even such regions as the British Isles, which it is clear

he never entered.[81]  Setting aside the ahistorical nature of such claims, it is clear that the

author intended to give Charlemagne a trans-Mediterranean character.

---

[77] John Williams cites L. Vázquez de Parga, et al., and P. David to argue that internal evidence make it clear that the *Codex* is not a Cluniac work; "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27.1 (1988), 93-101.  Melczer, however, attributes the document to the monastic community at Cluny (28-9).
[78] "Cluny and Spain," 96.
[79] *Ibid*, 93-4.
[80] *Historia Turpini*, 406-7.
[81]*Ibid*, 407, note 15.

This is a character which the *Codex* also gives to the figure of Saint James, particularly as portrayed in the *Miracles of Saint James*. Of the twenty-two miracles recorded in the book, only two of them involve native Iberians, though eleven take place within the Peninsula.[82] At this point in time the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was flourishing; under the zeal of Bishop Diego Gelmirez the city had been made a metropolitan apostolic see in 1120.[83] Eighteen years earlier the same Bishop had received permission to increase the number of canons dramatically, from twenty-four to seventy-two, and to provide for seven cardinal canons, who might perform Mass at the high altar in full vestments, all of which sought to project an authority and prestige not often seen outside of Rome.[84] The pilgrimage route was similarly faring well: in and around the same period, Sancho the great of Navarre (r. 1004-35) worked to build hospices along the way, and Alfonso VI (r. 1077-1109) later rebuilt every bridge between Logroño and Santiago.[85]

These pilgrims were not limited to the Galician locals or even those of neighboring regions; pilgrims were drawn from across the Mediterranean and from regions far to the north and the east. Exactly half of the miracles recorded in the *Miracles of Saint James* involved pilgrims hailing from the area of what is now France and southern Germany, an additional four from areas along the Italian peninsula, and one from as far east as Greece. Saint James was no mere local saint; he and his pilgrimage had achieved trans-Mediterranean fame.

---

[82] The first miracle, the recording of which is attributed to Pope Callixtus II, and the twenty-second, similarly attributed to Callixtus. *Codex Calixtinus*, 338-9, 380-81.

[83] Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), 238.

[84] Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez," 166.

[85] *Ibid*, 163.
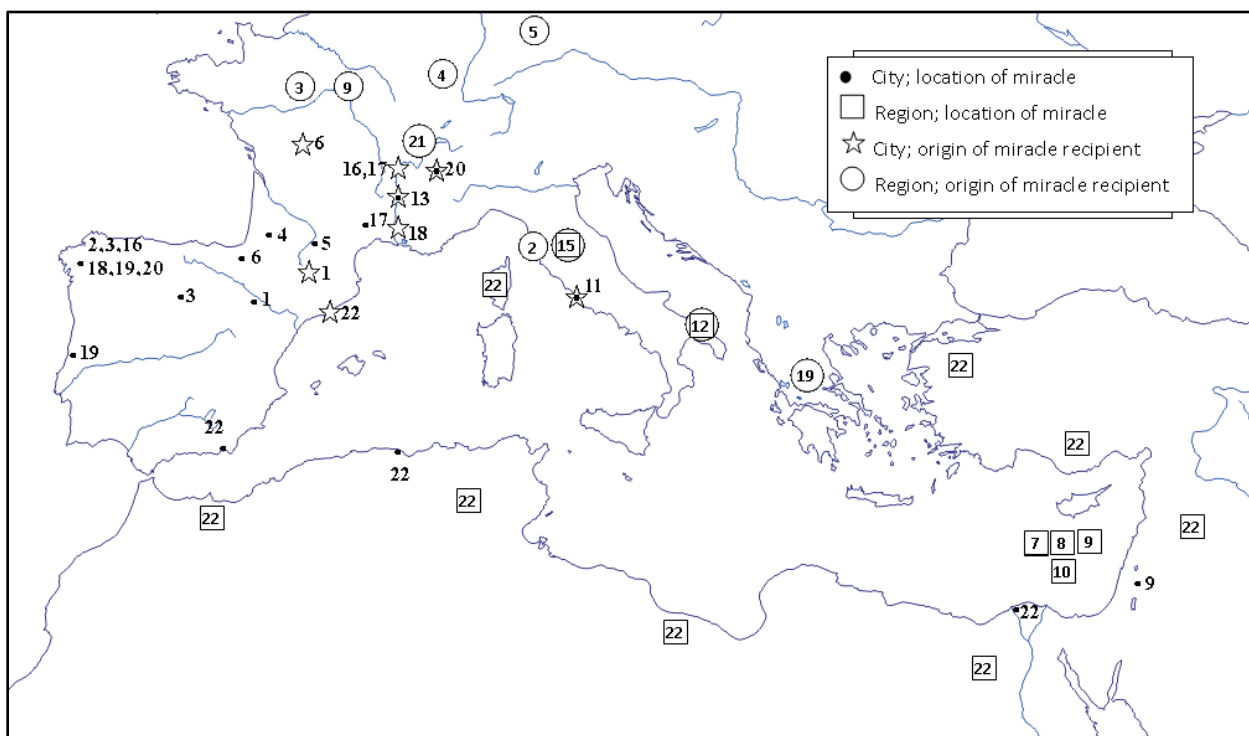
**Map 2: Miracles of Saint James.** Drawn from two maps in Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn's *The Miracles of Saint James* (New York: Italica Press, 1996), LXXIV-V.

Particularly intriguing, and demonstrative of the trans-Mediterranean bias of the *Codex*, is the fact that, although many of the miracles either took place along the pilgrimage route (six of the twenty-two occurred at Santiago de Compostela itself) or involved either former or future pilgrims, quite a few took place far outside of the Peninsula, including the truly miraculous story described in the twenty-second chapter. In remarkably terse and succinct style, the *Codex* recounts the tale of a certain Barcelonan pilgrim who, in the year 1100, journeyed to the basilica at Santiago and requested there of the saint that he "liberate him from the captivity of his enemies," after

which he headed directly for Sicily to attend to business.[86]  This unlucky man was

subsequently captured or sold thirteen times, but each and every time his chains were

broken and he was liberated by Saint James.  The places of his captivity are listed in the

*Codex*, spanning almost the entirety of the Mediterranean, from Ethiopia in the southeast

to India in the far east, and from Persia to modern-day Morocco.  In his last instance of

captivity, wherein he was being held in the Muslim city of Almería, the Apostle appears

to him to rebuke him for asking only for the protection of his body, releases him, and

sends him on foot to return once more to Santiago de Compostela.  Such a tale puts

forward not only the power of the pilgrimage route to attract penitents from diverse and

distant regions, but demonstrates the Apostle's own power to act to assist those who

invoke him across the Mediterranean and, one would suppose, the world.

In the same vein, a sermon attributed to Callixtus II to be recited on the Festival

of the Translation, celebrated December 30, provides the following description of Galicia,

where the Apostle's body rests:

> To this place come the barbarian peoples and those who inhabit all the climes of
> the world, to know: Franks, Normans, Scots, Irish, the Gauls, the Teutons, the
> Iberians, the Gascons, the Bavarians, the impious Navarese, the Basques, the
> Goths … those of Asia, those of Ponto, those of Bitinia, the Indians, the Cretans,
> those of Jerusalem, those of Antioch, the Galileos … the Egyptians, the Syrians,
> the Arabs, the Colossians, the Moors … the Jews and the other innumerable
> peoples of all tongues, tribes, and nations come to him in caravan and phalanxes,
> fulfilling their vows in thanksgiving to the Lord and taking the reward of
> praises.[87]

Notice the kaleidoscope of peoples and regions named here as pilgrims to Santiago, again

---

[86] *Miracles of Saint James*, 381.
[87] "Libro Primero," *Codex Calixtinus*, 199.

spanning the entirety of the Mediterranean and reaching beyond, into India and Asia, and including "the Arabs," "the Syrians," and "the Moors," the first and third of which terms are used liberally elsewhere in the *Codex*, as seen in the *Turpini*, to refer to Muslims. Even the strange inclusion of "the Jews" as pilgrims to Santiago serves to reinforce the picture of the overwhelming universal power of the Apostle. A hymn attributed to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres records of Saint James that it is he "to whom the nations come/from the *patria* and foreigners."[88] The author of the sermon adds:

> There can be heard a diversity of languages, diverse voices in barbarous languages; conversations and ballads in Teutonic, English, Greek, and in the languages of other tribes and diverse peoples from all climes of the world. […] There continuous solemnity is celebrated, the festivity is prepared carefully, the eminent celebrity is venerated day and night, praises and pleasures, joy and happiness, in common, are sung.[89]

The Apostle Saint James, the *Codex* makes clear, is a saint whose influence is not limited to a particular area; a saint who may be invoked by any Christian in need. The author of this sermon makes an explicit claim for such far-reaching power, posing the question, "How does he perform miracles in those places in which he is not buried, as in Galicia, where his body is?" To which he responds, "Because in all parts he is present to help in action those who are in danger, or distressed, who invoke him."[90] The Saint James of the *Codex* is not simply a local saint whose community of devotees is small and geographically-limited, but rather a powerful figure available to all Christians who call upon him, no matter their ethnicity or location.

---

[88] *Ibid*, 326. I have opted to preserve the Spanish *patria* (Latin: patriam) as it more closely reflects the significance and usage of the original term. *Patria* is generally rendered as "homeland" or "fatherland" in English, though "patrimony" falls closer to the Latin.
[89] *Ibid*, 200.
[90] *Ibid*, 203.

Yet it must not be forgotten that it is a *particular place* to which all of these pilgrims are journeying; as far as his influence extends, it is in Galicia that the Apostle's body rests – this, at least, according to the tradition recorded in the *Codex*. Traditionally, James' connection to Iberia began during his life, when he came to the peninsula to instruct the inhabitants in the faith of Christ.[91] Various versions of the tale of the translation exist, though they largely take the following form as an outline: after his martyrdom by decapitation at the hands of Herod, Saint James' body was placed in a boat by his disciples and carried to the shores of Galicia. Some record that the journey was made in a single night, others that he was accompanied by an angel,[92] and still others that he came over the waves seated only on a boulder that may still be seen on the shores of Galicia, though the author of the *Codex* whole-heartedly rejects this last.[93]

The tale frequently adds that his body was forgotten for several centuries until its miraculous discovery and that in the meantime the Galicians deserted the Christian faith; the *Turpini* credits the very same Charlemagne and his companion the Archbishop Turpin with returning the Galicians to Christianity, after their having "converted to the infidelity of the pagans."[94] Charlemagne furthermore installed a bishop at Compostela and gifted the basilica with bells, books, and garments.[95] A later chapter in the book recounts that it was Turpin who consecrated the basilica and the altar and Charlemagne who "determine[d] for the love of Saint James that all the Christian prelates, princes, and kings, Spanish as well as Galician, present and future, obey the Bishop of Santiago …

---

[91] Libro Tercero, 387.
[92] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 190.
[93] *Ibid*, 193, 393-95.
[94] *Historia Turpini*, 407, 409.
[95] *Ibid*, 419.

And the king submitted to the same church all the Spanish and Galician land."[96]  For the

author of the *Turpini*, then, Charlemagne was himself the father and founder of the cult of

Saint James; not merely the liberator of the Iberian peoples, it was he who firmly

established what would become their most popular saint and the authority of said saint

over the entire territory of Iberia.[97]  This hearkens back to the previous discussion of the

trans-Mediterranean, or indeed global, nature of the Apostle.  By submitting the

peninsula to the authority of Saint James' church while simultaneously crediting the

establishment of the church to a Frankish king, the *Turpini* makes a definite claim not

only upon the Apostle, but upon the entirety of Iberia, on behalf of external forces.

      Yet this is not the only portrayal of the Apostle in the *Codex*; as one canto reads,

"The Apostle was the glory of that nascent Spain."[98]  Throughout the *Codex*, across all

five of the books and even in the miscellaneous materials affixed to the end, there is

manifest a deep connection between the Apostle and Spain and Galicia, Saint James

frequently depicted as the "patron of Galicia."[99]  According to several versions of the

translation story recorded and referenced in the *Codex*, James' body was not transported

---

[96] *Ibid*, 457.

[97] As Stephen B. Raulston notes, "In executing his commission (from Saint James to retake the land and establish the pilgrimage route), Charlemagne himself will become both the first pilgrim to recognize and to venerate the apostle's remains and the Christian unifier of a fragmented Peninsula.  Reconquest and pilgrimage, in this version of events, constitute a unified act."  "The Harmony of Staff and Sword," 361.

[98] "De aquella España nasciente, el Apóstol gloria fue."  The lines have been reversed for greater clarity in English.  Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 334.

[99] Although the "Galicia" and "Spain" denote separate entities and are not used interchangeably, they frequently appear together in the same sentence, or in quick succession, as in the following verse from a canto attributed to William, Patriarch of Jerusalem: "De los galicianos guía, y los hispanos, Santiago ayuda," "Libro Primero," 298.

*Ibid*, 188.

to a new place but rather returned to a land in which he had acted as missionary.[100] The

return of the Apostle's body had a salvific effect upon the local peoples: "Which Galicia

and Spain, due to the translation of the same, by the preaching of the apostolic disciples,

regenerated by the grace of baptism, have obtained the kingdom of the heavens."[101]

The *Historia Silense*, unsurprisingly, makes no mention of Charlemagne having

had anything to do with Saint James, let alone the establishment of the Episcopal see at

Compostela, and rather praises an Iberian monarch, Alfonso III of Asturias, also known

as Alfonso el Magno (r. 866-910), for having built the church at Compostela and having

lavishly furnished it and supplied the clergy there with vestments of gold and silk.[102]

Several of the sermons in the *Codex* examine a story of the Apostle James and

John, his brother, drawn from the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.  The version in the

*Codex*, nearly identical to the biblical tale, recounts how the mother of James and John

approached Jesus, in a humble and adoring manner, and having once acquired his

attention requests of him that her two sons be seated on his right and left hands in the

Kingdom of God.[103]  Such a bold request earned a rebuke from Jesus and the ridicule of

the other disciples, but the sermon prescribed for the seventh day of the Octave of the

---

[100] This legend may be traced back to the seventh-century *Brevarium Apostolorum* (c. 650).  Katherine Elliot Van Liere, "The Missionary and The Moorslayer," 522.

[101] "Libro Primero," *Codex Calixtinus*, 190.

[102]"La iglesia de Compostela, enriquecida con grandes honores y sacras vestiduras de oro y seda," *Historia Silense* XCI (91).  Of the two tales, this one is rather the more accurate, as Alfonso III did indeed build a large church on the spot where Saint James' body was supposedly discovered, replacing a small oratory that his predecessor, Alfonso II (791-842) was supposed to have built.  Martin Gosman, "The Cult of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela: The Functionality of its Propaganda," 32.

[103] "En aquel tiempo se acercó al Señor la madre de los hijos de Zebedeo con sus hijos Santiago y Juan, adorándole y queriéndole pedir algo.  El cual le dijo: ¿Qué quieres? Ella respondió: Di que estos hijos míos se sienten, el uno a tu derecha y el otro a tu izquierda en tu Reino," *Ibid*, 183.  Matthew  20:20-22.  The version recorded in Mark 10:35-41 relates that it was not James' and John's mother but rather the apostles themselves who made this request of Christ.

Feast of Saint James (31 July) gives this passage great attention, arguing that although

James was rebuked for attempting to achieve the Kingdom without effort, now after his

martyrdom he deserves to be praised, concluding that Christ has in the end honored the

request in a very literal way:

> To Juan was given Asia, which is to the right; to Saint James, Spain, which is to
> the left in the division of the provinces. For which Saint James, following
> tradition, by his instruction was translated after his martyrdom by his disciples to
> Spain and in the extremity of Galicia, which is now called Compostela, he was
> honorifically buried, not only to rule with his patronage the Spaniards to whom he
> had been luckily given, but also to comfort them with the treasure of his body.[104]

Saint James is, then, seated at Christ's left hand, his brother at the right, and Spain is in

some sense properly and rightfully his.

Yet Saint James is even more than this, being not only an apostle, but, as many of

the *Codex* sermons argue, the *First* Apostle, having achieved this title by virtue of his

martyrdom, and so too Spain is more: "Fortunate you are, Spain, for the abundance of

many goods; but you are more fortunate for the presence of Saint James. You are happy,

because in climate you are similar to Paradise; but you are more fortunate, because you

have been entrusted to the great hall of Heaven."[105] Spain is, pointedly, compared to

Paradise and described as having been entrusted to the "great hall of heaven." Galicia, by

virtue of its Apostle, and Spain by virtue of Galicia, seem to be then in some sense holy

ground.

What is exposed within the *Codex* is a convoluted narrative construction of Saint

James according to which he is both uniquely associated with the Iberian Peninsula, and

---

[104] *Ibid*, 180.
[105] *Ibid*, 54-55, 180.

the Peninsula with him, and simultaneously of both trans-Pyrenean and trans-Mediterranean import.  These two lines of identity appear to be establishing themselves side-by-side, but the Iberian James is overshadowed by the Mediterranean James; indeed, the *Codex* co-opts Saint James' connection to Iberia into the service of this larger, pan-Christian identity.  From the Cluniac standpoint of the *Codex*, Iberia is the site of a struggle not simply between Iberian Christians and Iberian Muslims, but between Christendom and Islam as a whole, wherein Saint James plays the role of standard-bearer for this pan-Mediterranean effort.  Fundamentally, the *Codex* and the *Silense* differ on the nature of the "us" engaged in territorial recuperation, and it is in the *Silense*'s explicit rejection of the trans-Pyrenean subset of the pan-Christian identity that we most clearly see the type of uniquely Iberian identity which *reconquista* implies.

### *Liturgical Constructions of Identity*

The *Codex* is in large part, it should be remembered, a liturgical text; the first and third books are composed almost entirely of sermons, homilies, and liturgical music, as is the miscellaneous liturgical collection appended to the document. The *Miracles of Saint James* comes with a prescription for the miracles to be read on the feast days of Saint James both in the church and in the refectory.[106] The first book, which is the primary source for non-musical liturgical materials and which constitutes approximately half of the entire document, contains seventeen sermons for the feasts of Saint James, two services for the vigils held the 24th and 25th of July, masses for the same two days, instructions for every mass held during the Octave of the July Feast, and a mass each for the October and December Feasts, with extra texts for the Octave of this last.[107] All of these materials work together in an orchestrated whole first to laud and elevate Saint James, and secondly to establish his trans-Mediterranean importance, reaching beyond the confines of the Iberian Peninsula.

Famously, Eric Hobsbawm perceived and elaborated the power of invented traditions to "establish or symbolize social cohesion or the membership of groups."[108] Tradition is defined as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly

---

[106] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 336.

[107] Ed. Paula Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, Vol. 1, Alison Stones and Jeanne Krochalis, "The Manuscripts: Their Creation, Production and Reception (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), 12-13.

[108] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge UP, 1983), 9.

accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition," and what is liturgy if not just such a tradition?[109] Fascinating as the historical elements of the *Codex* are, and revelatory as they are of the author's disposition, it is the liturgical elements which would have served to communication this disposition to the larger community.

Accordingly, the twelfth-century liturgy in practice in the cathedral at Compostela, portions of which are preserved in the *Codex*, appears to have been intended to operate as a vehicle of social cohesion, orbiting around the figure of Saint James. The hymns, homilies, and readings prescribed in the *Codex*, in combination with the radical renovations the cathedral and clergy underwent under Bishop Diego Gelmírez, amounted to the deliberate establishment of new traditions at Compostela, the primary ends of which were, first, the elevation of Saint James, which in turn entailed the elevation of the surrounding territory, and, with respect to the *Codex*, the fostering of external agendas in the region

The various homilies contained within the first book of the *Codex* focus primarily on three separate occurrences in the life of Saint James, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels and the Book of Acts. The first, to which the text continually refers, as in a hymn attributed to one Fulberto, Bishop of Chartres,[110] is contained in Acts 12:1-2, which

---

[109] *Ibid*, 1.
[110] "Alégrese el pueblo fiel,
cante el coro celestial,
la gloria de los apóstoles
eterna celebren ya.
  En cuyo coro Santiago
refulge como el primero,
pues por la espada de Herodes

reads: "About that time Herod the king laid violent hands upon some who belonged to the church.  He killed James the brother of John with the sword."  This, according to longstanding tradition, was the first act of martyrdom to be performed by one of the Apostles and thus Saint James is not merely Saint James, Apostle but Saint James, First Martyr of the Apostles as well.[111]

The second frequently-cited occurrence is recorded in each of the Synoptic Gospels: the moment known as the Transfiguration, in which Christ's essence is revealed to three select disciples: Peter, John, and James.  The third, in which James and John (Mark) or the mother of the two brothers (Matthew) ask of Jesus that the two disciples be seated on his left and right hands, respectively, in the Kingdom of God, appears only in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.  It is important to note that the author(s) of the *Codex* frequently confuses the Apostle James, son of Zebedee and brother of John, with the church leader called "James the brother of the Lord,"[112] also known as "James the Righteous" or "James of Jerusalem."  This confusion extends to the first sermon contained in the Codex which attributes the Letter of Saint James, traditionally understood to have been written by "James the brother of the Lord," to Saint James.

Saint James would have been specially celebrated three times a year Santiago de Compostela, on the 25th of July, the 3rd of October, and the 30th of December: the Passion of Saint James, the Miracles of Saint James, and the Translation of Saint James,

---

el primero subió al cielo."
*Libro Primero*, 17.
[111] It should be noted that Saint Stephen, the very first martyr (or "protomartyr"), appears only seven times in the entirety of the *Codex*, most of which are only passing mentions.  Clearly the author hoped to emphasize James' primacy in martyrdom.
[112] Galatians 1:19.

respectively. In the Hispanic Rite which had been used at Compostela prior to its replacement by the Roman Rite, the Passion of the Apostle had been celebrated on the 30th of December; upon the introduction of the Roman Rite, instead of discarding the old liturgical calendar the Compostelan clergy merged them, acknowledging July 25th as the Feast of the Passion and transforming the December date into a celebration of the Apostle's translation from Jerusalem to Galicia.[113] The autumnal celebration of the Saint's miracles would be added later.

It is imperative to keep in mind that in the Middle Ages, despite the ascending power of the Bishop of Rome, churches varied in their observation of the liturgy. Even those churches which used the Roman Rite differed somewhat in their exact practices and traditions. [114] The *Codex*, for example, requires that certain prayers for the pilgrims be said at every single Mass, which was far from a universal requirement.[115] What is more, these practices would have reached and involved not just the local community at Compostela, but any pilgrims who arrived. Though we have no way to account for the numbers of pilgrims arriving at Compostela, it is likely by this time that they were substantial, and each and every one of these travelers would carry back to their respective homes, whether within the Iberian Peninsula or beyond it, the Mass they saw performed

---

[113] "El Manuscrito," *Codex Calixtinus*, accessed April 2, 2014, http://codexcalixtinus.es/el-manuscrito/.

[114] In all probability, the main components of the Roman Mass were firmly established by the fifth century, though the Rite would undergo various changes and shifts in the following centuries. In the tenth century a Carolingian version of the Roman Rite would be imported back to Rome, only to become the dominant form in use in the Latin West. The Masses described for the various Feasts of Saint James in the *Codex Calixtinus* agree in general with the Roman Rite, but contain their own particular additions, such as the Pilgrim's Prayer. Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961), 32, 44-5.

[115] Libro Primero, 296-7. The Mass consists of two prayers, one Secret, and one Postcommunion. The first prayer reads: "Oración. Que se abran los oídos de tu misericordia te rogamos. Señor, a las preces de los peregrinos del bienaventurado Santiago, que te suplican, y a fin de que concedas lo deseado por los que te piden, haz que ellos pidan los que te es grato, por . . ."

and its unique liturgical elements.

The *Codex* contains numerous hymns and other pieces of liturgical music, some of which have already been referenced. The various texts that appear at the back of the document are primarily polyphonic works, many of which are musical arrangements of miracles performed by Saint James, both those contained in the second book of the *Codex* and others. The performance of these songs in the cathedral would reinforce, at least for the Latin-speaking clergy, both the patronage and protection rendered to Galicia and Spain by the Apostle, and his military aspect.[116]

"God placed Saint Peter as prince of the Apostles on the earth as reward for his faith, and also to his beloved Saint James he has given the primacy of the Apostles in the heavens for his first triumph in martyrdom."[117] So reads a sermon attributed to Pope Callixtus that is prescribed for the Feast Day of Saint James (July 25). As discussed above, James' early achievement of martyrdom afforded him a prestigious place in heaven. This "primacy of Apostles" which he achieved is invoked deliberately and consistently throughout the *Codex*. Bishop Fulberto's Alleluia employs this term as a refrain which is repeated after each and every single verse, hammering the point home. A further hymn attributed to Alberico, Archbishop of Bourges, recalls that James holds the first seat among the Apostles, as does another attributed to William, Patriarch of

---

[116] "A Santiago rinde
Todo el mundo parias;
Soldado de Cristo,
con santas plegarias
a todos defiende
de suertes contrarias.
Primicia de mártires, etc."
"Aleluya en Griego," *Codex Calixtinus*, 591.
[117] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 54-5.

Jerusalem.[118]  The singing of these verses would serve to repeatedly emphasize James'

elevated station.

It would not be unusual for a certain saint to be given an elevated place in the

liturgy in a community where their relics were said to lie – churches and monastic

communities not just along the Camino de Santiago but anywhere Christian communities

were established were dedicated to a particular saint, to whom prayers might be directed

and whose feast days would receive particular attention – but the position which the

*Codex* grants to Saint James is particularly high.  This claim is made in the liturgical texts

in numerous ways and takes various forms, from homilies to hymns.  So too the structure

and observation of the liturgy play a crucial role in the orchestration of Saint James'

elevation.  For instance, Holy Week and Easter Sunday, as the zenith of the liturgical

calendar, would have been the time in which most babies were brought for baptism, in

addition to, depending on the location, the feasts of Christmas and Pentecost.[119]  The

*Codex*, however, stakes a claim for the Passion of Saint James as a proper time to bless

the fountains and baptize children.[120]  The *Turpini* claims that while Charlemagne's court

resided in Spain the monarch only donned his royal crown for four feast-days of the year:

Christmas, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, and the feast-day of Saint James.[121]  Again, the

Feast of Saint James is placed in the same list as Easter and Christmas, the two greatest

---

[118] *Codex Calixtinus*, 579, 264.

[119] Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200-c. 1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 137-8.
Fisher, John Douglas Close, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation* (London: S. P. C. K., 1965), 62, 105, 25, 85.

[120] "Pues si no solamente en la Vigilia de Pascua y Pentecostés, sino en otros días durante el año, según costumbre corriente, se bendicen las fuentes y se bautizan los niños, con mayor razón deben bendecirse en las vigilias de los Santos Apóstoles." Libro Primero, 279-80.

[121] *Historia Turpini*, 459-60.

feasts of the liturgical years; a lofty place for an Apostle who is not even mentioned by name in the Gospel of John.

The Feast of the Translation of Saint James, celebrated the 30th of December, is situated between Christmas and Epiphany (January 6th), falling on the sixth day of the octave of Christmas. Almost certainly the Christmas liturgy would have been elaborate and the masses celebrated would have been widely attended. The fact that the Feast of Saint James, coming right on the tail end of this climactic liturgical celebration, was not overshadowed or swallowed up but indeed celebrated fully, with several sermons and a full Mass provided for both the Feast and the Octave of the Translation in the *Codex*, serves to clearly demonstrate the honor and devotion that was accorded Saint James at Santiago de Compostela.[122]

The Callixtan sermon for the feast of July 25, cited above, grants Peter apostolic primacy on Earth, but reserves the primary place in heaven for James; in other words, Saint Peter, the rock upon which the church would be built, was established over the other apostles in the temporal Kingdom(s) for his reward, but it was Saint James who was placed first in the Kingdom of Heaven. Such a move is daring, deliberately elevating the patron of Galicia above Peter, patron of Rome and predecessor of the popes. Note, too, that whereas Peter merited his reward by his faith, it was James' martyrdom which served to see him established in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Two crossed keys have long been and remain the symbols of Saint Peter,

---

[122] The *Codex* itself demonstrates a clear awareness of the difficulties possible in such a situation; the reason given for the July date of the central Feast is that, by celebrating it in summer one avoids subsuming the celebration of the Feast into Easter, as might well happen if James were celebrated on the day of his martyrdom, held to be the same day as the Annunciation (March 25). Christmas, however, was evidently not considered to require the same measures. Libro Tercero, 397-99.

emerging from the passage at Matthew 16:18-19 in which Jesus presents the keys to the kingdom of heaven to Peter.[123]  This tradition having achieved popularity by the Middle Ages, Peter was frequently pictured with keys in hand.[124]  An eighth-century *triclinium* built by Pope Leo III bears a depiction of Saint Peter handing his two keys down to a white-haired Leo.  This imagery is appropriated in Miracle 19 of the *Codex*, wherein Saint James appears to the Greek bishop "dressed in the whitest of clothes and not without donning arms that outshone the rays of the sun, like a perfect knight, and furthermore *with two keys in his hand*."[125]  These two keys Saint James used to open the gates of the city of Coímbra, a town in modern-day Portugal which had been besieged by Ferdinand III.  That is, two keys held in the hand of an Apostle, traditionally interpreted to be the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven, were used to open the gates of an Iberian city, establishing a direct link not only between James and Peter but between Coímbra and the Heavenly City (Jerusalem).  In a sense, this echoes the papal rhetoric regarding military expeditions in Iberia, in which the peninsula was portrayed as equal to the Holy Land as a place of martyrdom and penance by sword; a territory in which Christianity was equally in peril and must be fought to be maintained.[126]

---

[123] "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[123]

[124] This tradition began early on: the Traditio Clavium mosaic in the Chiesa di S. Costanza in Rome, which dates to the middle of the fourth century, depicts Christ passing two keys to Peter, who is kneeling on his right-hand side.  A ninth-century ciborium in Sant'Ambrogio (Milan) similarly depicts Christ delivering two keys into Peter's hands.  By the twelfth century liturgical objects and Christian art, from Belgium to Limoges (modern-day France), were replete with images of Peter in possession of two keys.  "Traditio Clavium," mosaic, c. 350 (Chiesa di S. Costanza, Rome).  "Ciborium, side with Christ Delivering the Keys to Saint Peter and the Book of Wisdom to Saint Paul," liturgical furniture, 9th century (Sant'Ambrogio, Milan).

[125] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 375.  Emphasis added.

[126] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 32-3.

The Apostle Peter is not the only great biblical figure with whom parallels are drawn: Abraham, Noah, Jacob and Enoch are all read as Saint James at one point or another.  A sermon prescribed for use on the Feast of the Translation uses as its reading not a selection from one of the Synoptic Gospels or the Book of Acts, as do most of the sermons contained in the *Codex*, but rather one from the Book of Ecclesiasticus.[127]  The original reads "Enoch pleased the Lord, and was taken up; he was an example of repentance to all generations," but "Enoch" is read first as Christ and, secondarily, as Saint James.[128]  Furthermore, Enoch's translation (Hebrews 11:5) becomes James' translation from the "the land of those who die" to that of "those who live."[129] But the prescription of this reading for the Feast of the Translation leads inescapably to a further interpretation: Enoch's translation may also be read as James' translation from the Holy Land to the shores of Galicia.  For having "pleased the Lord," James merited, in addition to heavenly apostolic primacy, oversight of the province of Galicia, to which, according to tradition, he first brought the Gospel.[130]

In the same sermon Abraham is also read as Saint James:

Just as Abraham was the father of many nations, so Saint James is father and most pious helper to many pilgrims who come on foot to Galicia, who, while he lived, kept diligently the Law of God.  And there is not found one similar to him among the Apostles in glory, given that he deserved to follow Christ to the heavens before the rest of the Apostles by the sword

---

[127] This book is more commonly known as the Book of the All-Virtuous Wisdom of Joshua ben Sira, the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, or simply Wisdom of Sirach.  Written in the early 2nd century BCE this book is considered canonical by Catholics, Anglicans, and Eastern and Oriental Orthodox, but not most Protestant denominations.  It is referred to in the *Codex* as the 'libro de la Sabiduría' (Book of Wisdom). Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 239.

[128] Wisdom of Sirach, 44:16.

[129] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 239.

[130] *Ibid*, 198.

of Herod; he deserved to be seated closer to Christ than all the rest of the Apostles, upon a most elevated throne.[131]

This reading of Saint James as the "father of many nations" and "helper to many pilgrims" reinforces the trans-Mediterranean bias of the *Codex*, in which James' importance to Iberia is subordinated to his place in Christendom as a whole. Noah and Jacob, who are likewise discussed in the Book of Wisdom of Sirach, are also read as Saint James in the context of the Feast.[132] Just as Noah "constructed the arc to save the relics of the world," James participated in the construction of the church "to attract the world to the salvific faith," further emphasizing his universal purview.[133] Another sermon written for the Translation gives a similar reading of Abraham and Jacob; lofty company for James, brother of John. [134]

These deeper readings are additionally used to highlight James' elevated position in relation to the other Apostles, reinforcing the narrative of selection woven around the story of James' martyrdom: "Just as with the sons of Jacob, the Lord selected twelve disciples, whom he called Apostles, also, conforming to the number of the holy Patriarchs – Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob – among the same twelve Apostles, for a certain primacy in love and virtue, he constituted three, who are: Saint Peter, Saint James, and his brother John, as princes and columns of the rest."[135] These, of course, are the three Apostles who

---

[131] *Ibid*, 243. *Historia Turpini*, 408.
[132] "Por el hecho de que Noé construyó el arca para salvar las reliquias del mundo, podemos sobreentender a Santiago, que con su predicación y con su sangre derramada construyó la Iglesia para atraer al mundo a la fe salvadora. Así, pues, para alabanza de Cristo, de él juntamente con los demás apóstoles, la Iglesia, gozosa con sus méritos y doctrinas, canta diciendo: 'Estos son los que, viviendo en la carne, plantaron la Iglesia con su sangre.'" *Ibid*, 242.
[133] *Ibid*.
[134] *Ibid*, 205-6.
[135] *Ibid*, 169.

were selected by Jesus to bear witness to the Transfiguration.  This episode is given its

due in the *Codex* as an evident mark of the importance and high position afforded Saint

James by the Lord.[136]

The *Miracles of Saint James* demonstrates the far-reaching power of the Apostle

as intercessor, reaching out across the Mediterranean, but one miracle attributes to him a

particularly rare ability.  In the third chapter the author recounts the story of a boy of

fifteen years who had succumbed to a grave illness in the mountains of Oca (in the

modern-day autonomous community of Burgos); his mother, overwhelmed with grief,

directed a prayer to Saint James begging for the return of her son, and just as the son was

being carried to the grave he miraculously awoke.  The author of this miracle is clear on

the significance of such an action: "It is a new thing and hardly heard of that one dead

might resuscitate another also dead.  Saint Martin, still living, and even our Lord Jesus

Christ resuscitated three, but Saint James, himself dead, returned a dead person to life."[137]

Saint James is such a powerful intercessor that he, even having passed from this life, is

able to bring about one of the rarest and most precious miracles possible.  In this

narrative James closely mirrors Christ himself, who revived Lazarus; James is, in this

sense, a truly excellent imitator of Christ.

Saint James' life is modeled after Christ in additional ways; the third book, for

instance, attributes to him twelve special disciples, elected particularly from among his

many followers.[138]  Three of these came from the Holy Land, but the other nine the

---

[136] *Ibid*, 233.
[137] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 343.
[138] Libro Tercero, 383.

Apostle selected in Galicia during his ministry there.[139]  Seven of these were ordained in

Rome as bishops by Peter and Paul themselves, and then commanded to return to "the

Spains" to transmit the word of God, which tradition adds a further layer of legitimacy to

Compostela and Iberia, having born witness to a great apostolic legacy from the very

dawn of Christianity.

Let us not forget that it is this powerful Apostle who is the patron of Spain, Spain

having been given to him in return for his merits.[140]  In elevating James the *Codex* also

served to elevate Iberia, and particularly Galicia.  Galicia and Spain, by virtue of

enjoying the patronage of this "first" of apostles, seem to participate in his proximity to

Christ.[141]  The salvific influence of the Apostle is understood to cover not only the

basilica at Compostela, nor even just the city, but to extend over the land of Galicia, and

from Galicia to emanate over the Peninsula.  This, the *Codex* is clear, should be a source

of hope and joy: "Now Saint James the Great happily enjoys [himself] in Glory and

thanks to his excellent virtue Spain, and especially Galicia, shines like the moon shines

because of the sun."[142]

In this very same period, just a decade or so prior to the compilation of the *Codex*,

Archbishop Diego Gelmirez had been pursuing his unflagging agenda to see the cathedral

at Compostela transformed into the epitome of grandeur itself, with accompanying liturgy,

adornments, and clergy to rival Rome itself.  Complete with elaborately carved columns,

---

[139] *Ibid*, 384.
[140] Libro Primero, 47, 263.
Aleluya en Griego, 590.
[141] "La cual Galicia y España, debido a la traslación del mismo, por la predicación de los discípulos apostólicos, regenerados por la gracia del bautismo, ha obtenido el reino de los cielos."  Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 190.
[142] *Ibid*, 198.

the new cathedral, finished under Gelmírez, featured figures of Saint James prominently on each of the three entrances, by which all of the pilgrims must pass.[143]  James also assumes the central position of the three apostles depicted on the ciborium within the cathedral; Barbara Abou-el-Haj suggests that this may be a commentary on Gelmírez's view of apostolic succession, whereby he viewed himself not as one in a vague line of successors to some unidentified apostle, but as the direct successor of James himself, which, if this is the case, would have put him dangerously close to the level of the pope, who was the most prominent, if not the only, bishop in the Latin West to make a consistent claim to direct succession from a named apostle (Peter).[144]  Gelmírez was engaged in a conscious and tenacious project to glorify Saint James and distinguish Compostela from other bishoprics, raising it into the company of other apostolic sees and bringing it, and Galicia with it, to international prominence.

In a similar vein, the longest sermon in the *Codex* – one supposedly written by Pope Callixtus II for the Feast of the Translation – contains an extensive passage exhorting Spain and Galicia to rejoice, for they are honored by the presence and patronage of such a great and valiant intercessor.  Prior to his coming the land was immersed in error, given over to vanity, and ignorant of the Creator; after his coming it has been transformed, now in possession of a treasure that has raised it to the apostolic

---

[143] Barbara Abou-el-Haj, 170.

[144] *Ibid*.  It should be noted that these new traditions and elaborate architecture were seen as an imposition by many of the locals, who twice rioted and forced Gelmírez to ensconce himself in a tower for fear of his life.  Given the amount spent on the elaborate altar, as compared to that spent on the chapter's meals, in addition to the elaborate palace he built himself, it is likely the locals felt Gelmírez to be entirely too prodigal and narcissistic and reacted accordingly.  Barbara Abou-el-Haj, 166-69.

faith.[145]  Following this passage is a redacted version of Isaiah 49:16-26.  Written almost

entirely in the voice of the Lord, the passage comes from the section of book generally

recognized by scholars as Second Isaiah, understood to have been written at the end of

the period of Babylonian exile.  Accordingly, the passage responds in a reassuring

manner to a lament from a personified Zion that "The Lord has forsaken me, my Lord has

forgotten me."[146]  The Lord provides assurances that Zion will be built back up, that the

people have been neither forgotten nor forsaken.  According to the reading given in the

*Codex* sermon, the people to whom the assurances are addressed should be understood as

the inhabitants of Spain.[147]  Zion itself is read as Iberia.

Again, parallel claims to the Apostle emerge, both Iberian and Mediterranean, but

let it not be forgotten that the Cluniac interests and the Mediterranean claims dominate.

The little boy whom Saint James resurrected, so powerfully demonstrating his value as an

intercessor, was a Frank, bolstering the point that Saint James responds to and draws

people across the Mediterranean world.  Just as his blessing spreads from Galicia to cover

Spain, from Spain it spreads to all of Christendom.  Iberia may be read as Zion and

Coímbra as Jerusalem, but the *Codex* never makes the strong claim for Iberian identity

that the *Silense* does; it is Christian, not Iberian, identity that rides at the forefront of the

author's mind.  In invoking James as "a father of many nations" in a homily, and praising

his unparalleled ability to attract pilgrims from far and wide in numerous sermons and

hymns, the canons and priests of Compostela would have promulgated the image of

---

[145] *Ibid*, 228-30.
[146] Isaiah 19:15.
[147] "De ti, pues, puede entenderse lo que el Señor dijo en otro tiempo por boca de Isaías."  *Codex Calixtinus*, 230.

James as universal intercessor *par excellence*.

This pan-Mediterranean agenda is further fleshed out in the *Historia Turpini*, which presents martyrdom as a worthy goal to achieve, playing off the liturgical motif of James' martyrdom, and one achievable in Spain.[148] The book is finished out with a chapter explicitly addressing the parallels between Spain and Jerusalem and the merits of fighting for the faith in both lands. In the modern edition, the editors have chosen the title "Empieza la epístola del Santo Papa Calixto acerca de la cruzada de España, que por todos ha de ser difundida en todas partes,"[149] which includes the erroneous, but historiographically telling term "crusade." The original Latin reads "Incipit epistola beati Calixti pape de itinere Yspanie omnibus ubique pro parlanda," which might roughly be translated as "Here begins the letter of the blessed Pope Callixtus of the pilgrimage to Spain, for preaching to everyone, everywhere."[150] The letter, the body of which terminates in a concluding prayer contained in many of the homilies of the *Codex*, is prescribed to be read and *explained* after the Gospel reading every Sunday, from Easter until the Feast of John the Baptist (June 24).[151] For at least two months this message of martyrdom would have been inescapable, iterated and reiterated to the congregation and any attendant pilgrims; this, more than any other section, draws the *Codex* into the

---

[148] "Se ha de creer que los que en España recibieron el martirio por la fe de Cristo, son coronados merecidamente en el cielo." *Historia Turpini*, 487. A mass is also prescribed for the 16th of July, not only for those who perished in Charlemagne's campaigns, but "por todos los que desde el tiempo del mismo Carlomagno hasta hoy en día sufrieron el martirio por la fe de Cristo en España y en Tierra Santa." 488.
[149] "Here begins the letter of the Holy Pope Callixtus on the crusade in Spain, that must be spread to everyone in all parts." *Ibid*, 492.
[150] Ed. Paula Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, Vol. 1, Alison Stones and Jeanne Krochalis, "The Manuscripts: Their Creation, Production and Reception," 85.
[151] The concluding prayer reads "Ihesus Christus dominus noster, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen." Whitehill, Walter Muir, transcribed, *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 1935), 348.
Moralejo, A., C. Torres and J. Feo, translated. *Liber Sancti Jacobi*; *Codex Calixtinus*, 494.

narrative of the so-called Crusades.

As Joseph O'Callaghan meticulously demonstrates in his *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain,* the traditional 'First Crusade' of 1095 was in fact preceded by numerous military actions in Iberia that bore the primary markers of crusading ideology: promise of remission of sin and martyrdom, the wearing of the cross, and papal encouragement, which was often expressed in the form of granting of papal banners. From Pope Urban II onward, it was made clear that it was nonsensical to send Christians to fight "the Saracens" in Palestine when they were needed for the same purpose at home. To ensure that those who would otherwise have left for Jerusalem stayed in Iberia, he provided assurance that the very same remission of sins would be granted and the very same possibility of achieving martyrdom made available.[152]

The ongoing struggles in Spain were of great enough importance to the papacy that they were sanctioned with the very same rewards granted for journeying to the Holy Land itself, adding an additional authoritative religious layer to the struggle and legitimizing campaigns and attacks against Muslims. Spain was identified as a locus of Christian/Muslim struggle and a point of priority and investment for the Papacy. Pope Gregory VII (c. 1015-1085) claimed that Spain had been "given by ancient constitutions to Blessed Peter and to the Holy Roman Church in right and ownership."[153] The Iberian Peninsula became not just a pilgrimage destination, but a military one as well; various campaigns were launched from Northern Europe to assist in the efforts. By the time the first 'Crusade' to Jerusalem set forth, Iberia was already a center of pan-European

---

[152] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 32-3.
[153] *Ibid*, 29.

attention.  These battles were understood by both those who sanctioned them and many of those who participated as small threads in the larger blossoming narrative of Christian/Muslim conflict and the reclamation of Christian lands in both Iberia and Palestine.

Pope Callixtus II (1119-1124) convened the First Lateran Council in 1123, in which he encouraged expeditions to both east and west, promising the same remission of sins for campaigns to the Holy Land as ones in Iberia, and offering atonement to the rebellious by way of participation in these campaigns.[154]  By attributing to Callixtus many of the sermons and letters contained in the *Codex*, not to mention the compilation of the *Codex* itself, the authors of the document simultaneously legitimized the project and aligned themselves with papal interests in the region.  These authors would clearly have been aware of the First Lateran Council and the Pope's interest in Iberia, and provided explicit support for this pan-European crusading ideology in the *Turpini* letter that bears his name.

---

[154] *Ibid*, 38.

*Santiago Matamoros*

> *This is in truth Saint James,*
> *The much beloved of our Lord*
> *For being his soldier*
> *And illustrious standard-bearer,*
> *Well proven in the militia.*[155]

The Middle Ages saw the rise of a new, militarized form of Saint James: Santiago Matamoros (Saint James Moor-Slayer). There is no biblical foundation for a militarized image of Saint James; James is not presented as a military figure in any of the Gospels, but rather as a simple fisherman in Matthew and Luke. Yet in the twelfth century, and certainly by the late fifteenth century when the first conquistadors were sailing west, Saint James the Greater had acquired a heavily militarized image.[156] This version of the Apostle would appear, astride a white charger and wielding a sword, to lead Christian armies in battle or to assist individual soldiers. Increasingly bellicose imagery sprung up around the figure of the Apostle, always in the context of conflicts with Muslim forces, until eventually, to invoke Saint James was to invoke the vision of conquest.

On the fifth of the Octave of the Feast of Saint James, following a selection from the Book of Wisdom, the priest would read a brief lesson, beginning "Saint James, as a hardened soldier, launched himself into the middle of the field of extermination. As a sharp sword, clothed with your empire, Lord, he stood and seeded death all around, and

---

[155] Response from the office of the Mass of Saint James, Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 326.
[156] Later, the conquistadors would bring this aspect of Saint James with them to the shores of the New World, where he would acquire a new moniker: Santiago Mataindios (Saint James Indian-Slayer). Emilio Choy's excellent work, *Antropologia e historia*, gives an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon.

from the earth reached the heavens." [157]  This is a brutal, devastating image of the Apostle

– one which permeates the *Codex Calixtinus*, from the first book to the last. Several of

the miracle stories in the *Codex* contain descriptions of the Apostle appearing in visions

to devotees garbed as a knight, including Miracle 4: "Saint James appears to him as a

mounted soldier in the midst of his anguish."[158]  Visual depictions of Saint James as a

warrior, and specifically as Santiago Matamoros, were common, some of which have

become something of an embarrassment in modern times, as Stephen Raulston notes: "In

other Spanish cities, when effigies of Santiago Matamoros are carried through the streets

in procession on the saint's feast day, the severed heads and pleading figures of the

Muslim victims beneath his charger's feet are covered with cloths or tapestries."[159]

A strong military association is visible in the Miracles of Saint James; of the

twenty-two miracles recorded, eight involve knights or soldiers, three involve assistance

given in battle, and five tell of captives released from their chains by the Apostle.  This

theme is consistent with a Greek Alleluia appended to the *Codex* which contains the

following verse: "And in dangers and prisons/They invoke the saint/Captives that see

themselves/Freed by the saint/Primacy of martyrs."[160]

Of the tales of release from captivity, perhaps the most amazing is that of the

unfortunate man captured and miraculously released thirteen times.  The others are no

less informative, however; the first story recounts the tale of twenty men, soldiers and

one priest, who, "bound with many cords in the intolerable darkness of a jail," were

---

[157] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 306.
[158] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 345.
[159] Stephen B. Raulston, "The Harmony of Staff and Sword," 347.
[160] "Aleluya en Griego," Textos Varios, *Codex Calixtinus*, 591.

released from their captivity at the hands of the "Moabites" by the Apostle, who broke

their chains, transported them to the gate of the city in which they were held, and escorted

them to a Christian-held castle before rising to heaven.[161]  Such tales are not limited to

the miracle stories; in describing the various people who journey to Compostela and how

they arrive, a sermon from the first book notes that "some carry the chains and cuffs of

iron over their shoulders, from which they have been liberated by the intercession of the

Apostle and from the prisons of the tyrants."[162]

The sheer number of miracles involving either battles or soldiers in some way is

telling, but so too are the contents of the tales: in Miracle 9 a French knight is given the

power to vanquish "all the Saracens who fought him" and in Miracle 7 a sailor bringing

pilgrims to Compostela is freed from the attack of "a Saracen."[163]  Miracle 1, as already

seen, detailed the release of twenty captives from Muslim hands.  It is true that not every

miracle involves either Iberia or Muslim forces, but these motifs do permeate the book,

reappearing in miracle after miracle.  Furthermore, in the context of the blatant polemics

against the Muslim presence with which the *Codex* is brimming, it is clear that the author

intended these elements to be prominent and to reinforce one another in cultivating unity

among Iberian Christians.

The second book is not the only portion of the text which contains miracle stories;

a particularly interesting one is to be found in the liturgical texts at the end, entitled

"Miracle of Saint James of the liberation of the Christians and the flight of the Saracens

---

[161] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 339.
[162] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 201.
[163] *Ibid*, 355, 351.

from Portugal." The first and second Lessons refer to victories won by the first two Portugese kings, Alfonso Enriquez (1139-1185) and his son, Sancho I (1185-1211), over Muslim armies: "The Hagarene peoples fall and the just triumph everywhere/and to King Alfonso falls even the Miramolin."[164] These miracle stories are all insistent upon Saint James' military character, a character that comes to the fore only in the constructed struggle between Christians and Muslims.

Even the annalistic *Historia Silense* contains a miracle story of Saint James, according to which a Greek pilgrim, accustomed to spending day and night praying to the Apostle in the sanctuary of the cathedral, overheard various natives entering the church discussing Saint James and describing him as "soldier of Christ." This pilgrim laughed to himself at their naivety, for as he knew the Apostle had never been either soldier or knight, nor even ridden a horse.[165] That night Saint James himself appeared to the pilgrim, seated upon a horse and dressed in full armor, admonishing him for his treatment of the locals. "Soldier of Christ" is a common term for Christian martyrs and as such unremarkable in and of itself, but only martyrs or saints who had been soldiers in life, such as Saint George, were likely to be depicted arrayed in full battle gear. The bellicose Saint James is the product of a medieval transformation not drawn from biblical accounts but instead adapted to contemporary experience.

What appears to be a version of the same tale appears in the *Codex*, in which a

---

[164] Textos Varios, *Codex Calixtinus*, 597. For a more complete rehearsal of the battles referred to, see the footnotes provided by the translator. The term 'Miramolín,' occasionally used as a name, is the Spanish rendering of the Arabic 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn,' a title given to Caliphs and some rulers which translated literally means 'Leader of the Believers.'

[165] Se burla de "los indígenas que entraban a menudo en el santo templo, por causa de sus necesidades, [quien importunan] los oídos del Apóstol llamándole buen militar."[165] *Historia Silense*, CXXIII (123).

Greek pilgrim who had come to Compostela, this time a bishop in disguise, rebuked some locals who addressed Saint James as "good knight," responding: "Stupid villagers, foolish people, you should call Saint James fisherman, not knight," reiterating a strictly biblical tradition of James.[166] That very same night the Apostle himself, dressed and armed as a knight, appeared to the bishop, whom he chided, saying: "I appear to you in this form, so that you no longer doubt that I am active in the service of God and I am his champion and in the fight against the Saracens I proceed to the Christians and I emerge victorious for them."[167] Notice that here in the *Codex* Saint James is not merely a knight, but one dedicated to the cause of the Christians in "the fight against the Saracens." Whereas the *Silense* restricts itself to a description of James' knightly armor and his incandescent steed, the *Codex*, by the addition of this descriptor, makes the claim that James is a participant in a greater religious struggle which is not limited to the Iberian Peninsula, reinforcing the trans-Mediterranean character of both Apostle and conflict.

According to tradition, somewhere between 834 and 844 Ramiro I, King of Asturias (r. 842-50), led an army into battle on the plain of Clavijo, just south of Logrono in modern-day La Rioja, where Saint James appeared in full armor at the head of his host and led them to victory over their Muslim enemies.[168] From this early date through the next several centuries a tradition grew in Iberia of invoking Saint James before or during battle in hope of divine assistance. The author of the *Historia Silense*, for instance, records that Ferdinand I of León (c. 1015-1065) requested help from Saint James prior to

---

[166] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 374-5.
[167] *Ibid*, 375.
[168] Thomas Downing Kendrick, *St. James in Spain* (London: Methuen, 1960), 19.

his siege of Coímbra in 1064:

> The King directed himself in supplication to the doors of the blessed Apostle
> Saint James … so that that war might have prosperous and happy successes, he
> requested that the Apostle intercede for him before the divine Majesty. […]
> Moreover because now Fernando … entreated the support of the Apostle, to the
> end that, as a well-known familiar of his, he would consent to intercede together
> with the most pious Teacher.  In this way King Fernando fights in Coímbra with
> the material sword, and to obtain victory for him Saint James, soldier of Christ,
> does not cease to intercede together with the Master Teacher.[169]

This was likely a well-known tradition, for it appears in the *Codex* as well: after having

appeared to the Greek bishop (Miracle 19) dressed as a knight, the Apostle promised a

further proof: "And so that you believe this more firmly, with these keys which I have in

my hand I will open tomorrow at nine the gates of the city of Coímbra which has been

seven years besieged by Fernando, king of the Christians."[170]

The *Primera crónica general* records that before a battle at Jerez against a

Muslim ruler known as Abenhut (1231), then-prince Alfonso X, by whom the *Crónica*

was commissioned, motivated his soldiers before the battle by encouraging them to

invoke both the Apostle and their kingdom: "They went forth to wound, calling all in one

voice 'Saint James!' and at times 'Castilla!'"[171]  This invocation neatly unites Spain's

patron saint to one of the Spanish kingdoms; a kingdom which, furthermore, did not

contain Galicia, which signals both James' pan-Iberian importance and his association

with temporal Iberian power.  During the ensuing battle the Apostle himself appeared

astride his characteristic white horse, a white flag gripped in one hand and a sword in the

---

[169] *Historia Silense*, CXXII (122).
[170] Libro Segundo, *Codex Calixtinus*, 375.  As the *Silense* was composed at least two decades before the
*Codex* was compiled, it is possible that the author of this particular miracle story was familiar with the text.
[171] *Primera cronica general*, 726-7.

other, creating such a striking vision that even the Muslim soldiers would confirm it

afterward.[172]

Such invocations are littered throughout the *Poema de mio Cid*, the late

twelfth/early thirteenth-century epic of the life and exploits of Rodrigo Díaz, infamous

Spanish hero:

> "The Moors called on Muhammad and the Christians on St. James."[173]
> "'In the name of the Creator and the Apostle St James, strike them hard, knights, with all your might!'"[174]
> "Then we must ride out to the attack in the name of God and of the Apostle St. James."[175]

It is worth noting that, although Rodrigo Díaz is well-known for having served both

Christian and Muslim lords and having fought for both against other Christians and the

*Poema* records these various exploits, the only battles in which Saint James is invoked

are those in which Christians and Muslim forces are opposed. Again, just as in Miracle

19 of the *Codex*, James is depicted as a knight whose specific calling is to oppose

Muslims; he is never invoked outside of this Christian/Muslim polarity.

The author of the epic recounts that, following a Mass performed prior to one of

these battles, the Bishop gave complete absolution to the soldiers: "I absolve from sin all

those who die with their faces to the enemy; God will receive their souls."[176] Remittance

of sin had been routinely granted for fighting Muslims armies in the Iberian Peninsula

since the time of Pope Alexander II (1062-73). Moreover, this likely would have been

---

[172] *Ibid*, 727.

[173] *The Poem of the Cid: A New Critical Edition of the Spanish Text*, ed. Ian Michael, trans. Rita Hamilton and Janet Perry (New York: Manchester UP, 1975), p. 61, line 731.

[174] *Ibid*, p. 83, l. 1138.

[175] *Ibid*., p. 111, line 1690b.

[176] *Ibid*, p. 113, lines 1704-5.

considered a chance for achieving martyrdom; as O'Callaghan notes, according to twelfth-century crusading ideology those who confessed, were absolved of their sins, and subsequently died in battle would be granted a place in paradise; that is, they would become martyrs.[177]  Innocent III, who promised remission of sins to those who fell in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), also promised admission into paradise.  The *Codex* itself contains a letter attributed to Pope Callixtus II which promises that all those who march "With the sign of the Lord's cross on their shoulders, to combat the infidel people in Spain or on Holy Land, be absolved of all their sins which they have repented and confessed … and deserve to be crowned in the celestial kingdom, together with the holy martyrs."[178]  With the authority of the Lord, The Archbishop Turpin absolved all those, of various nationalities and origins, who joined Charlemagne to combat the infidels, of all their sins.[179]

    This is a proper time to call to mind Saint James' primacy in martyrdom, in return for which "he is so much closer to Him, honored above the others in Glory, as soon as he was His imitator before the rest of the Apostles in the passion."[180] By emphasizing James' martyrdom time and again, nearly always in conjunction with an account of the reward he received for this most devoted of acts, the *Codex* worked to inculcate a healthy respect for, and perhaps a desire to perform such an act, which could only have been bolstered by the papal promises of remission of sin for those who fought in Iberia. The *Historia Turpini* makes a point of reiterating the possibility of achieving martyrdom.  Before

---

[177] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 199.
[178] *Historia Turpini*, 493.
[179] *Ibid*, 429.
[180] Libro Primero, *Codex Calixtinus*, 54-5.

several battles the same motif is repeated, wherein those who would die in the following battle were marked by some miraculous sign: before a battle with Aigolando at Saintes some of the Christians stuck their lances point-up in the dirt, and the following morning those who would receive the palm of martyrdom found their lances had sprouted in twigs and leaves.[181]

To invoke the Apostle Saint James, then, would be to play into the narrative of Santiago Matamoros, who enabled the Muslim defeat and the Castilian victory at Coímbra, who assisted the Cid when called upon, and who appeared at the battles of Jerez and Clavijo, himself garbed as a knight. Matamoros combines with the Apostle Saint James, and the Patron of Galicia and Spain, to form formidable figure of conquest who is repeatedly ranged against the Muslim enemies of the various Christian Iberian kingdoms.

---

[181] *Historia Turpini*, 427.

*The Bells of Saint James*

One of the earliest extant versions of the Pact of Umar, a document dating to the ninth century which records regulations of the lives of "the peoples of the book" (Jews and Christians) under Muslim control, contains the following stipulation: "that we will strike the clappers in our churches lightly [wooden rattles or bells summoned the people to church or synagogue]; that we will not recite our services in a loud voice when a Muslim is present . . . that at the burial of our dead we will not chant loudly."[182]  Parades, burial processions, and the like stake out a territorial claim; so too do calls to worship. Any *adhān*, the Muslim call to prayer, or ringing of bells makes both an assumption and a claim on the ears of those who hear it, and the restriction of this activity is a clear statement about the status of the religion in society.  By the twelfth century both bells and *adhān* had consciously been adopted as symbols of their respective faiths; territorial victories and losses were frequently depicted as the disappearance or advent of one or the other, which betrays a tendency to define warring groups along religious lines and regard individual conflicts as representative elements of a larger religious struggle, reflecting the speeches of Charlemagne and Aigolando in the *Turpini*. Consequently, an attack on the bells could only be, and was, read as an attack on Christianity itself.

Although through late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the manufacture and use of bells was highly dependent upon location, by the twelfth-century they had assumed a recognized central location in Christian practice and worship, particularly, as Arnold

---

[182] Jacob Marcus, *The Jews in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315-1791*. (New York: JPS, 1938), 13-15.

and Goodson note, in areas where there was conflict between Christianity and Islam.[183]

Even the *Poema de mio Cid* records the force of church bells: "A great banquet was

prepared for the worthy Campeador, and the bells rang loudly in San Pedro."[184]  Bells

stood in a central place in Christian communities, ringing out to mark not only hours of

prayer but also festivals and joyous occasions for the community, such as the arrival of

the great Cid.  Bells were, moreover, sacred objects, blessed before they were first put to

use.

Paul Albar, a Christian living in ninth-century Cordoba, described the extreme

revulsion shown by Muslims upon hearing the chiming of the church bells:

> But when they hear the bell [*signum*] of the basilica, that is the sound of ringing
> bronze, which is struck to bring together the assembly of the church at all the
> canonical hours, gaping with derision and contempt, moving their heads, they
> repeatedly wail out unspeakable things; and they attack and deride with curses …
> both sexes, all ages and the whole flock of Christ the Lord.[185]

Not only revolted by the ringing of the bronze, Muslims were driven to a fury great

enough to cause them to attack Christians.  The bells, and that which they stood for, had,

at least in Albar's view, become objects of revulsion and hate.

Ali Asgar Alibhai analyzes a number of poems produced by Muslim writers in

which the loss of territory to Christians was represented by the bell drowning out the

*adhān*:

> "Woe for the mosques which have become churches for the enemy

---

[183] John H. Arnold and Caroline Goodman, "Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells," *Viator* 43.1 (2012), 112.
[184] *The Poem of the Cid: A New Critical Edition of the Spanish Text*, ed. Ian Michael, trans. Rita Hamilton and Janet Perry (New York: Manchester UP, 1975), First Cantar, p. 36 l. 285-6.
[185] Adhar, *Indiculus Luminasus* 6, PL 121.520-521. Trans E. P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Cordoba* (Washington 1962) 275-276.  Quoted in Arnold and Goodson, "Resounding Community," 112.

and woe for the call for prayer which has been replaced by the bell."[186]
"Woe for the *madrasas* which are like deserted ruins,
the call for prayer has been obliterated by the bells of the cross."[187]

Both church bells and *adhān* served as auditory markers of both community and territory; their conflict became representative of the conflict between the two religions as a whole. They were not mere symbols of conflict, however; this great representative power which they had acquired caused them to at times become the very locus of that conflict. This was not, of course, the case universally. In both Sicily and Aragón *muezzins* were frequently permitted to continue their practice and provisions were often made for the continued existence of mosques, minarets, and other staples of Muslim communities subsequent to conquest by Christians of the previously Muslim-held area.[188]

The cathedral at Santiago de Compostela that Alfonso III of Asturias (r. 866-910) had built, like any other great church of the time, possessed a set of bells used both to mark the hours and summon the faithful to a service. These bells, made either of cast or beaten bronze or bronze-coated iron coated as per the bell-manufacture techniques prevalent at the time, would have been audible throughout the city, and possibly into the countryside, serving both to mark the divisions of the day and call the community to gather.[189] About a century after the construction of the cathedral, however, the unthinkable happened:

---

[186] Ibn al-Abbār, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari and Muhammad Shuja' Dayf Allah, 144-45. Trans. in Alibhai, 156.
[187] Al-Maqqari and Shuja' Dayf Allah, 168. Trans. in Alibhai, 156.
[188] Olivia Remie Constable, "Regulating Religious Noise: The Council of Vienne, the Mosque Call and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Late Medieval World," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), 69, 72.
[189] Arnold and Goodson, "Resounding Community," 108-12.

Having passed eleven years of the reign of King Vermudo – and this was in the era of one thousand and ten years, and the Incarnation was in its nine-hundred and seventy-second year – this year Almanzor came with his great host and entered Galicia by way of Portugal, covering and laying waste to villages and cities, and when he arrived at the salt marsh he laid waste to the city and the church of Saint James, and burned it, and not satisfied with that, entered that place where the body of the Apostle Saint James lay to destroy the monument; he was very badly frightened by a great bolt of lightning which struck near him. Notwithstanding all this he took the lesser bells and carried them with him as a sign of the victory which he had achieved, and he placed them as lamps in the mosque of Cordoba, and there they remained for a long time after.[190]

This Almanzor (Muhammad bin Abī Amīr) was vizier to Hishām II, son of the Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam. [191] After the death of al-Hakam, al-Mansūr set out to solidify his control over the young Hishām and carried out a series of military campaigns pushing northward, eventually reaching Santiago de Compostela in 997. The sack of the city is recorded by Muslim chronicler Ibn Idhārī, according to whom al-Mansūr and his cohort "looted all the valuables of the city and destroyed its buildings, walls, and church. They wiped out all traces of the city. […] The buildings of Santiago … were turned into dust as if they hadn't existed the day before."[192]

Though the details of the attack and the level of destruction reported vary, this tale is recounted not only in the *Primera crónica*, but also in the *Historia Silense* and the *Codex* itself.

"He arrived at the western maritime regions of Spain and destroyed the city of Galicia, in which is buried the body of the blessed Saint James, Apostle."[193]
"He arrived, devastating the lands of the *patria* in all parts up to the city of

---

[190] *Primera crónica general*, 448-49.
[191] Almanzor: Arabic *al-Mansūr*, "The victorious."
Alibhai, "The Reverberations of Santiago's Bells in Reconquista Spain," 146.
[192] Ibn Idhārī 2:296. Trans. in Alibhai, 146.
[193] *Historia Silense*, CIX (109).

Santiago, and he stole by force all that he found there. So too he completely and indignantly devastated the basilica of the Apostle and took with him the codices, the tables of gold, the bells, and the other ornaments."[194]

Although neither of these texts nor the account given by Ibn Idhārī includes a mention of this, the eleventh-century historian Ibn Hayyān corroborates what the *Primera crónica* tells us about the bells: that they were taken and made into lamps for the mosque at Cordoba.[195] This was something of a tradition during the period of Muslim inhabitance of the Peninsula; five lamps made from church bells may still be seen in the Qarawayyīn Mosque in Fez, Morocco.[196] If one looks closely at one of the lamps hanging not far from the *mihrāb* it is still possible to see the original Latin inscription which reads "Vox domini sonat."[197] A similar bell-lamp can be found in the Great Mosque at the city of Taza, west of Fez.[198]

These lamps would have been powerful symbols, not only of the power of an individual conqueror or regime, but of Islam over Christianity; as bells had acquired profound symbolic power for Christians it is understandable that they would become points of attack. By desecrating the basilica, home of one of the Twelve Apostles, stealing these potent symbols, and appropriating them for use in a Mosque, al-Mansūr was declaring that his attack on Santiago was not merely a territorial squabble between neighbors. This action would have been understood by contemporaries as playing into a dichotomous narrative not of ruler against ruler but of Muslims against Christians.

---

[194] *Historia Turpini*, 489-90.

[195] Al-Maqqari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 2:196. Referenced in Alibhai, 196.

[196] Arnold and Goodson, "Resounding Community," 114.

[197] "The voice of the Lord resounds." Alibhai, "The Reverberations of Santiago's Bells in Reconquista Spain," 159.

[198] *Ibid*, 158.

Such a great victory for a Muslim general and the destruction of such a sacred

space as the basilica of Santiago would presumably have been a difficult blow to swallow

for Christians, and the events which the author of the *Turpini* describes as having

followed the initial destruction clearly reassert the power of the apostle.  They report that

some of al-Mansūr's soldiers brought their horses into the basilica while others relieved

themselves on and around the altar, eliciting an immediate punishment: some were struck

blind and others suffered debilitating diarrhea.  Al-Mansūr, himself blind, under the

recommendation of a captive priest from the basilica, began to invoke the "God of the

Christians," promising to the Apostle himself that if his health and sight were returned to

him he would renounce Mohammed, return everything he had taken, and leave, never to

return.[199]  After fifteen days, having healed fully, he did just that, not merely returning

what he had stolen but doubling it.  The moralizing intent of the author is made clear in

the sentences that close the chapter: "Know, then, that whosoever disturbs his land will

be eternally condemned.  Those who instead guard it against the power of the Saracens

will be compensated with celestial glory." [200]

The *Historia Silense* also recounts a miraculous intervention – upon approaching

the altar of the basilica with the intention of shattering it al-Mansūr was turned away,

terrified – but details the incredible destruction wreaked by the Muslim leader and

provides a much more down-to-earth reason for his return to Cordoba: the harshness of

---

[199] *Historia Turpini*, 490.  This miraculous affliction is also mentioned in a miracle story contained in the miscellaneous texts of the *Codex*: "Cuentan las gestas que al moro Almanzor una disenteria/le arrebató la vida, como castigo de Dios," 598.
[200] *Ibid*, 491.

the winter.[201]  In fact, instead of spelling Christian triumph, the *Silense* author recognizes

in this campaign a time of horror for Iberian Christians in which al-Mansūr "made the

whole kingdom tributary, already subjected to him," "all divine worship perished in

Spain," and "the treasures accumulated in the churches were stolen eternally," until at last

God took pity and al-Mansūr was "buried in hell."[202]

 For the authors of both texts this invasion was an incredibly potent historical

moment, whether for triumph or defeat, in which Muslim forces were very clearly

arrayed against Christianity.  Neither of these texts record the next chapter in the story,

having been composed in the twelfth century, but the *Primera crónica general*, written in

the second half of the thirteenth century, continues the tale of the bells of Santiago.  In

1236 Fernando III of Castilla captured the city of Cordoba:

> And it fell and the bells of the church of the Apostle Saint James, of Galicia,
> which Almanzor had stolen when he entered there, and he stole them for the
> dishonor of the Christians and places them in the mosque of Cordoba […] King
> Fernando, amongst other noble deeds, then made those same bells to be returned
> and brought to the church of Saint James of Galicia. [203]

The mosque at which the bells were discovered serving as lamps was cleansed with holy

water and "restored to the service of God" by don Johan, bishop of Osma, along with five

other bishops.  The Mass was sung, prayers were made, hearts were raised, and money

was distributed to the faithful.  The archbishop of Toledo, one don Rodrigo, ordained

"the first bishop of this conquest" for the new see, and the news of the rejoicing in the

city spread so that people from far and wide hurried to repopulate it, until there were

---

[201] *Historia Silense* CIX-CXI (109-11).
[202] *Ibid*, CXI (111).
[203] *Primera crónica general*, 733-34.

more newcomers than available homes.[204]  Cordoba resounded, the author would like us to know, with joy and gaiety, as did Compostela: "And the church of Saint James, again adorned with them [the bells], was very happy, and brought together other bells which sounded very well, and the pilgrims who came and heard them and knew the reason for them, rejoiced therefore in his will and in his holiness."[205]

Note that the bishop ordained at Cordoba is called "the first of this conquest"; his bishopric was a direct consequence of and would long serve as a reminder of this conquest.  It is easy to imagine also that all those who attended Mass or even looked upon the "restored" church would be reminded of the Castilian conquest and the transformation of Muslim sacred space into Christian sacred space.  Hundreds of miles north a similar effect was taking place in Santiago de Compostela, where those who heard the ringing of the bells would be reminded of the victory by which they had been returned.  The bells of Saint James were not simply symbols of Christianity, but of Christianity in a struggle against Islam.  They became, moreover, symbols of a Christianity emerging *triumphant* in this struggle.  To the point, the story of the Bells of Saint James is a story of reclamation, of taking back that which originally belonged to Iberian Christians and was stolen "for the dishonor of the Christians."  The bells would have rung at least eight times a day to mark the canonical hours; eight daily reinforcements for both locals and pilgrims alike of this triumphal message.

---

[204] *Ibid*, 734.
[205] *Ibid*, 734.

## Conclusion

Papal interest was not universally well received in the Peninsula. Alfonso VI, under whose name the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* was written, declared himself Emperor of Spain in 1085, and in so doing "asserted his hegemony over the entire peninsula and implicitly rejected Gregory VII's pretensions" to claim the Peninsula for the Apostolic See.[206] The author of the *Historia Silense* is similarly clear in his dismissal of outside influence in Spain and his internal focus upon properly Iberian Kings, particularly Alfonso VI.

The *Silense* author begins his work with the following words:

In another time, when Spain flourished, fecund, in all the liberal disciplines and those in her who felt thirst for knowledge devoted themselves everywhere to literary studies, upon the invasion of strong barbarians, study together with teaching were dispelled at the root. Because of this, this penury having arrived, there were no writers and the deeds of the Spaniards were passed by in silence.[207]

This is an idyllic picture of a past filled with learning and literary advancement, imagined to have filled the Peninsula prior to invasion by "strong barbarians" – this is a past to which this educated author would obviously like to return. The tale which follows is one of sin and redemption; a fall from grace, if you will, succeeded by a return to faith. Not the tale of the sin of an individual, this is rather that of a whole people, led by their kings,

---

[206] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Crusade and Reconquest in Medieval Spain*, 29.
"We believe that it is not unknown to you that the kingdom of Spain belonged from ancient times to St. Peter in full sovereignty (*proprii iuris*) and though occupied for a long time by the pagans, it belongs even now – since the law of justice has not been set aside – to no mortal, but solely to the Apostolic See." Quoted in O'Callaghan, 27. Taken from a letter addressing princes and other European nobles who were planning a campaign into Spain (1073).
[207] *Historia Silense* LXIII (63).

who began to "adore the creature before the Creator, giving over to forgetfulness the true God and his commandments."[208]  This people began to stray, worshipping false gods and demons and forming idols of steel, wood, and metal, sinking further and further into darkness and sin.  Finally, seeing the endless iniquities committed by Vitiza, King of the Visigoths, and all his predecessors, The Lord "permitted that, like the Flood [of] the land, barbarian peoples occupy all Spain."[209]  This is far from the end of the story, however; let us recall that the *Silense* author described his task as that of relating how, after such horrible ruin had swept through Spain, the line of the Visigoths was revived, from which was born Alfonso VI, Emperor of Spain and star of the *Silense*.[210]

From Alfonso I of Asturias (739-757) to Alfonso VI, the *Silense* tells a uniquely Iberian tale of recuperation and reinvigoration, framed in moralizing tones and played out across the length and breadth of the Peninsula.  This last Alfonso dedicated his career to "expanding the kingdom of the Spaniards and making war on the barbarians." [211] Province after province was "torn from the sacriligeous hands [of the barbarians] and returned to the faith of Christ."[212]  Fernando III "pressed on to tear that city from the rites of paganism" which he was similarly determined to return to the Christian faith.[213]  The word "reconquest" may not have been in existence in the twelfth century, but the words chosen by the *Silense* author tell a similar story of returning the land to its previous

---

[208] "Y aquellos a quienes el Creador de las cosas, entre los demás animales concediera generosamente rostros vistosos y levantados para mirar las cosas celestiales, entenebrecidos por sombría niebla, encorvados y postrados, adoraron a los demonios, bajo falsas imágenes de madera, piedra y metal." *Ibid*, LXIV (64).
[209] *Historia Silense* LXVII (67).
[210] "El mérito de mi trabajo está en referir como la piedad divina que hiere y sana hiciera crecer, como retoño de revivida raíz, a la gente goda, recobradas sus fuerzas."  *Historia Silense* LXXVI (76).
[211] *Historia Silense* LXVIII (68).
[212] "Devuelta," Latin: reversa.
[213] "Restituir," Latin: revertor. *Ibid* CXXII (122).

Christian state. The author includes the tale of one Pelayo, squire to King Rodrigo, who was successfully tempted and deceived by a Muslim leader so that he set aside his original position in the undertaking to "recover the *patria*."[214] Prior to the advent of "reconquista," the term "recuperación" (recovery or recuperation) abounded in the historiography of this period in Iberian history; a recovery, Martín Ríos Saloma insists, of both territory and liberty.[215]

The *Historia Turpini* tells a similar tale of recuperation of land – recall that Saint James instructed Charlemagne to "liberate my land from the hands of the Muslims" – but one in which the beneficiary of the recovery is not an Iberian king but rather Christendom as a whole.[216] This is the land which is referred to as the "patria" of Saint James; land that was given to the Apostle himself by the Lord, and through Saint James to the rest of Christendom.[217]

It might well be suggested that we pluralize the term "reconquista" to address the multitude of smaller campaigns and wars that were waged between 711 and 1492, the variety of players involved, and the complexity of their relations; such a change has taken place in Reformation scholarship, wherein some historians prefer to use the term "the protestant reformations." Converting "reconquista" to "reconquistas," would, however,

---

[214] *Ibid*, LXXVII (77). It should be noted that this term "patria" (Latin: patriam) makes several appearances in the *Silense*. I have opted to preserve the Spanish "patria," as it more closely reflects the significance and usage of the original term.

[215] Martín F. Ríos Saloma, "De la Restauración a la Reconquista: La construcción de un mito nacional (Una revisión historiográfica. Siglos XVI-XIX,)," *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005), 388.

[216] "Por esto me asombro enormemente de que no hayas liberado de los sarracenos mi tierra, tú que tantas ciudades y tierras has conquistado. Por lo cual te hago saber que así como el Señor te hizo el más poderoso de los reyes de la tierra, igualmente te ha elegido entre todos para preparar mi camino y liberar mi tierra de manos de los musulmanes, y conseguirte por ello una corona de inmarcesible gloria." *Historia Turpini*, 408.

[217] *Ibid*, 490-91.

miss a subtle, but fundamental quality of the term.

In the first place, it is difficult to refer even to the individual campaigns waged as *reconquistas*, for the simple reason that if they were truly small-scale territorial struggles, which is the basis for one of the strongest objections made to the use of the controversial term, then they were not in themselves *reconquistas*. A *reconquista* must necessarily involve a perception of a previous, righteous claim to the land in dispute; expansionist claims simply do not fit the bill. And even if some of these campaigns do fulfill the criteria, not all of them do, and so to apply the term to all indiscriminately would only be somewhat less misleading than to lump them all into one monolithic *reconquista*.

This leads to a further point: *reconquista* comes hand-in-hand with a more crystallized and centralized experience of identity than that experienced by, say, Rodrigo Díaz, who willingly switched sides several times during his career. The capture of a neighbor's land by a small-time lord or king of a small kingdom, only to have the land lost by his heir, hardly merits the appellation "conquest," let alone "reconquest." The sections of the texts analyzed in which Iberian identity has been presented most strongly are those sections in which Iberia is not subordinated to greater Christendom. In the beginning of this thesis it was argued that the *Turpini* and *Silense* histories present the most sweeping, "us-vs.-them" views of the conflict; while they do both conceive of a type of recovery which is uniquely Christian, it is only the *Silense* in which a truly unique Iberian identity is sketched. Both texts elevate "Spain" from a mere geographical signifier, but this new entity is subordinated to Christendom in the *Codex* and strictly internal interests are made to give way to external ones, notably the Iberian "crusades" of

the twelfth century.

It has been made clear that the modern concept of the "nation-state" did not yet exist in the twelfth century, and far be it from me to argue that these are the seeds from which it would be born, but what we are able to decipher in the *Silense*, and to some degree in the *Primera crónica*, is the coalescing of some form of greater Iberian identity which not only spans the northern Christians kingdoms but encompasses the entire land of the peninsula.  Futhermore, through the moralizing lens of the *Silense*, according to which God rewards the obedient and punishes the disobedient, this Iberian narrative of territorial loss and recovery mirrors that of the Promised Land.

The thirteenth-century *Primera crónica general* which, in the style of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, takes a very annalistic approach to recording history, lacking the narrative thread of either the *Silense* or the *Turpini*, nonetheless records an incredible moment of (Christian) unification in a speech that Alfonso VIII directed to his troops at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa[218]:

> Friends, we are all Spaniards, and the Moors entered this land by force and conquered her from us, and very few were the Christians who lived in that season who were not uprooted and ejected from her; and those few of us who remained in the mountains took up the responsibility and, killing those our enemies and dying by them, they were dealing with the Moors in such a way that they were pushing them away and frightening them off.  And when a force of them, and they were many, came to us where we were, they called to them for assistance, and they came to each other and assisted each other, and dealt with the Moors, winning always their land, until things arrived at the state in which you see they are today … but however you have come, I beg of you that you consider my evil

---

[218] This battle is widely recognized as the turning point for the Christian kingdoms in the north, after which they were able to gain ground at an increasing pace and the previous Muslim dominance over the southern sections of the Peninsula was eaten away.  Joseph O'Callaghan dedicates an extensive section of *Reconquest and Crusade* to this battle and the largely-successful campaigns which followed it (78-98).

and my injury, and of yours as Christians; and, as you are here, assist me to take vengeance and satisfaction for the evil that I have suffered, I and Christendom.

After this, King Alfonso spoke again with the supporters of the Pope, who were the French and those of Leon from above the Rhône, and the others from beyond that river the Rhône, and those from Italy, those from Lombardy, those from Germany, and he preached to them with regard to the church of Christ and of Christendom, speaking to them of how in Christendom and in the church we were all one, and how their danger extended to everyone: that his satisfaction and his vengeance would be to the honor of all Christendom and of the church.[219]

The viewpoint that the author expresses here in the mouth of the King parallels that taken up by the *Silense* author: the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian kings, Alfonso VI in the latter case and Alfonso VIII in the former, are descended from the line of the Visigoths who hid in the Asturian mountains and will now avenge the blow dealt to their forefathers and reclaim the land which was taken from them. These are not simply genealogical historical claims, but rather religiously-framed narratives; as Alfonso says, this vengeance would be to the honor of "all Christendom and the Church." This, the *Silense*, and the *Turpini*, are all tales of righteous reclamation of seized land; the *Silense* and the *Crónica* add that this reclamation was achieved at the hands of the descendants of the righteous inhabitants. The *Silense* marches on alone, however, in restricting itself to Iberian concerns and rejecting outside influence.

What better example of the union between crystallization of identity and conquest than the Apostle James, a saint so powerful he draws trans-Mediterranean attention and veneration along the Camino to Compostela, but who is nevertheless deeply and uniquely connected to Iberia, and who has acquired an increasingly military aspect? Spain was

---

[219] *Primera crónica general* 693.

given to James, the *Codex* is clear, in light of his apostleship and his martyrdom; Spain

thus participates specially in Christendom, and by taking back the Peninsula, Christian

lords, both Iberian and Mediterranean, are not simply claiming or even reclaiming land,

but returning to Christendom that which, by way of James, rightfully belonged to it.  This

might be a *reconquista* of a kind, but it is a Mediterranean one in which Christendom is

the ultimate beneficiary; the modern use of *reconquista*, however, is deeply tied to

Spanish national identity, which is much more closely mirrored in the exclusive claim of

Iberian identity put forth in the *Silense*.

     *Reconquista* will never cease to be a problematic term, particularly when applied

to the entire period from 711 to 1492, but as the *Turpini*, the *Crónica*, and particularly the

*Silense* make evident, there were contemporaries who, though they lacked the vocabulary

for it, nevertheless conceived the conflict they were experiencing in a very similar way:

as an overarching, divinely ordained reclamation of land that was originally and rightly

theirs, given to Saint James by Divine Providence.  There is no single term that can

adequately replace *reconquista*, and indeed, to claim that such a term existed would be a

tacit endorsement of one of *reconquista*'s most pernicious problems: the notion that it

was a monolithic event that spanned an entire eight centuries.  The search for adequate

terminology has been and will continue to be a nagging historiographical problem for

more than just scholars of medieval Iberia, but certainly some suggestions may be made

in the interest of greater accuracy.  Much of the problematic nature of "reconquest"

comes from its prefix, which, in a mere two letters, manages to imply both unity among

the agents of conquest and rightful (previous) ownership.  The removal of this prefix

would yield a more quotidian "conquest," which might be further enhanced by an adjustment of its dates; instead of tracing the conquest to the Battle of Covadonga in 722, perhaps we should date it to the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), or at least the Battle of Barbastro (1064), for it is only after these battles that a more concerted and unified military effort is visible. Such an adjustment would additionally serve to drastically shorten the span of time referenced, reducing the amount of complexity obscured. It should be hoped, furthermore, that this would be spoken of not as the "conquest of Spain," but as the "conquest of Iberia," in an effort to avoid any sort of nation-state teleology. These changes should suffice for less academic contexts; to those interested in coming to grips with the true complexities of twelfth-century Iberia, I leave the intricacies of the life of the Cid together with the narratives of identity set forth in the *Codex*, the *Silense*, and the *Crónica*.

Works Cited

Primary Texts:

*Cantar de Mio Cid*
Michael, Ian, Rita Hamilton, and Janet H. Perry, compiled and translated.  *The poem of
     the Cid: a new critical edition of the Spanish text*.  New York: Barnes and Noble
     Books, 1975.
     Original author: unknown
     Original date of composition:  c. 1195-1207

*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*
Lipskey, Glenn Edward, edited and translated.  *The Chronicle of Alfonso the Emperor: A
     Translation of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, with study and notes*.  The
     Library of Iberian Resources Online, 1972.
     http://libro.uca.edu/lipskey/chronicle.htm.
     Original author: unknown, but composed under the reign of Alfonso VII
     Original date of composition: c. 1153-1157

"Ciborium, side with Christ Delivering the Keys to Saint Peter and the Book of Wisdom
     to Saint Paul," liturgical furniture, 9th century (Sant'Ambrogio, Milan).
     http://www.artstor.org.

*Codex Calixtinus*
Davidson, Linda Kay, Thomas F. Coffey, and Maryjane Dunn.  *The Miracles of Saint
     James*.  New York: Italica Press, 1996.
Moralejo, A., C. Torres and J. Feo, translated.  *Liber Sancti Jacobi*; *Codex Calixtinus*.
     Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas:
     Instituto Padre Sarmiento, de estudios gallegos, 1951.
Melczer, William.  *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: First English
     Translation, with Introduction, Commentaries, and Notes*.  New York: Italica
     Press, 1993.
Whitehill, Walter Muir, transcribed.  *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus*.  Santiago de
     Compostela: Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 1935.
     Original author: unknown, likely composed at the Abbey of Cluny.
     Original date of composition: c. 1135-1150

Droge, Arthur J., translated.  *The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation*.  Sheffield,
England: Equinox, 2013.

Doeberl.  *Monumenta Germania Selecta*, Volume 4.  Translated by Ernest F. Henderson.
In *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.  London: George Bell and
Sons, 1910, p. 333-36.

*Historia Silense*
Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, translated.  *Introducción a la Historia Silense: con versión
castellana de la misma y de la Crónica de Sampiro*.  Madrid: Junta para
ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas, 1921.
http://archive.org/details/introduccinlahis00samp.
Coco, Francisco Santos, edited.  *Historia Silense*.  Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1921.
http://www.archive.org/stream/historiasilense00sant#page/6/mode/2up/search/ade
fonsi.
Original author: unknown and disputed
Original date of composition: c. 1109-1118

*Primera crónica general de España*
Menendez Pidal, Ramón, compiled.  *Primera crónica general de España que mandó
componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*.  Madrid,
Spain: Universidad de Madrid, Seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1955.
Original author: unknown, but with collaboration from Alfonso X (1221-1284)
Original date of composition: 1st period of work 1270-74, 2nd period: 1282-84

Tanner, Norman P., ed.  *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, *Volume One: Nicaea I to
Lateran V*.  Georgetown: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown UP, 1990.

"Traditio Clavium," mosaic, c. 350 (Chiesa di Santa Costanza, Rome).
http://www.artstor.org.


Secondary Sources:

Abou-el-Haj, Barbara.  "Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez." *Gesta*
36.2 (1997), 165-179.

Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2009.

Alibhai, Ali Asgar. "The Reverberations of Santiago's Bells in Reconquista Spain." *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36.2 (2008), 145-164.

Arnold, John H. and Caroline Goodman. "Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells." *Viator* 43.1 (2012), 99-130.

Barkai, Ron. "Diálogo filosófico-religioso en el seno de las tres culturas ibéricas." *Dialogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la Peninsula Iberica: actes du colloque international de San Lorenzo de El Escorial 23-26 juni 1991*. Santiago-Otero, Horacio, ed. Belgium: Brepols, 1994.

Barreiro Rivas, José Luis. *La función política de los caminos de peregrinación en la Europa medieval: estudio del Camino de Santiago*. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Tecnos, 1997.

Baxter Wolf, Kenneth. *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1988.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints*: *Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Castro, Américo. *La realidad histórica de España*, second edition. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1962.

Catlos, Brian A., Christine Carpenter, and Rosamond McKitterick. *Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.

Chevedden, Paul E. "The Islamic View and the Christian View of the Crusades: A New Synthesis." *History* 93.310 (2008), 181-200. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-229X.2008.00421.x.

Choy, Emilio. *Antropología e historia*. Lima, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 1979.

Collins, Roger. *The Arab Conquest of Spain: 710-797*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Conrad, Rudolph. *Pilgrimage to the end of the world: the road to Santiago de Compostela*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Constable, Olivia Remie. "Regulating Religious Noise: The Council of Vienne, the Mosque Call and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Late Medieval Mediterranean World." *Medieval Encounters* 16.1 (2010): 64-95.

Cramer, Peter. *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200 – c. 1150*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1960.

De Arizpe, Juan Bautista. *Patriotismo y gloriosas empresas del Excelentísimo Marqués de la Romana en la reconquista del reino de Galicia*. México: Casa de Arizpe, 1810.

Dunn, Maryjane and Linda Kay Davidson, eds. *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1996.

Dunn, Maryjane and Linda Kay Davidson. "Bibliography of the Pilgrimage: The State of the Art." XXIII-XXXVIII.

Smith, Colin. "The Geography and History of Iberia in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*." 23-42.

"El Manuscrito." *Codex Calixtinus*. Accessed April 2, 2014. http://codexcalixtinus.es/el-manuscrito/.

Fisher, John Douglas Close. *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation*. London: S. P. C. K., 1965.

Gosman (Groningen), Martin. "The Cult of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela: The functionality of its propaganda in the *Historia Compostelana* and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*." *The Sacred Centre as the Focus of Political Interest*, Hans Bakker, ed. Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 1992, 31-52.

Hitchcock, Richard. "Christian-Muslim Understandings in Medieval Spain." *Hispanic Research Journal* 9.4 (2008), 314-325.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1983.

Kendrick, Thomas Downing. *St. James in Spain*. London: Methuen, 1976.

Kosto, Adam J. "Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Historics of Iberia, ca. 1000-1200." *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*. Edited by Thomas F. X. Noble and John van Engen. Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame UP, 2012. 93-116.

Krey, August C. *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1921.

Krochalis, Jeanne and Alison Stones. "The Manuscripts: Their Creation, Production and Reception." In *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, vol. 1. Edited by Paula Gerson.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Santiago: Trayectoria de un mito*. Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2004.

Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo. *Los caminos en la historia de España*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1951.

Glick, Thomas F. "Reading the *Repartimientos*: Modeling Settlement in the Wake of Conquest." In *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern*

*Spain: Interaction and Cultural Exchange.* Meyerson, Mark D. and Edward D. English, eds. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.

*Gran Enciclopedia Navarra*, s.v. "Reconquista." Pamplona: Caja Navarra, 1990.

O'Callaghan, Joseph. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania UP, 2003.

Raulston, Stephen B. "The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino & Matamoros." *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36.2 (Spring 2008): 345-67.

Saloma, Martín F. Ríos. "De la Restauración a la Reconquista: la construcción de un mito nacional (Una revisión historiográfica. Siglos XVI-XIX). *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005), 379-414.

Sumption, Jonathan. *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God*. New Jersey: HiddenSpring, 2003.

Thompson, Bard. *Liturgies of the Western Church*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961.

Thompson, Edward Arthur. *The Goths in Spain*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1969.

Tolan, John Victor. "Rhetoric, Polemics, and the Art of Hostile Biography: Portraying Muhammad in Thirteenth-Century Christian Spain." *Pensamiento Medieval Hispano: Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, vol. 2. José María Soto Rábanos, coordinator. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1998.

Tolan, John Victor. *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia UP, 2002.

Van Liere, Katherine Elliot. "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales." *Viator* 37 (2006): 519-43.

Webb, Diana. *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700-1500*. New York: Palgrave, 2002. (Electronic Book)

Williams, John. "Cluny and Spain." *Gesta* 27.1 (1988), 93-101.