

Notes on some of the ethnonyms in the *Veneranda dies*

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Summary: The article deals with some of the ethnonyms mentioned in the *Veneranda dies*, proposing some identifications for the names “Daci” and “Romani” that have not hitherto been considered.

Key words: Daci; Romani; Denmark; Veneranda dies; Byzantine Empire; Rome; Jerusalem.

Chapter XVII of Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus*,¹ also known as the *Veneranda dies* sermon, is one of the longest and most organic parts of the volume in

¹ The *Codex Calixtinus* (or *Liber Sancti Jacobi*) takes its name from the epistle attributed to Pope Calixtus II that opens the manuscript. This text was probably written under the supervision of Diego Gelmírez, Archbishop of Santiago, towards the middle of the 12th C and owes its origin to a detailed programme of dissemination of the cult of St James the Apostle and the pilgrimage to his tomb in a context of the implicit glorification of the episcopal see of Compostela. The *Codex Calixtinus* consists of five books of varying length: the first, and by far the longest, includes a series of liturgical texts of diverse origin for use in vigils, at each hour of the day and on the most important feast days related with St James, such as 25 July, which commemorates the Apostle's martyrdom, or 30 December, the day on which the translation of his body to Galicia occurred. The second book contains the account of twenty-two miracles that were performed as a result of intercession by St James, most of which took place far from Galicia: five in France, four in Italy, three in Germany, two in Greece and one in Catalonia, following a criterion that appears to reflect those areas where devotion to St James was greatest, namely France, Italy and Germany. The third book is composed of texts of diverse origin, their unifying thread being the intention to glorify the church in Compostela and extol the appearance of the cult of St James the Apostle in Santiago itself. Of particular interest are the account of the translation of the remains of the Apostle to Galicia and the chapter that refers to the miraculous action of the scallop shells commonly worn by pilgrims as a sign of their pilgrimage. The fourth book includes the *Historia Turpini*, which narrates a series of Carolingian legends related to the cult of St James. Turpin, who was an eye-witness, tells of Charlemagne's military exploits in Spain. The relationship between the cult of the Apostle and the pilgrimage to Compostela is given in the introduction to the book, which narrates the episode of “Charlemagne's dream”: St James appears to Charlemagne in a dream to explain to him the meaning of the Milky Way, saying that it indicates the road that leads to his tomb, which cannot be followed by his devotees since it is occupied by the Saracens. He thus invites Charlemagne to enter Spain in order to free the road. There seems to be a clear attempt to relate Santiago with Charlemagne in an exercise of self-dignification on two fronts, one being the Cathedral of Santiago, which is said to have been founded by the Emperor himself, the other springing from the sphere of Cluniac monasteries that were particularly interested in linking the pilgrimage to Santiago with French culture and civilisation. Finally, the fifth book consists of the so-called “Pilgrim's Guide”, a practical handbook to the routes and the devotions that those who make the pilgrimage to Santiago have to follow, and which was probably included at the end due to the necessarily practical nature its function demanded. On the homogeneity of the *Codex* as a whole

question² and according to some recent studies may constitute “*il nucleo iniziale, intorno al quale si è andata delineando ed organizzando la complessa struttura del Liber Sancti Jacobi*”.³ On f. 78r the compiler, at the height of extolling the cult of St James, provides us with a kind of medieval *Mappa Mundi* consisting of a long list of peoples who come to worship the mortal remains of St James in Galicia.⁴

The paragraph runs as follows: “*Illuc populi barbari et domestici cunctorum cosmi climatum adveniunt, scilicet Franci, Normanni, Scoti, Hiri, Galli, Theutonici, Yberi, Wasconi, Baioari, Navarri impij, Bascli, Gotti, Provinciales, Garasqui, Lotharingi, Gauti, Angli, Britones, Cornubienses, Flandri, Frisi, Allobroges, Itali, Apuli, Pictavi, Aquitani, Greci, Armeni, Daci, Noroequi, Russi, Iorianti, Nubiani, Parthi, Romani, Galate, Ephesi, Medi, Tuscani, Kalabriani, Saxones, Siciliani, Asiani, Ponti, Bitiniani, Indiani, Creti, Hierosolimitani, Antiocheni, Galilei, Sardani, Cipriani, Ungari, Bulgari, Ysclavoni, Africani, Perse, Alexandrini, Egiptii, Suriani, Arabes, Colosenses, Mauri, Ethiopes, Philipenses, Capadoci, Corinti, Elamite, Mesopotamiani, Libiani, Cirenenses, Pamphilian, Ciciliani, Iudei et cetere gentes innumerabiles*”.

As Moralejo, Torres and Feo correctly observe, this is a list that corresponds “*en gran parte a la realidad de las peregrinaciones medievales; pero parece también bastante retórica. Hay en ella pueblos antiguos que en la Edad Media ya no existían, por lo menos con tales nombres; otros que debían ser infieles; varios que parecen reflejos de las Epístolas de San Pablos, y nombres de mayor alcance geográfico que comprendían otros referentes a ciudades o países menores. En general son fácilmente identificables, aunque no faltan algunos raros y difíciles de identificar*”.⁵

see HERWAARDEN, J.V., “L'integrità del testo del *Liber Sancti Jacobi*: vent'anni più tardi”, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Santiago e l'Italia*, Perugia, 23-26 May 2002, Pomigliano d'Arco, Edizioni Compostellane, 2005, p. 271-87; an earlier work to be taken into account is that by MOISAN, A., *Le livre de Saint Jacques ou Codex Calixtius de Compostelle*, Geneva, Slatkine, 1992.

2 Ff. 74r-93v. References to the text of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus* are to the edition by Herbers, K. and Santos Noia, M., Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 2001.

3 CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, J., *Il sermone Veneranda Dies del Liber Sancti Jacobi. Senso e valore del pellegrinaggio compostellano*, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 2001, p. 62. This hypothesis had previously been put forward by DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, M., *El Códice Calixtino de la catedral de Santiago*, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 1988, p. 49, n. 68. Further elements were added to this reconstruction by CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., “Culto y cultura de la peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela”, in *Visitandum est. Santos y Cultos en el Codex Calixtinus*, Actas do VII Congreso Internacional de Estudos Xacobeos (Santiago de Compostela, 16-19 September 2004), Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 2005, p. 91-106, p. 93-94. According to HERBERS, K., *Der Jakobsweg. Mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela*, Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag, 1986, p. 57, the *Veneranda dies* sermon was written by the same person who wrote Book V of the *Codex*.

4 For an approach to medieval geography, see the excellent work by BURGIO, E. “*In partibus aquilonis*. Coordinate etnografiche-simboliche di un lemma nella mappa medievale del mondo”, in *Critica del testo*, I (1998), p. 809-69. A description of the pilgrimages from various European countries to Santiago is given in SINGUL, F., *Il Cammino di Santiago. Cultura e pensiero*, Chap. VI, “L'Europa in cammino alla volta di Compostella”, Rome, Carocci, 2007, p. 199-219.

5 MORALEJO, TORRES and FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi. “Codex Calixtinus”*, translated by MORALEJO, A., TORRES, C. & FEO, J. (edition prepared by Carro Otero, X., Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 1998), p. 198-99. Also see HERBERS, K., *Der Jakobsweg*, op. cit., p. 61, n. 12: “*Die Aufzählung, die kaum noch adäquat mit heutigen Völkernamen wiedergegeben werden kann, basiert sicher auf der Kenntnis klassischer Autoren und darf nicht wörtlich genommen werden*”.

When we analyse the above-mentioned list we obviously have to remember that names and references to peoples “*appartengono alla mera etnografia. Sono dati che di per sé non puntano alla futura «nazione»: non quelli, positivi, controllabili (diritto, istituzioni, lingua religione, territorio), a causa di mancate coincidenze, di notori sconfinamenti e sovrapposizioni, non quelli, meno positivamente controllabili, come atteggiamenti, mentalità (o «utensilerie mentali»), e diverse, più o meno sondabili (o sondaggiabili) «volontà generali»*”.⁶

The order in which the ethnic groups who made the pilgrimage to Santiago appear, if we ignore a few juxtapositions due to geographical contiguity, does not appear to be unambiguous, even though we cannot rule out the fact that the “Franci” are named first because France is not only the setting for the largest number of miracles described in Book II of the *Codex* — a clear sign of a staunch devotion to St James —,⁷ but also because it is the place from which the four pilgrim routes mentioned in Book V of the same volume (f. 192r). The Jews, on the other hand, would be mentioned last because they were responsible for the death of Jesus and also of St James himself⁸.

Let us begin with the ethnonym “Daci”: this was translated as “*los dacios (the Dacians)*” by Moralejo, Torres and Feo and as “Daci” by Caucci and later by Berardi, with no commentary note.⁹ But where did the Daci come from? If in fact on the one hand the name Dacia “*si applicava in origine a una regione dell’Europa dell’Est anticamente abitata dai daci, compresa tra il Tibisco, i Carpazi, il Danubio e il Prut; in seguito, il nome Dacia ripensis o mediterranea (con capital Sardica — Sofía) passò a designare una porzione della Mesia; in Oddone di Deuil il toponimo indica i territori sub-danubiani della provincia bulgara, controllata dai bizantini*”,¹⁰ on the other the same name was used to define the area corresponding to present-day Denmark: “*Danimarca si diffonde per mediazione tedesca: confine / marca carolingia, verso / contro i Danesi, ma dena mearc appare anche nelle aggiunte alla versione alfrediana di Orosio e una iscrizione runica del X secolo porta tanmark, mentre in mediolatino, dal solo etnico, fu coniato, con scambio culto di pseudosuffisso, Dacia*”.¹¹ It is no mere coincidence that Dudo of Saint-

6 BRACCINI, M., “Selezioni ed emergenza dei nomi di nazioni europee: uno sguardo sul laboratorio medievale”, in *Studi in memoria di Giulia Caterina Mastrelli Anzilotti*, Florence, Istituto di studi per l’Alto Adige, 2001, p. 39-70, p. 39-40. Also see POHL, W., *Le origini etniche dell’Europa. Barbari e romani tra antichità e medioevo*, Rome, Viella, 2000, p. 77-99.

7 CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., *Guida del pellegrino di Santiago. Libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus, secolo XII*, Milan, Jaca Book, 2002, p. 53.

8 Cf. the *Magna passio Sancti Jacobi* in Book I, Chapter IX, ff. 48r-53r.

9 MORALEJO, TORRES and FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, *op. cit.*, p. 199; CAUCCI, P., *Il sermone*, *op. cit.*, p. 140; *Il codice callistino. Prima edizione integrale del Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus (sec. XII)*, translation and introduction by Berardi, V. M., foreword by P. Caucci von Saucken, Pomigliano d’Arco, Edizioni Compostellane, 2008, p. 214.

10 BARBIERI, A. & BURGIO, E., “Indice dei luoghi”, in *Crociate. Testi storici e poetici*, by Zaganelli, G., Milan, Mondadori, 2004, p. 1889 ff. Also see Anon. 4th C.: *Descrizione del mondo e delle sue genti*, introduction and notes by Livadiotti, U., translation by Di Branco, M., Rome, Salerno editrice, p. 80 and 102-3.

11 BRACCINI, *Selezione ed emergenza*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Quentin in his *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* should describe both the ethnogenesis of the Daci (“*Igitur Daci nuncupantur a suis Danai, vel Dani, glorianturque se ex Antenore progenitos*”),¹² and their language (“*dacica lingua*”), in other words, Danish.¹³

It remains to be established which people the author of the *Veneranda dies* is referring to when he talks of the “*Daci*”. Without laying any claim to it being an incontrovertible solution, we cannot exclude that this name may have been used to refer to people coming from Denmark. This appears to be confirmed by Chapter XVIII of Book IV of the *Codex*, f. 177v, where Charlemagne, when sharing out the lands he has conquered in Spain, in the case of double division normally concedes them to neighbouring peoples: “*His itaque gestis terras et provincias Hispaniae pugnatoribus et gentibus suis, illis scilicet qui in patria illa manere volebant, Karolus divisit. Terram Navarrorum et Basclorum Brittanis, et terram Castellanorum Francis, et terram Nagere et Cesarauguste Grecis et Apulis qui in nostro exercitu erant, et terram Aragonis Pictavis, et terram Alandaluf iuxta maritima Theutonicis, et terram Portugallorum Dacis et Flandris dedit. Terram Gallecie Franci inhabitare noluerunt, quoniam aspera illis videbatur*”.

Amongst the pairs of peoples that receive the same territory we find the “*Grecis et Apulis*” and the “*Dacis et Flandris*”. It seems obvious that in the second case contiguity can only exist if we take the “*Daci*” to be the Danes, given that “*Flandris*” would correspond to the inhabitants of the North Sea region between the River Schelde and Artois. As confirmation of this identification, it can be observed that on the one hand in the *Veneranda dies* we find the succession “*Daci, Noroequi*”, in this case also probably dictated by geographical proximity,¹⁴ whilst on the other hand there is ample evidence of pilgrimages from Denmark during this period, to the extent that in his important monograph *Dinamarca jacobea* Almazán re-baptised the so-called ‘Hærvejen’ as the “*camino de Santiago por la cantidad de peregrinos de Dinamarca, Islandia y Noruega que por aquí pasaron en camino hacia Santiago de Compostela*”.¹⁵

12 Cf. PARADISI, G., “Etnogenesi e leggenda troiana nei primi storiografi normanni”, in *L'antichità nella cultura europea del medioevo*, Papua, 27 September-1 October 1997, Greifswald, Reineke, 1998, p. 59-68.

13 BRACCINI, *Selezione ed emergenza*, op. cit., p. 63: “La scelta del glottonimo poté essere dettata dal fatto che la Dacia, il regnum Danorum, era allora, sotto Canuto il Grande, re anche di Inghilterra e di Norvegia, all'apice della potenza. Non importa se dagli eventi riferiti sono trascorsi circa settanta anni, da quando cioè il duca Guglielmo Lungaspada, nell'affidare al segretario Botone l'educazione del figlio Riccardo, ne fissa la sede piuttosto che nella capitale Rouen nella più decentrata Bayeux, dove la lingua avita dei Vichinghi (qui dacigene) era tuttora maggioritaria (“...Rothomagensis civitas romana potius quam dacica utitur eloquentia, et Baiocacensis fruitur frequentius dacica lingua quam romana, volo tua custodia educetur cum magna diligentia, fervens loquacitate dacica, ut queat sermocinari...contra dacigenas”).”

14 The two territories are also juxtaposed in the *De animalibus libri XXVI* by Alberto Magno: “*super Oceanum aquilonarem in Dacia et Norvegya sunt fere omnes albi*” (the quotation is from DE ANNA, L. G., *Il mito del Nord: tradizioni classiche e medievali*, Naples, Liguori, 1994, p. 32).

15 ALMAZÁN, V., *Dinamarca jacobea*, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 2001, p. 35. Also see *idem*, “Tres insignes noruegos en las costas gallegas (1013-1152)”, in *Actas del II Congreso internacional de estudios jacobeos*, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 1999, vol. II, p. 15-24.

Let us now turn to the name “*Romani*”. Perhaps because it appeared next to the “*Parthi*”,¹⁶ it was translated as “*Rumanos (Rumanians)*” by Moralejo, Torres and Feo and as “*Rumeni*” by Caucci and Berardi.¹⁷ In reality, this proposition appears to be less than satisfactory; not so much because the Daci – in the remote possibility that they might correspond to the inhabitants of Eastern Dacia (cf. *supra*) – were mentioned shortly before (the same text contains other repetitions or at least indications of groups that had already been included in wider categories, such as the “*Itali*”, the “*Tuscani*”, etc.), but rather because at that time the Romeni defined themselves as “*Valachi*”, and never as “*Romani*”. In fact the term “*romanus*”, even though it evolved in the Latin lands in the Danube area in the form that would later give us the names “*rumân, român*”, is not documented with certainty as an ethnic name until the 16th century, whilst the chronicles of the Byzantines, the Magyars and later the Western chronicles of Italian humanists and travellers only speak of the “*Valacchi*”, the name assigned to the Romeni by their neighbours (the exact form of the name varies with the origin of the sources).¹⁸ According to Renzi, the first documentation of the term “*romeno (Rumanian)*”, used to identify both ethnic group and language, is to be found in the Transylvanian diary of Francesco Della Valle, secretary to Alvise Gritti, natural son of Andrea, Doge of Venice (1532-34), and for its second documented appearance we have to wait until it is used by the Venetian Francesco Greselini (1780).¹⁹

We should therefore take the name “*Romani*” in the *Veneranda dies* to refer to the inhabitants of the regions included in the Byzantine Empire, as exemplified by the medieval Latin and vernacular writers of the Crusades and contemporary literature.²⁰

16 MORALEJO, TORRES and FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, op. cit., p. 199: “los Partos”; CAUCCI, P., *Il sermone*, op. cit., p. 140: “Parti”. BERARDI, *Il codice callistino*, op. cit., p. 214: “Parti”.

17 MORALEJO, TORRES and FEO, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, op. cit., p. 199; CAUCCI, P., *Il sermone*, op. cit., p. 140; BERARDI, *Il codice callistino*, op. cit., p. 214.

18 The long and complex history of “*valacco*”, which originally designated the Celtic population, is resumed in TAGLIAVINI, C., *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*, Bologna, Patron, 1972, 6th ed., p. 163, note 13.

19 RENZI, L., *Ancora sugli Umanisti italiani e la lingua rumena*, “*Romanische Forschungen*”, 112, 1, 2000, p. 1-38, p. 5-6 and 23, note 41. Also see ARMBRUSTER, A., *La romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une idée*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1977 (1st ed. in Rumanian, 1971, which amongst others includes the previous works; later, NICULESCU, A., “*Les découvertes de la ‘Dacia romana’ des Roumains*”, in *Trovatori, Canzoni di gesta, storia delle idee ed altro*, “*Quaderni di filologia romanza della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna*”, 7, Bologna, Patron, 1990, p. 91-115; VALMARIN, L., “*La guerra del ru- e del ro-*”, in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia a cinquant'anni dalla sua laurea*, Modena, Mucchi, 1989, p. 1385-1409, p. 1387-88. Also see THIESSE, A. M., *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2001, p. 89-94.

20 Cf. BARBIERI-BURGIO, *Indice dei luoghi*, op. cit., p. 1913: “*România (It. Romania, afr. Romanie)*, lemma che nel Medioevo copre realtà geografiche diverse. In generale designa le regioni dell'Impero bizantino (in Oddone di Deuil, in particolare, il territorio europeo corrispondente, grosso modo, alla Rumelia); nelle Gesta, con la sola eccezione del cap. 16, sono chiamate ‘Romania’ le antiche province romane dell'Asia Minore nelle quali dopo il 1081 i Turchi selgiuchidi avevano stabilito il sultanato di Rûm. Dopo la conquista di Costantinopoli da parte dei crociati franco-veneziani (1204), il toponimo servì a designare, anche nei documenti ufficiali, l'Impero latino di Oriente”. The Byzantine ‘romani’, in reality the Greeks, did not want “*essere chiamati Elleni dato che quel nome era diventato un sinonimo di pagani*” (POHL, *Le origini etniche*, op. cit., p. 80). In this sense we should bear in mind, as suggested to me by Erminia Itrace, to whom I here give thanks, the detailed report of Liutprando de Cremona's second mission to Constantinople in 968 AD (*Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana*) with its famous story of how the ‘true’ Romani, in other words the Byzantines, proudly

In Provençal poetry, for example, the term *Romania* is constantly used to refer to the lands dominated by Constantinople. In this regard a paradigmatic example is provided in the I Epic Letter of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (l. 36-38), in which he refers to the dethroning of Emperor Alexios III by the Crusaders:

“*Et encaussei ab vos a Filopat
l'emperador, qu'avetz dezeretat,
de Romania, e l'autre coronat*”.²¹

This, however, is not the only possible explanation for “*Romani*”; we can in fact suppose that this term may be taken as referring to the inhabitants of the city of Rome, this being based on the following, which appears in Chapter XXI of Book IV of the *Codex*, f. 185v: “*Constantinus prefectus apud urbem Romam per mare delatus, cum aliis multis Romanis et Apulis sepelitur*”.²²

As confirmation of this we can add that the succession “*Romani, Galate, Ephesi*” transmitted by the *Veneranda dies* corresponds to the peoples to whom St Paul wrote his Epistles, without forgetting that the “*Parthi*” and the “*Medi*”, which enclose this sequence, are mentioned in the story of Pentecost, as are the “*Romani*”: “*Stupebant autem omnes, et mirabantur, dicentes: Nonne ecce omnes isti, qui loquuntur, Galilaei sunt, et quomodo nos audivimus unusquisque linguam nostram, in qua nati sumus? Parthi, et Medi, et Aelamitae, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Iudaeam, et Cappadociam, Pontum, et Asiam, Phrygiam, et Pamphylia, Aegyptum, et partes Libyae, quae est circa Cyrenen, et advenae Romani, Iudaei quoque, et Proselyti, Cretes, et Arabes: audivimus eos loquentes nostris linguis magnalia Dei*”²³.

In this case the mention of the “*Romani*”, together with that of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (“*Hierosolimitani*”) and of Ephesus (“*Ephesi*”), may allude to the role of a similar dignity that the author of the sermon confers on Santiago, making it the destination of

set themselves up against the ‘false’ Romani: “*Vos non Romani, sed Langobardi estis!*” (CREMONENSIS, L., *Opera omnia*, edition and notes by Chiesa P., Turnholti, Brepols 1998, p. 192). The problem arises, as is well known, from the right to demand, after the division of the Empire, “la specificazione ‘Romanorum’, sentita dai Bizantini, come irrinunciabile” (GANDINO, G., *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando di Cremona*, Rome, Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo, 1995, p. 42). A reflection of these diatribes appears in the dialogue between Baudolino and Niceta Coniate in Umberto Eco’s novel *Baudolino*: “*Bene, lì una volta c’erano i romani, quelli di Roma, quelli che parlavano latino, non i romani che adesso dite di essere voi che parlate greco, e che noi chiamiamo romei, o greculi, se mi scusi la parola*” (the quotation is from the edition of the Tascabili Bompiani, Milan 2006, p. 34).

21 LINSKILL, J., *The poems of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, The Hague 1964, p. 303-04. Cf. the other documentary references to the geographical name in CHAMBERS, F. M., *Proper names in the lyrics of the troubadours*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1971, p. 233.

22 We should also bear in mind that from the 9th century onwards “*romanus, unlike theutiscus, received an ethnic connotation (romana natio according to several Medieval Latin texts)*” (BRACCINI, M., “*Vulgarica romanorum lingua: spetta al «romanesco» il primato della più antica menzione di un volgare romanzo?*”, *Poliorama*, IV (1985), p. 218-40, p. 221).

23 *Actus apostolorum*, II, 7-11.

journeys undertaken even by peoples residing in the other holy places *par excellence* of the Middle Ages. In fact, in the light of Chapter XIX of the above-mentioned Book IV of the *Codex*, ff. 177v-178r, Santiago would be the second most important Apostolic See in Christendom, preceded only by Rome and followed by Ephesus: “*Et constituitur die illo ut illa ecclesia amplius vocitetur Sedes Apostolica, eo quod ibi apostolus Iacobus requiescat, et in ea episcoporum totius Hyspaniae crebro concilia teneantur, et virge episcopales et regales corone per manus episcopi eiusdem urbis ad decus apostoli Domini prebeantur (...). Tres apostolicas sedes principales pre omnibus sedibus in orbe merito religio christiana venerari precipue consuevit, romanam scilicet, gallicianam et ephesianam. Sicut enim tres apostolos, Petrum videlicet et Iacobum et Iohannem, pre omnibus apostolis Dominus instituit, quibus sua secreta ceteris plenius, ut in evangeliiis patet, revelavit, sic per eos tres has sedes pre omnibus cosmi sedibus reverenda constituit. Et merito he sedes dicuntur principales, quia sicut hi tres apostoli dignitatis gratia ceteros precesserunt apostolos, sic loca illa sacrosancta in quibus predicaverunt et sepulti fuere, dignitatis excellentia omnes totius orbis sedes iure precedere debent. Iure Roma sedes apostolica prima ponitur, quia eam princeps apostolorum Petrus predicatione sua et proprio sanguine et sepultura dedicavit. Compostella namque sedes secunda merito dicitur, quia beatus Iacobus qui inter ceteros apostolos precipua dignitate et honore et honestate maior post beatum Petrum extitit, et in celis primatum super illos tenet, primus martirio laureatus eam sua predicatione olim munivit, sepultura sua sacratissima consecravit, et miraculis adhuc perlustrat, et indeficientibus beneficiis indesinenter ditare non cessat. Tercia sedes rite Ephesus dicitur, quia beatus Iohannes evangelista in ea evangelium suum, scilicet: In principio erat Verbum, eructavit, coadunato episcoporum concilio quos ipse per urbes disposuerat, quos etiam in Apocalipsi sua angelos vocat, eamque suis predicationibus et miraculis et basilica, quam in ea edificavit, immo propria sepultura eam consecravit. Si ergo aliqua iudicia aut divina aut humana in aliis sedibus orbis sua gravitate discerni forte nequeunt, in his tribus sedibus tractari et diffiniri legitime et iuste debent. Itaque Gallecia in primis temporibus a Sarracenis expedita virtute Dei et beati Iacobi et auxilio Karoli constat honesta usque in hodiernum diem in fide orthodoxa”.*

If the *Codex Calixtinus* demonstrates a kind of subordinate position in relation to Rome, obviously due to the authority of the Pope,²⁴ in relation to Jerusalem the posture that transcends from the codex appears to be a totally different one: in three miracles (VII, VIII and X), St James intervenes to save pilgrims on their return from

24 It should not be forgotten that the attempt at ‘emancipation’ from Rome by Diego Peláez in the final decades of the 11th century ended, after a series of obscure political vicissitudes, in his deposition (Council of Husillos, 1088). On the complex relationship between Rome and Santiago, see HERBERS, K., “Il papato e Santiago-Santiago e il papato”, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Santiago e l'Italia*, op. cit., p. 259-76. The author upholds the idea that “*delle tre sedi aveva senz'altro una forza dirimpente e una chiara accentuazione anti-romana. (...) Considerando il fatto che Roma basava la propria posizione di preminenza sulla predicazione di San Paolo a Roma non è sorprendente che i papi come Gregorio VII mettesero in dubbio un'attività di San Giacomo come predicatore in Spagna. Per un papa della riforma della Chiesa questo era un punto su cui basare il contrasto tra Roma e Santiago*” (p. 266-67). By the same author, see also the important *Política y veneración de los santos en la península ibérica. Desarrollo del “Santiago político”*, Pontevedra, Fundación cultural rutas del románico, 2001, p. 44-47 and 99-100. *Idem*, *Patriotische Heilige in Spanien von 8-10 Jahrhundert*, in *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer identitäten in der Vormoderne*, Stuttgart 2007, p. 67-85.

Jerusalem, the holy city *par excellence*, to the extent that the pilgrims feel they are obliged to make the journey *ad limina Iacobi*. The corresponding passages are:

Miracle VII (f. 146rv): “*Anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo primo, cum quidam nauta, nomine Frisonus, quandam plenam navim peregrinorum ad Dominicum sepulcrum in Iherosolimitanis partibus causa oracionis ire cupiens per mare navigando duceret, venit contra eum causa pugnandi quidam Sarracenus, nomine Avitus Maimon, volens omnes peregrinos secum in terra Moabitarum ducere captivos (...). Ilico beatus apostolus illi in maris profundo apparuit, et per manum illum arripiens navi incolumem restituit (...). Statimque Dei virtute et beati Iacobi subsidiis Sarracenorum navis valida tempestate cepit periclitari, et pupis Christianorum, beato Iacobo divinitus ducente, ad obtatum locum pervenit; et Frisonus, visitato Dominico sepulcro, in eodem anno beatum Iacobum in Gallecia adiit*”.

Miracle VIII (ff. 146v-147r): “*Anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo centesimo secundo, cum quidam antistes a Iherosolimis rediens in navi sedens iuxta bordum, psalterio aperto, psalleret, veniens quedam maris unda valida rapuit illum cum quibusdam aliis in mari. Qui cum a navi fere LX cubitis super undam fluctuantes iam distarent, et beatum Iacobum viva voce invocarent, protinus beatus apostolus illis adfuit (...). Postea vero venerandus ille antistes Domini, a marinis periculis beati Iacobi auxiliis ereptus, gloriosissimum apostolum in oris Gallecie adiit*”.

Only in the case of Miracle X is there no reference, which I imagine is due to pure oversight, of the person experiencing the miracle undertaking the pilgrimage to Santiago:

Miracle X (f. 147v): “*Anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo centesimo quarto, dum peregrinus quidam a Iherosolimis rediens causa digerendi super navis bordum sederet, de navi cecidit in magno pelago maris. Cui beatus Iacobum altis sonis imploranti quidam alius socius scilicet ipsius de navi clipeum suum illi in mari eiecit dicens: Gloriosissimus apostolus Iacobus, cuius subsidium invocas, auxilietur tibi. At ipse, clipeo accepto, beato Iacobo divinitus ducente, per maris undas tribus diebus totidemque noctibus natans, navis vestigia secutus, ad optatum portum cum aliis incolumis venit, et quemadmodum beatus Iacobus ab hora qua illum invocavit ante illum per capitis verticem iugiter manu tenens perrexerat, cunctis enarravit (...)*”.

Of even greater interest is the case of miracle IX, in which a knight staying in Jerusalem makes a vow to travel to Santiago if the saint helps him in his fight against the Saracen enemy:

Miracle IX (f. 147rv): “*Anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo centesimo tertio, quidam inclitus genere Francorum miles nobilissimus aput Thabariam in Iherosolimitanis oris, si sibi apostolus Iacobus vim Turcos vincendi et destruendi in bello daret, ad eius limina ire vovit. Cui tantam potestatem, Deo donante, apostolus contulit, quod omnes Sarracenos qui cum illo decertabant, devicit. Sed quia omnis homo mendax dicitur: Quod apostolo voverat, idem miles oblivioni traditur. Quapropter usque ad mortem merito infirmatur. Illo itaque propter nimiam infirmitatem loqui nequeunte, beatus Iacobus illius scutigero in extasi apparuit, dicens, ut si perficeret dominus suus, quod pollicitus apostolo fuerat, statim remedium haberet. Quod miles, scutigero narrante, cognovit; mox ut sibi baculum peregrinationis et peram benedictam darent sacerdotibus, qui ibi aderant, manu innuit. Quibus acceptis, ab infirmitate qua tenebatur evasit, et ad beatum Iacobum ilico, sumptis sibi necessariis, ire cepit. Qui cum esset in navi, seivissima tempestate cepit pupis periclitari,*

ita ut iam maris fluctibus irrecentibus, omnes qui in navi erant penitus mergerentur. Protinus peregrini omnes una voce exclamantes: Sancte Iacobe, adiuva nos; promiserunt alii se ad eius limina ituros, alii singulos nummos ad opus eiusdem basilice voverunt. Quos videlicet nummos ilico prefatus miles collegit, et statim beatus apostolus in humana forma illis angustiantibus apparuit in navi, dicens: Nolite timere, filioli mei, quia ecce adsum quem vocatis. Estote confidentes in Christo, et veniet vobis salus hic et in futuro. Et statim vele cordas idem inclinavit, anchoras emisit, ratem pacificavit, et tempestati imperavit, et, facta ilico in mari magna tranquillitate, apostolus disparuit. Habebat vero ipse talem faciem; decentem scilicet ac elegantem, qualem nemo illorum ante et post videre usus est. A domino factum est istud et est mirabilis in oculis nostris (...). Postea vero tranquillo cursu ad optatum portum, in Apullia scilicet, navis cum peregrinis pervenit. Denique miles prefatus usque ad beati Iacobi basilicam in Gallecie partibus, letus cum aliis peregrinis pervenit, et nummorum collectam, quam sibi acceperat, in arca beati Iacobi ad opus ecclesie misit”.

It clearly appears that these texts, which narrate miraculous events occurring between the years 1101 and 1104, i.e. “very shortly after 1099, the year of the conquest of Jerusalem”,²⁵ denote a rivalry between Santiago and Jerusalem. Considering that the pilgrimage to the latter was mainly undertaken by sea, “the only possibility available to Santiago was to demonstrate the powers and the help of the Apostle by land and by sea. In this way, under the patronage of St James, there began to appear the first faint dawn of a Jacobean spirituality of the pilgrimage by sea”.²⁶

In the context defined so far, if the hypothesis that the ethnonym “Romani” is to be identified with the inhabitants of Rome were to prove well-founded, this would confirm the heavily ideological and political role played by the *Codex Calixtinus* in the promotion of the see of Santiago de Compostela. It is no random coincidence that Díaz y Díaz notes that in general “Jacobean sources attempt in every way possible to prove to all and sundry that the pilgrimage to Santiago is the most complete, the least risky, the best founded, the one that really deserves to be undertaken by people of all times”.²⁷ Furthermore, it could not otherwise be considered that St James should reveal himself, as the *Veneranda dies* reminds us, as being able to work miracles the world over: “*Coruscat etiam magnus Iacobus in Gallecia divinis miraculis; coruscat et in aliis locis si petencium fides exigit. Magna quidem et ineffabilia non solum occulte, verum etiam manifeste facit signa in universa terra*” (f. 79r).

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25 HERBERS, K., “Cruzada y peregrinación. Viajes marítimos, guerra santa y devoción”, in *Actas del II Congreso internacional de estudios jacobeos*, op. cit., p. 27-39, p. 37.

26 *Ibidem*, p. 38.

27 DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, M. C., “Las tres grandes peregrinaciones vistas desde Santiago”, in *Santiago, Roma, Jerusalén. Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 1999, p. 81-97, p. 97. By the same author, see also “Santos en los Caminos”, in *Visitandum est*, op. cit., p. 117-28, p. 127.