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Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

**Religion, Imagination and Politics
in Post-Carolingian Catalonia (10th – 12th centuries)**

Doctoral thesis

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Introduction

In recent decades, the Catalan region has received growing attention concerning the political background and context behind its struggle for independence. The political arguments bound up in this subject are fundamentally based on Catalan historical past and its interpretation. On the back of social history and the cultural turn, interest in the medieval Catalan past increased during the second half of the twentieth century. Traditionally, due to the deterioration of the relationship between the Catalan counts and the Franks, the Early and Central Middle Ages are considered to be a period of so-called Catalan sovereignty within the Spanish March, further emphasised by the formation of the Catalan language. Given the temptation to ascribe this past a significant role in influencing the Catalan, Spanish and even European present, it comes as little surprise that Catalonia is a key case study in a wider research project that explores the same processes in the Carolingian past. This thesis explores the ecclesiastical side of these processes in terms of the spread, evolution and development of martyrological feasts in post-Carolingian Catalonia.

Conceived within the framework of the HERA research project *After Empire: Using and Not Using the Past in the Crisis of the Carolingian World (c. 900 – c. 1050)*¹, the Barcelona sub-project analyses the post-Carolingian period of transition of ‘medieval Catalonia’ from the Carolingian Spanish March (*Marca Hispanica*²) since the 780s to its political and cultural emancipation during the long tenth century. This thesis forms a part of that sub-project and primarily focuses on religious themes, seeking to understand the veneration of new liturgical feasts in the Catalan region around the year 1000 in a broader Western European context. My PhD is the first research project to investigate all extant Catalan martyrologies disseminated in the post-Carolingian period, over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, throughout the Catalan region. This study on martyrologies reveals how new liturgical feasts and new cults were embedded in local religious life, how and why particular religious forms of veneration developed and how communication networks between different religious institutions were created and reconstructed. The analysis of five feasts that received increased and widespread veneration throughout the region—St. Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald, Passion of the Image of God and Transfiguration—will shed light on how the expansion of religious ideals reflected social and political needs of the time. Taking a

¹This thesis and the wider project have been generously funded by the HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area) network and co-funded by the ERC 2016–2019. The final year of research for my thesis has been funded by the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst).

²Since the 780s Carolingian influence was growing in the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula, in particular in Urgell and Girona, the latter being conquered in 785. The key event in the establishment of the Spanish March (*Marca Hispanica*) was the conquest of Barcelona in 801. Shortly afterwards the term *Marca Hispanica* was used in some ninth-century Carolingian sources and famously repeated by Archbishop Pierre de Marca of Toulouse († 1662) in his posthumous treatise, though in a decidedly different contemporary context that bears little relation to the Central Middle Ages. Id., *Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus: hoc est geographica et historica descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis et circumjacentium populorum*, 2 vols (Paris, 1688). In this thesis I take *Marca Hispanica* to mean the Catalan lands that became part of the Carolingian Empire at the end of the eighth/beginning of the ninth century.

fresh and innovative approach, data from the martyrologies will be explored both in the microhistorical context of the political and social situation within the Catalan region, but also from the broader perspective of the synergy of various multicultural conglomerations in post-Carolingian Mediterranean spaces.

To understand the complex atmosphere of different co-existing liturgical traditions in the former *Marca Hispanica* and neighbouring regions, it is particularly important to explore the emergence, circulation and dissemination of these traditions. My PhD aims to address this in order to discover how these cults may have influenced various religious institutions and became integrated into, and adapted for, local religious life. It will demonstrate that these changes, brought into widely disseminated liturgical and hagiographical texts, reflect and define key paths of transition of Carolingian and Romanesque liturgical sensibilities through shaping the theological and sensory imagination of contemporaries.

The sections that follow provide first a historiographical overview of the major fields of scholarship that have provided me with essential tools for sharpening my methodological focus and demonstrate what this research will contribute to our current understanding of cultures of belief in Catalonia. The second part of the introduction will consider the politico-ecclesiastical context of Catalan region in the time of my compiled corpus of sources and the final section will provide an overview of my source material, my methodological approaches to this material and the structure of my thesis chapters.

I. Historiography

My PhD addresses several key research questions concerning the veneration of saints and the principal features of their cults exploring to what extent these features characterised contemporary Catalan society. The dissemination of these cults was not an automatic process of simply copying liturgical books and mechanically reproducing texts on a day-to-day basis. Rather, it reflects contemporary concerns, wants and needs both within ecclesiastical institutions and for the lay people who interacted with them. Firstly, they reveal the major intentions of the church, explicitly or implicitly expressed in hagiographical texts; secondly, they demonstrate the interest in propagating the key ideals that the saints represented to contemporaries; and thirdly, they illustrate the need of all faithful members of society for immaterial support and help, which is a necessary element of belief. While this PhD provides new insights into these ideas in central medieval Catalonia³ and beyond, it builds on crucial

³The medieval sources on which my PhD focuses are dated to the period from the late tenth to the twelfth century, with the majority of them belonging to the eleventh century. Though periodisation can be problematic, when discussing the period as a whole I will make use of the term 'Central Middle Ages' for convenience. In doing so I echo D. Power's book *The Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006), where he explains the existing terminology in different languages and applies the chronological term 'Central Middle Ages' for the period from the late tenth to the fourteenth centuries. I also find the term 'Central Middle Ages' more useful in the context of my own work because Catalonia experienced a Carolingian period from the late eighth to the late tenth centuries (until the change of dynasty in the Frankish kingdom). As such, deploying the phrase 'Central Middle Ages' is

areas of scholarship that have acted as my guide in writing my thesis, namely: church history, hagiographical studies, narratological ideas, the anthropology of religion and transcultural methods⁴. This historiographical overview is therefore organised into three parts. The first is dedicated to the key historiographical discourse on medieval Catalonia⁵, as it is important to highlight the pivotal development of studies on Catalonia in recent decades to contextualise my Catalan corpus of texts. The second part summarises the major milestones of ecclesiastical history, with a particular emphasis on hagiographic studies and narratological methods applied to hagiography to help sharpen our understanding of the agency of hagiographic texts and of the ideas they present. Finally, the third part touches upon anthropological theory and transcultural approaches, paying particular attention to studies on purity and East/West connections because these methods are particularly important for exploring the multicultural and inter-religious environment, and provide fresh perspectives on the transmission of new feasts and cults in Mediterranean spaces. These fields demonstrate the significant work that has already been done on the Catalan region but also reveal a need to reconsider these ecclesiastical texts in a new light. My research brings together these strands of scholarship to shape and develop a new methodological approach to these sources and ask fresh questions of them.

1. Medieval Catalonia: Major Tendencies

One of the most renowned scholars of Catalan medieval history in the twentieth century was R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals (1888–1970) who studied the history of the Catalan region from its Visigoth origins to the rise of the principality of Catalonia, governed by counts

far more neutral a term than 'post-Carolingian' and reflects the widely recognised period of change that occurred after the Early Middle Ages.

⁴Certainly, the presented overview concerns only the major concepts which influenced my research questions and my methodology. As I explore three cults of saints and two Christological feasts in my thesis, there are many more historiographical studies I refer to in each chapter. For instance, some that were crucial for me were martyrological studies (J.-L. Lemaître, J. Dubois), the scholarship on the Peace of God (T. Head, G. Koziol and others), Catalan Romanesque art (Camps i Soria, E. Junyent, F. Español, M. Durliat, M. Pagès), and theological studies (J. A. McGuckin, K. Stevenson). Curiously, together with my editing of Chapter Four there was a simultaneous project on the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*, which enriched my analysis of the question of Jews in my texts (G. Langmuir, H. Johnson). I am thankful to Niek Thate, leader of the project *Aux origines de l'antisémitisme. L'histoire et transmission de la Passio imaginis Saluatoris. 800-1300*, Emergences (ville de Paris/IRHT-CNRS), who provided me with helpful studies for honing my analysis of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon in the context of medieval Anti-Judaism.

⁵The notion 'Catalonia' applied to the period of Central Middle Ages might cause a misunderstanding in terms of historical as well as contemporary political associations. In my PhD I use this term for talking about the '*Catalunya Vella*' (Old Catalonia), formed originally from three provinces of Barcelona, Girona and Osona, which throughout three centuries, from the ninth to the twelfth, were unified together with other neighbouring provinces of the former *Marca Hispanica* by the counts of Barcelona and in this form joined with the Kingdom of Aragon through marriage to create the Crown of Aragon.

independent from Frankish power⁶. His works have become an essential part of historiography on medieval Catalonia. D'Abadal formulated a well-known thesis of the 'march of the Catalan counts towards sovereignty', or in other words, he outlined the growing independence of Catalan counties under Carolingian rule⁷. Later, J. M. Salrach i Marès continued exploring the process of 'national formation of Catalonia': he argued that the crucial factor for the feudalisation of the *Marca Hispanica* was the absence of Frankish power in this process⁸ and further emphasised the role of regional social structures⁹. This interest in social history was also shared by foreign scholars on Catalonia, namely A. Lewis and O. Engels, who, since the 1960s, enhanced the scholarship through their combination of political history with social processes. Lewis studied the process of feudalisation and the emerging territorial governments in Catalan and the southern French regions under Carolingian rule and after the Capetian dynasty rose to power¹⁰. Engels was interested in institutional protections granted to churches and abbeys and explored the changing role of monasteries that passed from royal protection to the protection of regional counts, and later received it from the papacy. He also argued that this comital protection played an important role in the genesis of territorial sovereignty¹¹.

The end of the Franco regime certainly brought changes to historical thought, and from the 1980s Catalan historiography turned to consider more local and polycentric history¹². More broadly, since 1975 Iberian studies have established a tendency to look at the medieval history of regions and nations within the 'Spanish federation', according to the expression of D. Menjot¹³. In recent decades, historians of the Iberian Peninsula have tended to analyse the 'national feeling' in different Spanish 'nations'¹⁴. Laín Entralgo demonstrates the absence of national character in the historical Spanish reality, as Spain is an artificial cluster of national

6 R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1980) [1958]; *Dels Visigoths als Catalans*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1969–1970). On d'Abadal see F. Vilanova Vila-Adabal, 'Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals: construir una historiografia conservadora catalana en el siglo XX', *Historiografías* 4 (2012), 62–83.

7 'La marxa dels comtes catalans cap a la sobirania', see R. d' Abadal i Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans*, pp. 239–40.

8 J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'El procés de feudalització', in *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat (Barcelona, 1978–1979), vol. 2, pp. 33–42.

9 J. M. Salrach Marès, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles VIII–IX)*, 1: *El domini carolingi*. 2: *L'establiment de la dinastia nacional* (Barcelona, 1978); see also his 'Societat i poder als comtats pirinencs als segles IX i X', in *El Mil·lenari de Catalunya i la Cerdanya*, ed. J. M. Salrach (Barcelona 1989), pp. 23–36.

10 A. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin, 1965).

11 O. Engels, *Schutzgedanke und Landesherrschaft im östlichen Pyrenäenraum (9.–13. Jahrhundert)*. *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft II/14* (Münster, 1970); *Reconquista und Landesherrschaft. Studien zur Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte Spaniens im Mittelalter*. *Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görresgesellschaft* 53 (Paderborn, 1989).

12 See more in C. Guiu, S. Péquignot, 'Historiographie catalane, histoire vive. À propos de quelques ouvrages récents', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velásquez* 36/1 (2006), 285–306.

13 See more on this and the phrase 'Spanish federation' in a useful overview by D. Menjot, 'L'historiographie du moyen âge espagnol: de l'histoire de la différence à l'histoire des différences', *e-Spania* 8 (2009), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.19028>.

14 *España: reflexiones sobre el ser de España*, ed. E. Benito Ruano (Madrid, 1997). *Fundamentos Medievales de los Particularismos Hispánicos*, IX Congreso de Estudios Medievales 2003 (Ávila, 2005).

entities¹⁵, and in a similar vein F. Sabaté argues that Catalan identity is an ideological construction that claimed a close relationship with the Carolingian past, and insists on the unity of the land within the Crown of Aragon and Spain¹⁶. Thus, twentieth-century Spanish political realities engendered debates on the historical and medieval origins of Catalonia and contributed to the question of Catalan identity building¹⁷.

The end of Carolingian domination over the Spanish March with the change of the dynasty from the Carolingians to the Capetians drew scholars' attention onto further developments of political and social structures. The *Marca Hispanica*, among others, was evidently a tempting region for the researchers of medieval feudalism, and in the 1970s the studies of P. Bonnassie caused a decisive turn in the historiography¹⁸. Rather than exploring Catalan identity or political history *per se* he was interested in the social processes behind them: through studying an impressively broad array of medieval documents Bonnassie showed how the social system changed after the year 1000 and demonstrated the phenomenon of reconstructing the social order through which medieval Catalonia emerged as a political entity and community with a strong identity¹⁹. In his thesis Bonnassie coined the term '*mutation féodale de l'an mil*' which engendered debate on the big social, economic and institutional changes happening in the Occident at the turn of the first millennium. Later Bonnassie persuasively argued for the merits of the comparative approach, for the processes in eleventh-century Catalonia also draw attention to the role of the region in broader feudal processes happening both to the North and the South of the Pyrenees. There are several excellent studies that have subsequently adopted this comparative perspective²⁰ and Catalonia

15See more in P. Laín Entralgo, *España como nación* (Madrid, 2000).

16See F. Sabaté, 'La noció d'Espanya en la Catalunya medieval', in *El comtat d'Urgell a la Península Ibèrica* (Lleida, 2002), pp. 113–30. See also S. Cingolani on Catalan historiography in the Central Middle Ages seeking for legitimate continuity of power. S. M. Cingolani, 'De historia privada a historia pública y de la afirmación al discurso: Una reflexión a la historiografía medieval calatana (985–1288)', *Talia Dixit* 3 (2008), 51–76. See also *Història de la historiografia catalana*. Jornades Científiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, ed. A. Balcells (Barcelona, 2004).

17Investigations on the 'national' sentiment have continued in recent decades. See e.g. *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII–XI)*. Memories de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 23 (Barcelona, 1991) and S. M. Cingolani, *La formació nacional de Catalunya i el fet identitari dels catalans (785–1410)* (Barcelona, 2015). On Catalan medieval history as a resource of identity building and collective memory in and through politics, education and tourism see two recent books by D. Wimmer, *Mit dem Mittelalter die Gegenwart erzählen. Eine ferne Vergangenheit als Vermittlungsinstanz in Weltentwürfen des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*. Schriften zur Kulturgeschichte 37 (Hamburg, 2016), pp. 137–358; and M. A. Vargas, *Constructing Catalan Identity. Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval* (Cham, 2018).

18P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e siècle à la fin du XI^e siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols (Toulouse, 1975–1976).

19M. Zimmermann, 'L' œuvre historique de Pierre Bonnassie (1932–2005)', *Le Moyen Âge* 1 (2006), 135–44.

20See edited volumes of papers, such as *Catalunya i França meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil*, eds. D. Iogna-Prat, X. Barral i Altet, A. Mundó, J. M. Salrach i Marès, M. Zimmermann (Barcelona, 1991) and *Les sociétés méridionales à l'âge féodal: Espagne, Italie et sud de la France X^e–XIII^e ss. Hommage à Pierre Bonnassie*, ed. H. Débax (Toulouse, 1999). See also the collection of previous works by Bonnassie in P. Bonnassie, *Les Sociétés de l'An Mil. Un monde entre deux âges*. Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 18 (Brussels, 2001); and his recent article 'Latium et Catalogne: esquisse d'une comparaison entre deux sociétés méditerranéennes aux X^e–XI^e siècles', *Annales du Midi* 118/256 (2006), 501–11.

began to be explored as part of the southern feudality; some works have explicitly declared that the history of France around the year 1000 cannot be studied without taking Catalonia into account²¹. Convinced by the efficacy of this comparative perspective for exploring the social and religious process in the Catalan region at the turn of the first millennium, this methodological approach of looking across the borders and applying transcultural methods has heavily informed my own approach to the texts.

As the debates on the '*mutation féodale*' extended beyond Catalan history, several scholars doubted that socio-economic changes of the eleventh century in medieval Europe were decisive enough to be called a 'feudal revolution'²². M. Riu and G. Feliu, for instance, argued instead for a continual development in the Catalan region²³. Recently A. Kosto, in his turn, demonstrated the slow process of mutational change similar to the pace of economic developments: exploring *convenientiae* (agreements), he also convincingly proves that the old forms were replaced by new ones, reflecting the underlying structural transformations that were changing society²⁴. Delving deeper into the history of social networks, M. Aurell explored marriage patterns between Catalan counts in the High Middle Age²⁵, while J. E. Ruiz-Domènec, taking a close look at one viscount family from Barcelona, revealed the particular role of viscounts in the political and economic life of Catalan counties²⁶. The peasantry has also been considered by P. Freedman²⁷. More recently M. Zimmermann explored fundamental aspects of politics and society of the early medieval *Marca Hispanica* in his monumental book on Catalan written culture: he unified historical and philological approach studying literacy, orality and written communication through multiple archival documents in medieval Catalonia²⁸. This evident influence of socio-history allows us to

21Such as *Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'An mil avec un appendice Catalogne*, ed. X. Barral i Altet (Paris, 1987).

22On the traditional conceptions of feudalism and its misunderstanding in scholarship see e.g. S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994); id. *The Middle Ages without feudalism: essays in criticism and comparison on the Medieval West* (Farnham, 2012); T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2009); St. Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen*. Beck'sche Reihe 2745 (München, 2012).

23M. Riu Riu, 'Hipòtesi entors dels orígens del feudalisme a Catalunya', *Quaderns d'estudis medievals* 2 (1981), 195–208; G. Feliu Montfort, 'Societat i Economia', in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII–IX)* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 81–116; id., 'La pagesia catalana abans de la feudalització', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26 (1996), 19–41.

24A. Kosto, *Making agreements in medieval Catalonia: power, order, and the written word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2007).

25M. Aurell, *Les noces du comte. Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)* (Paris, 1995); 'Pouvoir et parenté des comtes de la Marche Hispanique, 801–911', in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX^e aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998), pp. 467–81. C. Chandler, 'Land and Social Networks in the Carolingian Spanish March', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3/6 (2009), 1–33.

26J. E. Ruiz-Domènec, *Quan els vescomtes de Barcelona eren. Història, crònica i documents d'una família catalana dels segles X, XI i XII*. Fundació Noguera, Textos i Documents 39 (Barcelona, 2006).

27See in particular his articles in P. Freedman, *Church, Law and Society in Catalonia, 900–1500* (Aldershot, 1994).

28M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*, 2 vols (Madrid, 2003).

further analyse connections between social groups and their role in preserving old forms of social structures as well as in reflecting the changes that occurred during the eleventh century.

Another aspect of research on medieval Catalonia concerns the relationship between religious and political power, which has been a principal interest of German speaking scholars of Iberian history. This scholarship has provided us with several important studies on Catalan material since the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the first was a prominent investigation of the Ripoll manuscript patrimony together with extant inventories of the Ripoll monastery by R. Beer²⁹. Another is the study of P. Kehr who suggested that a nineteenth-century scholar should divert his interest in manuscripts to an investigation of diplomatic sources, and drew attention to the richness of Catalan archives for this purpose, which housed papal bulls on papyrus of the ninth- to early eleventh-century³⁰. In his study on the papacy and its relations with Catalonia he particularly stressed the Augustinian institution of Sant Pere d'Àger as a community the foundation of which was a testament to Roman influence in Catalan lands. Later J. Bauer explored this institution and the canonical reforms³¹, and in the early 1990s the movement of Augustinian canons in Catalonia became a focus of a thorough monograph by U. Vones-Liebenstein³². This scholarship places religious institutions in a wider political context and suggests a possible role of political elites in the diffusion of religious ideals. While this approach is useful for the history of religious institutions, the same questions have not been asked of the martyrologies and other liturgical sources. My thesis places religious institutions in the political context through exploring their liturgical testimonies.

One of the most significant and influential themes in historiographical thought on medieval Catalonia is the way in which the Catalan counties were forged and the social structures that contributed to this process. Thanks to its peculiar geographical position on the border of the Christian and Muslim worlds, on the periphery of the Carolingian Empire, and on the edge of ancient laws and beliefs with new ones spreading from imperial and papal centres in the North and East, this region has drawn the attention of scholars studying the legal and liturgical transitions experienced in the region. Visigothic law has held the interest

29R. Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, 2 vols (Wien, 1908).

30Another example of a nineteenth-century scholar with his passion for the manuscripts was J. Villanueva (1765–1824) who travelled to various archives in Catalonia, València and Aragon in preparing his edition of medieval sources. Many volumes appeared only posthumously and contain descriptions of the manuscripts. See J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols (1803–1852). P. Kehr, *Die ältesten Papsturkunden Spaniens*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2 (Berlin, 1926). A contemporary edition of Papsturkunden is currently in print, with the 3 volumes on Castilia already being accessible: *Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania (Iberia) Pontificia*, eds. D. Berger, K. Herbers, T. Schlauwitz, J. Breunig, vol. 3 (Berlin/Boston, 2020). The Catalan part is yet to be completed.

31J. Bauer, 'Sankt Peter zu Ager. Zur Kanonikerbewegung und Kirchenreform in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 19, eds. E. Schramm, G. Schreiber, J. Vives Gatell, J. Vincke (Münster, 1962), pp. 99–113; W. Baunach, 'Die Abtwahl in den Königsklöstern der Spanischen Mark', in *op. cit.*, pp. 25–98.

32U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*. Bibliotheca Victorina 6, 2 vols (Paris, 1992/1996).

of many scholars both for the curious forms of its application in regional contexts, and for its survival after the implementation of the Carolingian legacy³³. Similar processes occur in the liturgy expressed through the cults of saints, which is the focus of this thesis.

The changing nature of the liturgy in medieval Catalonia has also received a lot of scholarly attention thanks to the intriguing transitions the region underwent: from the early Visigoth rituals, religious institutions passed to Franco-Roman ritual, following the Carolingian liturgical reform in the Spanish March³⁴. For the liturgical testimonies a series of essential articles by prominent Catalan liturgists and archivists, such as À. Fàbrega Grau, J. Janini, J. Bellavista, G. Roura, A. Olivar, and M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol have been of primary importance³⁵. Their studies present a detailed and thorough survey of the extant manuscripts and fragments, providing us with palaeographical and codicological descriptions of the various sources accompanied by the edition of the whole or partial text³⁶. However, they do not aim to examine these liturgical sources as reflecting religious ideals, beliefs and their social reception which is the focus of my research.

33W. Kienast, 'La pervivencia del derecho godo en el sur de Francia y Cataluña', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buena Letras de Barcelona* 35 (1973–1974), 265–95; M. Zimmermann, 'L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècle: approches d'une signification culturelle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 9 (1973), 233–81; R. Collins, 'Visigothic Law and Regional Custom in Disputes in Early Medieval Spain', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. W. Davies, P. J. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 85–104; J. M. Salrach i Marès, *Justícia i poder a Catalunya abans de l'any mil* (Vic, 2013). S. Esders, 'Der Verjährungstitel des Liber Iudiciorum (L.VIS.X, 2 und die politischen Implikationen des Ersitzungsgedankens im Westgotenreich', in *Wasser – Wege – Wissen auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom Römischen Imperium bis zur muslimischen Herrschaft II. Eine Annäherung an das Studium der Wasserkultur von der römischen bis zur islamischen Zeit*, eds. I. Czeguhn, C. Möller, Y. Quesada Morillas, J. A. Pérez Juan (Baden-Baden, 2018), pp. 57–86. Among these, the contribution of J. Bowman is significant because he explores the practice and perception of law in the Narbonne diocese, in particular focusing on the reinterpretation of the *Lex Visigothorum* by Catalan judges. See J. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000. Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past* (Ithaca, N. Y., 2004).

34M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'Les Wisigoths et les liturgies occidentales' in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique: Colloque international du CNRS tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris, 14–16 mai 1990)*, eds. J. Fontaine, C. Pellistrandi (Madrid, 1992) pp. 125–35; À. Fàbrega Grau, 'Un calendar litúrgic franco-mossàrab (siglos X–XI) a l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona', *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 22 (2001), 151–80.

35See their overviews and bibliographies in the following articles and necrologies: A. Olivar, 'L'Obra científica de José Janini', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 6 (1995), 13–46; M. Sureda i Jubany, 'Gabriel Roura i Güibas (1932–2008): in memoriam', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 17 (2009), 9–13; I. Juncosa i Ginestà, 'In memoriam Dr. Joan Bellavista i Ramon', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 20 (2012), 9–13; J. Baucells i Reig, 'El Dr. Àngel Fàbrega i Grau. In memoriam' and 'El Dr. Àngel Fàbrega i Grau. Nota bio-bibliogràfica', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 90 (2017), 7–10 and 11–24; S. Janeras i Vilaró, 'In memoriam Alexandre Olivar i Daydí, OSB (Barcelona, 1919–Montserrat, 2018)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 27 (2019), 13–16. See also M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, *Estudis de litúrgia i patristica (segles II–IX)*. *Studia Historica Tarraconensia* 5 (Barcelona, 2018), with his bibliography on pp. 13–23. A. Olivar produced a useful overview of studies in the history of liturgy organised thematically and provided a list of scholars for every thematic strand. A. Olivar, 'Nou panorama de la investigació de la història de la litúrgia a Catalunya', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 7 (1996) 45–105.

36Their careful work as well as their research focus might be explained by the fact that many of them were archivists and librarians, and primarily paid attention to the material analysis of historical sources. See e.g. A. M. Gudayol i Torelló, 'Pervivència d'una biblioteca litúrgica: Fragments de còdexs de l'Arxiu parroquial de Verdú a la Biblioteca de Catalunya', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 22 (2015), 53–94.

Other studies that provide us with information on religious life in the region concern the investigation of church consecrations³⁷. On the one hand, these documents help to identify the holy patrons of various churches and explore the interests of powerful aristocrats in patronising churches, thus constructing the networks between secular and religious authorities in Catalan bishoprics from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. On the other, the investigation of acts and rituals of church consecrations sheds light on the sacred space and its perceived agency according to those operating within it in the world of the Central Middle Ages³⁸. Finally, one should not neglect the important contribution for the study of science, Latin culture and libraries in the medieval Catalan region, especially by A. M. Mundó i Marcet and J. Alturo i Perucho. Whilst Mundó explored monastic movements and liturgy, Perucho focused more on the history of *scriptoria*³⁹. Both, however, paid attention to palaeographical questions, language and manuscript sources which helps us to identify the provenance of manuscripts and possible networks between religious institutions copying the same texts. In recent years international scholarship on Catalonia has tended to explore the socio-political role of culture. Taking charters as narratives, J. Jarrett analyses the mechanisms of power in Osona and, larger, *Marca Hispanica*⁴⁰.

In his recent book on the Spanish March, C. Chandler combines a political and cultural approach, showing how Catalan religious institutions benefited from Carolingian intellectual culture and underscoring again the Carolingian continuity in political structures⁴¹. In his recent articles on the Catalan and Septimanian regions in the long tenth century, M. M. Tischler reveals the spread of Carolingian culture in this middle ground by reconstructing the paths of manuscript transmission⁴². He consequently demonstrates how Catalonia in particular

37See the collection edited by R. Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (Segles IX–XII)*, 4 vols (Vic, 1993–2004).

38See on this M. Zimmermann, ‘Les actes de consécration d’églises. Construction d’un espace et d’un temps chrétien dans la Catalogne médiévale (IX^e–XII^e siècle)’, *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 15 (2003), 29–52. Also see A. Matthews who is currently completing his PhD at Columbia University on ‘Sacred Space and Legal Practice in Catalonia and Southern France, 850–1100’, which explores the utility of sacred spaces for legal ritual, and his recent article ‘Within sacred boundaries: the limitations of saintly justice in the province of Narbonne around the year 1000’, *Journal of Medieval History* 46/3 (2020), 284–305.

39See their collected papers with bibliographies: A. M. Mundó i Marcet, *Obres completes 1: Catalunya I: De la romanitat a la sobirania*. Textos i estudis de cultura catalana 66 (Barcelona, 1998); J. Alturo i Perucho, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*. UAB. Seminari de Paleografia, Diplomàtica i Codicologia. Monografies 1 (Bellaterra, 1999). For the recent publications of J. Alturo i Perucho see the Website of the UAB: https://www.uab.cat/doc/Publicacions_Jesus_Alturo.

40J. A. Jarrett, *Rulers and rules in frontier Catalonia, 880–1010: pathways of power* (Woodbridge, 2010); id., ‘Comparing the Earliest Documentary Culture in Carolingian Catalonia’, in *Problems and possibilities of early medieval charters*, eds. J. Jarrett, A. S. McKinley (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 89–126.

41C. J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity in an Imperial Province, 778–987* (Cambridge, 2019).

42M. M. Tischler, ‘How Carolingian was early medieval Catalonia?’ in *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire, c. 900 – c. 1050*, eds. S. Greer, A. Hicklin, S. Esders. Remembering the Medieval and Early Modern Worlds (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 111–33; id., ‘Knowledge transfer on the Carolingian periphery. The case of early medieval Catalonia’, in *Ibero-Mediävistik. Grundlagen, Potentiale und Perspektiven eines internationalen Forschungsfeldes*, ed. N. Jaspert. Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt (Berlin, 2020), forthcoming; id., ‘From disorder to order. The scientific challenges of early medieval Catalonia for twenty-first

was transformed from a peripheral to a central region of Latin Christian Europe. Through exploring manuscript evidence from Catalan religious institutions and considering how cultural, social political and religious traditions in the border region continuously interacted and mixed with each other, Tischler shows how Carolingian culture entered the Septimano-Catalan region and was adapted to suit regional circumstances⁴³. This transcultural way of thinking is very stimulating for contemporary research on medieval Catalan material and my research aims to apply this to religious culture in Catalonia. Our work on liturgical manuscripts that reveal the development of rituals leads us to broader conclusions in terms of continuity and adaptation, and in terms of transcultural movement of church feasts.

This overview demonstrates that, as a border region combining various liturgical, juridical, political and ethnic traditions, the Catalan region of the Central Middle Ages has continued to draw the attention of scholars and one of the key areas of interest continues to be the juxtaposition between old forms and their replacement or possible absorption with the new. Much of this interest is thanks to the extraordinary amount of unpublished material that is kept in Catalan archives and libraries, which continues to encourage a very careful and vigorous approach towards textual and material sources in the scholarship on Catalan region.

However, not all sources have received the same degree of attention in the scholarship. In particular the extant martyrologies of the region have never been analysed through the lens of migrating cults of universal saints. This thesis sets out to address this oversight by exploring these liturgical sources with the approach of existing scholarship kept firmly in mind, namely considering Catalonia as a border region with developing networks with different religious institutions and existing among various cultural traditions. By combining new methods with the established historiographical thought about Catalonia existing within a constant exchange of ideals and notions, that conserved and reworked old concepts while elaborating upon new ones, this research will explore in-depth the role of contemporary liturgical sources in shaping new religious sensibilities.

2. Ecclesiastical History: Hagiography and the Narratology of Saints

Of the vast corpus of recent scholarship on religious history the most crucial studies for sharpening my methodological approach have been those focused on religious movements and the role of the Church in post-Carolingian times. In the last two decades several books have reconsidered the role of liturgy in shaping history, which has allowed us to delve into the identity of religious communities through the ways in which they construct their institutional memory and how they strove to re-construct their past. S. Hamilton's work in these areas has been particularly influential. Her monograph on the church and people in the medieval West

century Medieval Studies', in *Disorder. Expressions of an Amorphous Phenomenon in Human History*, eds. M. Breitenstein, J. Sonntag (Münster/Wien, 2021), forthcoming.

43M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation: the Case of Early Medieval Septimania/Catalonia in the Long Tenth Century (900–1050)', *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019), 72–86.

touches upon pastoral activities promulgated under the Carolingians and their further development⁴⁴. She argues for a new perspective on the history of religious movements, highlighting the ‘varying and multifaceted relationship between the Church and people’⁴⁵. Her book helps one recognise several important tendencies of tenth/eleventh-century medieval society, and—among other themes—the growth of lay piety and the Church’s attitude to the laity. These aspects have served as key frameworks for my research, particularly when exploring the extent to which new church feasts were implemented in Catalan religious life at the same time.

Many scholars have explored the use of liturgical and hagiographical sources as a tool for understanding the spiritual, economic and social goals of local religious communities from different angles. For instance, in her research into the identity of the community at the Abbey of Santa Maria de Farfa, S. Boynton shows how the liturgical and the historical sources of the end of eleventh/beginning of the twelfth century shaped the past of this monastic community, and how they used monastic prayer to construct their identity⁴⁶. Furthermore, in a recent article, S. Hamilton suggests that scholars should shift their attention from the study of specific cults of saints to the ways in which communities sought to place their local church within the wider communion of saints⁴⁷. Another book on medieval liturgy edited by H. Gittos and S. Hamilton also underscores this new tendency of liturgical and hagiographical studies to focus on the role of liturgy in making history⁴⁸. Then, focusing on the agency of musical liturgical sources, H. Parkes suggests that we should see particular liturgical texts as witnesses to the ideological means beyond their fabrication and their usage⁴⁹. L. Hamilton has highlighted the role of the liturgy and liturgical ceremonies, namely the dedications of churches, which served as the catalyst of changes in religious movements, though his work focuses on Italy⁵⁰. This recent trend in liturgical studies underscores the primordial role of liturgy and its vitality critiquing the traditional perception of liturgy as stable and resistant to change⁵¹. Finally, several studies recently pointed from different perspectives to the political significance of clerics and monks during the Middle Ages⁵². The combination of these

44S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West: 900–1200* (Harlow, 2013).

45Ibid., p. 21.

46See S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, N. Y., 2006).

47See S. Hamilton, ‘Liturgy as History. The Origins of Exeter Martyrology’, *Traditio* 74 (2019), 179–222.

48*Understanding Medieval Liturgy. Essays in Interpretation*, eds. H. Gittos, S. Hamilton (Aldershot, 2016). *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, eds. K. A.-M. Bugyis, A.-R. Kraebel, M. E. Fassler (Woodbridge, 2017).

49H. Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church. Book, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge, 2015).

50L. Hamilton, *A Sacred City. Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in eleventh-century Italy* (New York, 2011).

51See the aforementioned studies and also A. Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), id., *Liturgik und Historik. Gab es eine organische Liturgie-Entwicklung?* (Freiburg/Basel/Wien, 2001), id., *Grundformen der Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte* 68 (München, 2003).

52N. Jaspert, ‘Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court in the Crown of Aragon: Social Practice and Inter-Religious Communication’, in *Cultural brokers at Mediterranean courts in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. von der

approaches, which use liturgical sources to shed light on historical and politico-ecclesiastical contexts, provided a frame of reference for my methodological framework. Martyrologies are considered to be among the first sources that reveal the past of religious communities, in particular through obituaries often added in the text. However, this Catalan material has never been considered in terms of the martyrology being a tool that highlights the common interest of several communities in cults relevant for contemporary society.

At the very beginning of the 1990s T. Head conducted an eminent study that explored hagiographical works in the diocese of Orléans over the course of four centuries. In this research he highlights a historical form of hagiographic texts through the role of ‘founding fathers’ of the community and traces how local fathers were seeking for royal/papal patronage to protect the property of their churches⁵³. Reviewing this book, T. X. Noble asked a question which is of great relevance to my investigation: ‘might this same transformation from powerful institutions to wounded individuals be a further reflection of that spirituality that saw a change, in depictions of the Crucifixion, from erect, regnal Christ figures to broken, suffering ones?’⁵⁴. Several scholars have considered this question over the ensuing decades⁵⁵. One such scholar is R. Fulton who has explored the affective piety that formed over the course of the eleventh century and led to the devotion to the suffering Christ and to Virgin Mary, both grounded thenceforth in the compassion⁵⁶. These thoughts on piety closely connected to the visionary world and imagination are crucial for my research as I explore how the disseminated feasts bear witness to changing religious sensibilities, how they shape social reality and societal needs and how in their turn they become shaped by this social reality.

Another keystone in scholarship on church history concerns the notion of space, which allows us to apply an interdisciplinary approach in order to delve further into, not only the comprehension of liturgical space and space of ritual, but also the role of space in hagiographic texts using narratological methods. Particularly influenced by the *hétérotopies* of M. Foucault⁵⁷, from the 1970s the space and spatiality started being re-evaluated in social

Höh, N. Jaspert, J. R. Oesterle (Paderborn, 2013), pp. 107–47. G. Agamben, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, transl. A. Kotsko (Stanford, 2013).

53T. F. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 14 (Cambridge, 1990).

54T. F. X. Noble, ‘Review on Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200 by Thomas Head’, *The American Historical Review* 97/1 (1992), 175–76, p. 176.

55See C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ’s Passion* (Cambridge, 2001); S. Lipton, “‘The Sweet Lean of His Head’: Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 80/4 (2005), 1172–1208; J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Le saint crucifix de Waltham et les images miraculeuses de Glastonbury: entre raison d’être et instrumentalisation (XI^e – début du XIII^e siècle)’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 127 (2009), 16–48; id., ‘Avant que le Crucifié ne “parle” à S. Francois: les mentions de crucifix parlants antérieurs à celui de San Damiano à Assise’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011), 71–79.

56R. Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion. Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002).

57His speech in Paris in 1967. For the full talk based on transcripts see M. Foucault, ‘Des espaces autres: une conférence inédite de Michel Foucault’, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984), 46–9. For more on different transcripts and translations of this speech see in P. Johnson, ‘Bibliography – key texts by Foucault on heterotopia, space and visual art’, *Heterotopian Studies*, accessed 10th August 2020, available at <http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Bibliography-Foucault-on-heterotopia-pdf-January-2017.pdf>.

thought. A couple of decades later a spatial turn happened in the humanities and social sciences which placed further emphasis on socially-constructed landscapes and spaces⁵⁸. Regarding medievalist scholarship, in the 2000s two crucial books were published, the first by M. Lauwers on the role of cemetery in the Middle Ages, the second by D. Iogna-Prat on the notion of *ecclesia* and the sacred space⁵⁹. Lauwers considers the cemetery to be a generator of social space, whereas Iogna-Prat explores the progressive development of understanding the sacred space through the metonymy of *ecclesia*. A series of books and articles that followed explored the notion of sacred space in medieval churches, the role of saints and hagiography in the context of the topography of cities⁶⁰, such as a recent book *Locating religions* which suggests that methods of space should be applied to the religious field through the contextualisation of the developing notion of the sacred space⁶¹. Another collection on liturgy, saints and space is dedicated to the role of sacred space in the construction of saints' images through the notions of sacred landscape in liturgy and hagiography⁶². Recent narratological studies on the notion of space in medieval hagiography also demonstrate how successfully interdisciplinary methods shed light on historical sources, for example A. Abele's study on the life of St. Martin⁶³.

Finally, two more areas of church history have had a significant influence on this research: the role of bishops and religious sensibilities at the turn of the first millennium. The tenth and eleventh centuries saw an increase in bishops' authority over religious life in their bishoprics. Recently this phenomenon was analysed with particular attention paid to demonstrating their role in promoting education and creating cathedral *scriptoria* that were known all over the medieval Occident⁶⁴. The 2013 book edited by H. P. Neuheuser demonstrates how bishops were central for social, economic and culture developments in medieval life⁶⁵ and, from a sample of bishops from Vic, L. Vones shows how political support

58See *The Spatial Turn. Interdisciplinary perspectives*, eds. B. Warf, S. Aries (London, 2009), and in particular the article by J. Corrigan, where he marks the central concerns of religious studies in terms of space and place, J. Corrigan, 'Spatiality and Religion', in *op. cit.*, pp. 157–72.

59M. Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière: lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2005); D. Iogna-Prat, *La Maison-Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge (v.800–v.1200)* (Paris, 2006).

60See e.g. *Organiser l'espace sacré au Moyen Âge*, ed. A. Baud (Lyon, 2014); *Espace sacré, mémoire sacrée*, eds. C. Bousquet-Lacouérie, Y. Maurey (Turnhout, 2015).

61*Locating religions. Contact, Diversity and Translocality*, eds. R. F. Gleis, N. Jaspert. Dynamics in the History of Religions 9 (Leiden/Boston, 2017).

62*Heilige – Liturgie – Raum*, eds. D. R. Bauer, K. Herbers, H. Röcklein, F. Schmieder (Stuttgart, 2010).

63The research group 'Narrative Dynamics in Latin Literature' in Tübingen applies the narratological theory of I. de Jong on hagiographical material from the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. See e.g. A. Abele, "'Distanz" und "Fokalisation" in der "Mantelteilung" des Heiligen Martin (zu Sulp. Sev. Mart. 2–3)', *Mnemosyne*, forthcoming.

64A useful overview on this scholarship see in the recent article of J. Barrow: J. Barrow, 'Authority and Reform. Historiographical Frameworks for Understanding Tenth and Eleventh-Century Bishops', in *Bishops in the Long Tenth Century: Episcopal Authorities in France and Lotharingia, c. 900–c. 1050*, eds. B. Mejjins, S. Vanderputten (Turnhout, 2019), 9–25.

65*Bischofsbild und Bischofssitz: geistige und geistliche Impulse aus regionalen Zentren des Hochmittelalters*, ed. H. P. Neuheuser. Archa Verbi. Subsidia 8 (Münster, 2013).

provided by the counts of Barcelona for the Catalan cathedral *scriptoria* played an important role in church educational politics⁶⁶. Published in the same year, an article by I. Lorés Otzet also demonstrates the role of these Catalan abbot-bishops in iconographic achievements, which has traditionally been one of the more popular research fields in Catalan historiography⁶⁷. In 2018 an international congress took place in Barcelona, Bellaterra and Vic dedicated to the abbot and bishop Oliba, one of the major political figures in eleventh-century Catalonia. This congress brought together many specialists discussing various aspects of the bishops' role in the eleventh-century medieval world⁶⁸. Altogether, this scholarship on the place of bishops in post-Carolingian Europe has provided useful contextual discussions on church institutions in the eleventh century. As I will show when discussing the historical context of Catalonia below, Catalan bishops played an important role in the political and wider situation of the church, in particular those who were simultaneous heads of their bishoprics and of their monasteries.

Finally, as my PhD shows the progressive implementation of several feasts from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the twelfth century, it is worth touching upon the scholarship that considers the turn of the millennium. We should be wary of only considering an eschatological explanation behind the tone of sources from around the year 1000, but should also be cautious of completely abnegating the so-called *terreurs de l'An mil*. As R. Landes argues, the society at the turn of the first millennium was particularly receptive to the biblical prophecies about the end of the world but these sentiments were hopeful as well as fearful and a pivotal element that led to social and cultural shifts long associated with this period⁶⁹. The recent book by D. Callahan on Ademar of Chabannes⁷⁰ also sheds light on apocalyptic mood and, particularly, on the vision of Christ on the Cross, which is an important element of analysis in Chapter Four of this thesis. The feast of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the account of the Beirut legend reveal the increasing interest in the Crucifixion,

66See L. Vones, 'Bischofssitze als geistige Zentren eines katalanischen Kulturraumes im 10. Jahrhundert: Barcelona, Vic und Girona', in *Bischofsbild und Bischofssitz*, pp. 173–203.

67I. Lorés Otzet, 'La promoción artística de abades-obispos en monasterios románicos de Cataluña: algunas notas a propósito de Sant Cugat del Vallès y de Sant Miquel de Cuixà', in *Monjes y obispos en la España del románico: entre la connivencia y el conflicto*, eds. J. A. García de Cortázar, R. Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, 2013), pp. 148–67. See also F. Español Bertran, 'Oliba com a eclesiàstic promotor d'art: els *ornamenta ecclesiae*', in *Oliba episcopus. Mil·lenari d'Oliba, bisbe de Vic*, ed. M. Sureda i Jubany (Vic, 2018), pp. 66–77.

68An impressive catalogue following the exhibition in the Museu Episcopal de Vic and accompanied by research articles on Bishop Oliba was published in the same year. See *Oliba episcopus. Mil·lenari d'Oliba, bisbe de Vic. Exposició al Museu Episcopal de Vic del 17 d'octubre de 2018 al 10 de febrer de 2019*, ed. M. Sureda i Jubany (Vic, 2018).

69See, first, his article 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern Author(s)', *Speculum* 75/1 (2000), 97–145; and also an edited volume *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, eds. R. Landes, A. Gow, D. C. VanMeter (New York, 2003). For another critical view on the *terreurs de l'An mil* and the phenomenon of the fear itself see an earlier article by J. Fried, 'Endzeiterwartungen um die Jahrtausendwende,' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 381–473.

70D. F. Callahan, *Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 181 (Leiden/Boston, 2016).

the miracles connected to it and the ideas of redemption, which shaped religious sensibilities and thus Chapter Four makes an important contribution to this field of scholarship.

All of these studies, while exploring different aspects of religious life in medieval society, also build on common themes of the role of church leaders in promoting religious ideals, the increasing of lay piety, and the impact of new religious images on shaping the imagination of medieval society. My research takes these factors together with the contextualising background of Catalonia around and after the year 1000, at the time of transition from the Visigothic order to one based on Carolingian culture. It explores the adaptation of this culture through the creation of not only new social forms (as demonstrated by Bonnassie), but also new religious needs. These needs were further embedded in contemporary interest in saints and key narrative themes that necessitate a deeper exploration of the key scholarship on hagiography and narratology.

The field of hagiography is decidedly immense and there are numerous significant studies that have defined the scholarship, particularly from the 1970s through the works of S. Boesch Gajano, W. Berschin, A. Vauchez, G. Philippart and P. Brown to name but a few⁷¹. Here I will mainly focus on those aspects that are especially relevant for my research: ‘*réécriture hagiographique*’, ‘holy man’, and several recent interpretations of hagiographical accounts, among which there are narratological methods. Some of these aspects apply to the saints that received broad veneration in the Catalan region, as demonstrated in the martyrologies. Others help us to explore the challenging agency of hagiographical accounts connected to these saints.

The studies of G. Philippart on legendaries in the 1970s lie at the core of French hagiographical research for the following decades⁷². It is also G. Philippart who coined the term ‘*hagiogéographie*’, which argues for a study of copies of texts and their localisation in

71 Vauchez produced a monumental study on the perception of sanctity, providing us with its typology, analysing the institutional approach towards it and exploring the sanctity of the *mentalité commune*, both lay and religious. A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d’après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981). Boesch Gajano focused more on hagiography in its various forms exploring it from the standpoint of social history and considering hagiography as demonstrative of social relationships. She equally paid attention to popular culture through an analysis of miracles and both individual accounts and collections of accounts. *AgioGRAFIA altomedioevale*, ed. S. Boesch Gajano (Bologne, 1976), *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, eds. S. Boesch Gajano, L. Sebastiani (L’Aquila/Roma, 1984), *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni*, eds. S. Boesch Gajano, F. Bolgiani (Fasano di Brindisi, 1990). Berschin suggested that we view hagiography as a form of biography. His study embraces the period from 202 to 1220 where he explores the genre of Latin ‘biography’ and defines the pace of its development in different Western European regions. W. Berschin, *Biographie and Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, 5 vols (Stuttgart, 1986–2004), for the tenth/eleventh centuries see the volume 4 in two parts (1999 and 2001).

72 G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout, 1977). In the 1990s he conducted an impressive project *Hagiographies* which aims to create a survey of all hagiographic texts over the course of the Middle Ages in vernacular and Latin languages. See *Hagiographies: histoire nationale de l’hagiographie latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, 7 vols, eds. G. Philippart, M. Gouillet (1994–2017), further volumes forthcoming.

the region in order to explore the factors behind their dissemination⁷³. Inspired by Philippart's investigations from the late 1980s a team of F. Dolbeau, M. Heinzelmann and J.-Cl. Poulin started a project on accumulation of saints' dossiers ('*dossiers de saints*') to explore the nature of hagiographic texts as well as intentions and motivations of their authors and copyists⁷⁴. Later, M. Heinzelmann and M. Gouillet refined their historiographical concept of the so-called '*réécriture hagiographique*' as a new edition/a new version of existing texts. Therefore, they suggest that hagiography should be analysed as a hypertext—a new version of a pre-existing text (hypotext)—or as the action of rewriting a new hagiographical version itself⁷⁵. These key concepts of the '*réécriture*' approach⁷⁶ has informed my own approach, looking at the hagiographical accounts as social products shaping early extant texts in the new social environment according to relevant contemporary ideas.

The aforementioned historiographical debates on the '*mutation féodale de l'An mil*' also brought new tendencies into hagiographical studies. Several scholars have recently focused on tenth and eleventh-century hagiographical texts through the lenses of social conflict, the Peace of God movement and the increasing implementation of lay aristocracy in hagiographical texts⁷⁷. Interest in the southern French hagiography has further increased in the last two decades and, aside from the project on '*réécriture*', other sources have drawn the attention of scholars, for instance a collective volume edited by F. Peloux⁷⁸. This book is

73G. Philippart, 'Le manuscrit hagiographique latin comme gisement documentaire. Un parcours dans les *Analecta Bollandiana* de 1960 à 1989', *Francia* 24 (1992), 17–48, p. 37. Among the latest investigations see for example an edited volume of papers after the colloque on hagiogeography: *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen. Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mittelmeerumraum*, eds. N. Jaspert, C. A. Neumann, M. di Branco. *Mittelmeerstudien* 18 (München 2018).

74See the explanation of the project's general aims in F. Dolbeau, M. Heinzelmann, J.-Cl. Poulin, 'Les sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil (SHG). Inventaire, examen critique, datation (avec Annexe)', *Francia* 15 (1987), 701–31.

75See *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval: Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, eds. M. Gouillet, M. Heinzelmann (Ostfildern, 2003); M. Gouillet, *Écrit et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures des vies des saints dans l'occident latin médiéval (VIII–XIII siècles)*. *Hagiologia* 4 (Turnhout, 2005); *Livrets, collections et textes: Études sur la tradition hagiographique*, ed. M. Heinzelmann (Ostfildern, 2006). The concept of hypertextuality and hypotextuality, in a broader sense from the narratological perspective, was developed by G. Genette who explores the transtextuality as consisting of relations between various texts. See G. Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Littérature au second degré* (Paris, 1982).

76See also an edited volume embracing several hagiographic and historiographic sources from the Early and High Middle Ages analysed through this methodological framework in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, eds. R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger, M. Niederkorn-Bruck. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 18 (Wien, 2010).

77See e.g. one of several works by A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen on St. Gerald, 'L'évolution de l'image de Géraud d'Aurillac († 909), seigneur laïque et saint, au fil de ses trois *vitae*', in "*In principio erat verbum*": *mélanges offerts en hommage à Paul Tombeur*, ed. B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 45–92. See also S. Fray, *L'aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d'Olt et de Dordogne (X^e–XI^e siècles)*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Université Paris IV, 2011). The Peace of God has drawn the attention of many scholars, including T. Head and G. Koziol, see *The peace of God. Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, eds. T. F. Head, R. Landes (New York, 1992); G. Koziol, *The Peace of God* (Leeds, 2018).

78See *Saints d'Aquitaine. Missionnaires et pèlerins du haut Moyen Âge*, ed. E. Bozóky (Rennes, 2010). *Le Légendaire de Moissac et la culture hagiographique méridionale autour de l'an mil*, ed. F. Peloux (Turnhout,

dedicated to the eleventh-century Moissac legendary and perfectly fills the gap on southern French hagiography by providing an overview of the saints' compendium and different hagiographical accounts on remote and regional saints.

In the 1970s P. Brown conducted a seminal hagiographical study exploring the cults of the saints. In his famous article on the holy man, written in 1971 and revised in 1998, he analysed the notion of the holy man of Late Antiquity in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts, and his crucial impact on society⁷⁹. In a simultaneous study on saints in Carolingian Aquitania, J.-Cl. Poulin demonstrated how the hagiographies present '*des absolus, des idéaux*', aiming to show a model to imitate and a guide to follow, and argues that lay sanctity had only really begun to develop by the tenth century thanks to these texts⁸⁰. Lately, J. Smith has suggested that cults have always been reinvented and reconfigured to meet new political circumstances, and the attribution of sanctity remained rooted in the needs of living communities to find holiness in their midst in ways which made sense of the world⁸¹. Smith's article 'Old Saints, New Cults'⁸² provides a challenging study in a comparative perspective showing the transmission of Roman saints to Frankish religious communities, which is a stimulating analogy with this research. In the 1980s D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell used the statistical methods pioneered in social history to distinguish between the different stages of saints' life and saintly types and backgrounds. They undertook the sociology of sainthood analysing hagiographic accounts through such categories as stages of life and social and gender groups, as well as examining the perception of family and their ties of affection in order to explore the social changes in Western Europe through seven centuries⁸³. To a certain extent this study preceded the later historiographical turn where narratological methods were applied to medieval hagiography. Recently, in his comprehensive study on cults of saints from Late Antiquity to the Reformation, R. Bartlett also advocates the exploration of the developing

2018). Peloux's several articles are also dedicated to saints and hagiographic texts from southern France and Catalonia. See F. Peloux, 'La relique, le reliquaire et le récit hagiographiques: des relations ambiguës (diocèse de Mende et de Toulouse)?', in *Corps saints et reliques dans le Midi*, eds. M. Fournié, D. Le Blévec, C. Vincent. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 53 (Toulouse, 2018) pp. 295–316; id., 'Le récit retrouvé du vol des reliques de Saint Eudald, martyr d'Ax-les-Thermes, par les moines de Ripoll en 978. Édition et commentaire d'un texte fragmentaire', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 27 (2019), 211–38.

79P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). Id., 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80–101; a revised version see in 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6/3 (1998), 353–76. In the latter one, Brown contests his previous idea of leaving his holy man in 'splendid isolation'. See also an edited volume based on Brown's ideas and demonstrating intercultural thinking of sanctity: *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, eds. J. Howard-Johnston, P. A. Hayward (Oxford, 1999).

80J.-Cl. Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'après les sources hagiographiques (750–950)* (Québec, 1975).

81See J. Smith, 'Saints and Their Cults', in *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, eds. T. F. X. Noble, J. M. H. Smith. The Cambridge History of Christianity 3 (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 581–605.

82J. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden/Boston, 2000), pp. 317–39.

83D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, 1986).

typology of saints and its soft and revolutionary shifts. He touches upon various aspects of sanctity, such as the institutionalisation of holiness, the political and ideological uses of cults, the representation of holiness, and particularly stresses the saints' intercessor role in the devotion as well as the *Imitatio Christi* that they perform and that others perform in imitation of them⁸⁴. Taking into consideration the impact of this scholarship on hagiographical studies and their role in social history, it is evident that we should not underestimate the liturgical sources as potential resources regarding the place of saints' cults in medieval society.

Among other French scholars, such as D. de Courcelles or F. Peloux, Patrick Henriët makes an important contribution to our understanding of Iberian hagiographies⁸⁵. In exploring hagiography more generally, he demonstrates how, after the conversion of Europe, monastic hagiographies became sensitive to the theme of monastic preaching. Exploring prayer and preaching Henriët traces the social and political dimensions of the spirituality which existed under the Carolingians and remained with the reforming monasticism at the turn of the millennium⁸⁶. Curiously, hagiography of the Iberian Peninsula in the Central Middle Ages attracted Catalan scholars less than French ones⁸⁷. For the most part, these studies have focused on the saint-patrons of cities, relics, the sanctoral in liturgical manuscripts and saints in the framework of the history of art⁸⁸. Taking into consideration the existing focus on saints

84R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013).

85Such as reflections on depicting 'the other'. See e.g. P. Henriët, 'Remarques sur la présence des musulmans dans l'hagiographie hispano-latine des VIII^e–XIII^e siècles', in *Cristãos contra muçulmanos na Idade Média peninsular. Bases ideológicas e doutrinárias*, eds. C. de Ayala Martínez, I. S. F. Fernandes (Lisboa, 2015), pp. 141–60. On the presence of Cluny in Castilia see id., 'Les ajouts clunisiens du Liber canticorum et horarum (1059): un "aggiornamento" effectué du vivant de la reine Sancha (entre 1059 et 1067)', in *Medieval Studies in honour of Peter Linehan*, eds. F. J. Hernández, M. del Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, E. Falque Rey (Firenze, 2018), pp. 3–20. On Archangel Michael see id., 'Protector et defensor omnium. Le culte de Saint Michel en péninsule ibérique (haut Moyen Âge)', in *Culto e santuari di San Michele nell'Europa medievale. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi* eds. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez (Bari, 2007), pp. 113–32.

86P. Henriët, *La parole et la prière au Moyen Âge: le Verbe efficace dans l'hagiographie monastique des XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris, 2000).

87A particular focus concerns Hispanic liturgy and Hispanic sanctorals. See a series of volumes based on the Acts of congress in Oviedo on the Hispanic sanctoral in the Spanish dioceses under the direction of A. Hevia Ballina, e.g. *Religiosidad popular y archivos de la Iglesia. Santoral hispano-mozárabe en las diócesis de España*, ed. A. Hevia Ballina (Oviedo, 2002). See also the overview by J. Martínez Gázquez on Spanish hagiography scholarship: J. Martínez Gázquez, 'Los estudios hagiográficos sobre el Medioevo en los últimos treinta años en Europa: España', in *Gli studi agiografici sul medioevo in Europa (1968–1998). Atti del convegno*, ed. E. Paoli (Firenze, 2000), pp. 1–22. See also J. Carlos Martín, 'Códices hagiográficos latinos de origen hispánico de los siglos IX–XIV. Con un apéndice sobre el siglo XV. Ensayo de inventario', *Analecta Bollandiana* 127 (2009), 313–63.

88See J. Arimany i Juventeny, 'Devoció i religiositat popular: auge i declivi dels diferents sants patrons de la ciutat de Vic (S. XI–XX)', *Ausa* 173 (2014), 755–77; A. Noguera i Massa, 'Les relíquies medievals a la Catalunya Vella', *Annals 1989. Patronat d'estudis històrics d'Olot i comarca* (1990), 87–106; S. Saladrigas Cheng, 'Sedes, sants i relíquies: els teixits medievals del Centre de Documentació i Museu Tèxtil', *Terme* 21 (2006), 35–44. For sanctorals in liturgical sources see e.g. M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol and his articles cited above. Nevertheless, the study of saints' cults remains an attractive field for medieval history to the extent that they appear in various published works with a variety of methodological goals. For example, a book dedicated to hagiography in the Iberian Peninsula offers a collection of articles, which analyse sanctity from numerous different perspectives, albeit they are almost entirely dedicated to the accounts of the Late Middle Ages. See

in the Catalan scholarship, my study suggests a new approach to the study of sanctity. The place of saints in liturgical sources is not less significant for it can shed light on the dissemination of their cults in different religious communities. While the Catalan martyrologies provide us with strong traces for examining the transmission of saints' cults, this approach to these texts has not yet been undertaken. My approach interprets the transmission of saints' cults and feasts through martyrologies and other liturgical texts to allow us to deepen our knowledge of sainthood in eleventh-century society.

A challenging perspective for thinking about hagiography was put forward in *Saints and Postmodernism* by E. Wyschogrod, who explores the phenomenon of sanctity outside of the historical context from a philosophical standpoint⁸⁹. She contests the widely-held view that saints being beacons of morality for the faithful in the past vanished with the era of postmodernism; instead she argues that postmodern saintly lives mainly 'develop a new altruism in an age grown cynical'⁹⁰. Her philosophical approach demonstrates that we should treat the notion of 'being a saint' from a transcultural perspective because, while eleventh-century saints' cults and church feasts may have their particular historical background, they nevertheless share a similar space of belief that is a crucial part of any ideology. In a similar way, the recent book of A. Spencer-Hall sharpened my methodological focus in that it suggests an innovative approach to the hagiographical material⁹¹. Working on medieval visionary sources of holy women, such as beguines, Spencer-Hall argues that the transcendent experience of cinematic spectatorship is identical to the episodes of ecstasy from medieval hagiography. Her way of approaching the medieval audience through considering hagiography as cinematic media is especially refreshing for hagiographical studies. These two studies have enriched my comprehension of medieval hagiography and contributed significantly to broadening the horizons for new possible interpretations of hagiographical accounts in this research.

Finally, a recent trend in applying narratological methods on hagiographical material has informed my own approach. Taking several cues from key works that use this method I provide a fresh and innovative perspective in my comparative analysis of two saints in the world (St. Alexius and St. Gerald) in Chapter Three and on the *Passio Imaginis Domini* account in Chapter Four. Narratology focuses on the study of logic, principle and narrative structures and developed a number of crucial patterns for textual analysis, several of which have been especially revealing for this research⁹². P. Rabinowitz's concept of audience, for example, implies the existence of four audiences: 1) actual audience (flesh-and-blood people

Hagiografia peninsular en els segles medievals, eds. F. Español, F. Fité (Lleida, 2008). See also a recent book *Una tragèdia pintada. El martiri de Tomàs Becket a Santa Maria de Terrassa i la difusió del culte a la Península Ibèrica*, eds. C. Sánchez Márquez, M. Castineiras González (Andorra, 2020).

89E. Wyschogrod, *Saints and Postmodernism. Revisioning Moral Philosophy* (Chicago/London, 1990).

90Ibid., pp. 234–35 and 257.

91A. Spencer-Hall, *Medieval saints and modern screens. Divine visions as Cinematic Experience* (Amsterdam, 2018).

92See more in *The living handbook of narratology*, eds. P. Hühn et al. (Hamburg), <http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/> (accessed 9th June 2020).

who read the text); 2) authorial audience (ideal audience for an author); 3) narrative audience; 4) ideal narrative audience⁹³. While Rabinowitz applies this concept to modern novels, I employ this distinction for medieval audiences to refresh our analysis of hagiographic accounts and their agency. I have also referred to the narratological concepts of author/narrator, character, time and space, which are best delineated in the studies of M. Fludernik and E. von Contzen on developing the cognitive narratology with regards to medieval hagiography. Although both focus on vernacular hagiography they are still of importance for their challenging perspective on the aforementioned narratological concepts which can effectively be applied to medieval lives of saints⁹⁴. Furthermore, B. Abou-El-Hay⁹⁵ and later C. Hahn⁹⁶ have both suggested and applied another narratological approach of significance in the field of ‘pictorial hagiography’. Abou-El-Hay does not necessarily refer to the narratology, but she is interested in the audience, visual and spatial topography, which often lie at the core of narratological studies. Her approach of analysing shifts and gaps in sequences of cults’ development from the fourth to the twelfth centuries illustrates the tendency of modern historiography to examine the factors that caused medieval religious perceptions to change⁹⁷. C. Hahn also pays attention to the audience and explores how images become a part of hagiographic narratives: according to her, together with the text, images follow the aims of edification by also being addressed to the audience – one of the main goals of a hagiographic text⁹⁸.

The recent scholarship on ecclesiastical history and hagiography discussed above suggests several key concepts that have shaped my methodological focus and also demonstrate how a fresh approach can reveal new perspectives on church history in medieval Catalonia. First, thinking in terms of the impact of liturgy on local church institutions, it is particularly important to take into consideration the role of bishops in eleventh-century society due to their authority in choosing liturgical books, rituals and cults. Second, the methodology of ‘*réécriture*’ when applied to hagiographical texts provides helpful tools to examine the corpus of manuscripts, deepening my approach. The use of space and audience, which go beyond narratological studies (considering the spatial turn and analysis of medieval text as social media) offers a transcultural perspective on hagiographical and liturgical

93P. Rabinowitz, ‘Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences’, *Critical Enquiry* 4/1 (1977), 121–41.

94M. Fludernik, ‘The Diachronization of Narratology’, *Narrative* 11/3 (2003), 331–48; id., ‘Metanarrative and Metafictional Commentary: From Metadiscursivity to Metanarration and Metafiction’, *Poetica* 35 (2003), 1–39; id., ‘1050-1500: Through a Glass Darkly; or, the Emergence of Mind in Medieval Narrative’, in *The Emergence of Mind. Representations of Con-sciousness in Narrative Discourse in English*, ed. D. Herman (Lincoln, 2011), pp. 69–100. E. von Contzen, ‘Why do we need a medieval narratology?’, *Diegesis* 2 (2014), <https://www.diegesis.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/diegesis/article/view/170>.

95B. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and transformations* (Cambridge, 1994). See also her article on audience, ‘The Audiences for the Medieval Cults of Saints’, *Gesta* 30/1 (1991), 3–15.

96C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Centuries* (Berkley/Los Angeles/London, 2001).

97Such as the works of S. Hamilton on ecclesiastical history and of R. Fulton on changing devotion and piety discussed above.

98C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp. 36–38 and pp. 44–45.

material. Finally, the role of liturgy in making history demonstrates how we must analyse the feasts as crucial concepts relevant to both Catalan and other religious communities that absorbed these feasts. This overview thus highlights that there are key research questions we should be asking of the texts with these concepts in mind. My research brings these different strands of historiography together to provide new perspectives. What common features did the selected feasts bring for shaping, and representing, the identity of different religious communities? Could the feasts enhance the sentiment of belonging to a religious community?

3. Anthropological Theory and Transcultural Approaches: Purity, the East and the West

The last section of my historiographical overview is dedicated to anthropological and transcultural studies, both being key beacons for shaping my methodology on the dissemination of feasts and cults. In order to better understand how cults of saints and liturgical feasts can reveal the religious ideals and sensibilities in Catalonia during the tenth/eleventh centuries, I will try to apply the notions and concepts of cultural, transcultural, and anthropological theories.

The twentieth century saw both the development of social history (*École des Annales*; F. Braudel) and cultural history in turn (R. Williams; ‘history from below’), which led to the cultural turn of the 1970s. The influence of post-structuralism and the work of key philosophers and social scientists, such as Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, led scholars to explore culture as a tool that can interrogate texts and reveal the mentalities of the past. Anthropological methods played an important role for the rise of cultural history too, and already the *École des Annales* advocated interdisciplinary studies to understand the place of society in history, as well as to delve into the idea of otherness and alterity, which was later to become an essential notion in the study of the history of religions⁹⁹. These research concepts are of primary importance to my investigation, which seeks to understand what the new feasts can tell us about forming religious sensibilities and Catalan religious mentalities from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the twelfth century.

During the 1970s, P. Bourdieu developed his theory of *habitus*—a phenomenon that serves to systematise the behaviour of persons sharing a common set of experiences—presuming that people’s agency reflects and reproduces the social structure¹⁰⁰. Another of his significant concepts was that of ‘cultural capital’, which explores how the individual can achieve social mobility¹⁰¹. This indivisibility of a person and his personal acts from his social environment is a particularly important concept for the historian but, as Bourdieu’s concepts

99See V. Krech, ‘Preliminary Considerations on Aspects of a Research Programme’ and N. Jaspert, ‘Contacts between the Major Religious Traditions during their Expansion. An Introduction’, in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe. Encounters, Notions and Comparative perspectives*, eds. V. Krech, M. Steinicke (Leiden/Boston, 2012), pp. 15–70 and 165–76 respectively.

100P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, transl. R. Nice (Cambridge, 2009), [1977].

101P. Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (Westport, CT, 1986), pp. 241–58.

are intertwined with economical and social aspects, and not least the idea of *habitus*, which is influenced by the institutions within which one belongs, one may apply his work not to an individual but to an institution/social group (e.g. for my study to a chapter of canons or a monastery). To what extent their ‘cultural capital’ (their intellectual and spiritual knowledge and potential for knowledge) may have determined their way of accepting, absorbing, spreading and being inspired by cults and feasts in the tenth/eleventh-century society is a key question of this research. This methodology is thus particularly stimulating for my study and the research questions I outline below.

Another key thinker in the cultural turn was the American anthropologist C. Geertz who argued that culture should be understood as ‘webs of meaning’ and developed the notion of a symbolic anthropology, particularly for understanding religion within a symbolic cultural domain. T. Asad has since criticised Geertz’s transhistorical definition of religion and argued for the historical specificity of religion as itself a historical product¹⁰². Keeping in mind the scholarship on the ritualising aspects of the medieval society¹⁰³, I am particularly inspired by the way that Asad touches upon medieval Christian rituals. In doing so he rejects the idea that ritual itself encodes and communicates some special meaning. He shows how medieval ritual creates the medieval self and how medieval religious communities (in particular monastic communities) helped to construct a certain kind of personality¹⁰⁴. Recently G. Agamben saw in monasticism a ‘form-of-life’ indistinctive from both law and liturgy¹⁰⁵. This scholarship thus underscores how liturgy and liturgical ritual can shape the sense of community, and how individuals or groups of individuals absorb, shape and assert communal ideas. We may even be able to go as far as to say that we can see how they performed the *translatio* of *habitus* through the ways in which they acquired and transferred these rituals. Combining these anthropological approaches to religion with the scholarship on liturgical and ecclesiastical history we are able to observe the process of integration and dissemination of new feasts in the Catalan region in religious communities at various levels, both in terms of the importance of feasts for a particular community and for a network of communities. Could we speak about forming a ‘common’ religious sensibility of the medieval West? Or were they rather regional sensibilities or even specific sensibilities of religious congregations, both in terms of networks of religious communities and individual communities?

102C. Geertz, ‘Religion as a Cultural System’, in id., *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp. 87–125. T. Asad, ‘The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category’, in id., *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore/London, 1993), pp. 27–54.

103Such as G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997) and his last book *Rules and rituals in medieval power games: a German perspective* (Leiden/Boston, 2020). P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Oxford, 2001).

104T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore/London, 1993), in particular ‘Pain and Truth in medieval Christian ritual’ and ‘on discipline and humility in medieval Christian monasticism’, pp. 83–167.

105G. Agamben, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, transl. A. Kotsko (Stanford, 2013).

In recent decades cultural studies have become more focused on cultural entanglements and exploring the connections between different cultures. Historians aiming for a truly transcultural analysis seek more and more for interdisciplinary approaches that can provide a broader set of paradigms, as, for instance, do three German centres of transcultural studies in Heidelberg, Bochum, and Göttingen¹⁰⁶. A 2013 edited collection on the Mediterranean world makes the suggestion that we should think of its ‘cultural brokers’: people who moved to a different cultural sphere, transferring cultural messages and contents to a different environment, or mediated between cultural spheres¹⁰⁷. Such cultural brokers might have been the Mediterranean royal courts, the regular clergy, who were particularly active at both courtly and inter-religious communication across boundaries of faith, or Mediterranean mercenaries, their migration thus becoming a characteristic of their transcultural mobility¹⁰⁸. Another centre of transcultural studies is now in Barcelona, where M. M. Tischler launched the *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* in 2014 and the book series *Transcultural Medieval Studies* in 2019, which both publish transcultural and interdisciplinary studies on the medieval processes that happened between different ethnic and religious groups¹⁰⁹. One of the key interests of this journal is the cross-cultural activities of knowledge exchange that are particularly recognisable during the processes of interaction between different cultures, such as communication, confrontation, and assimilation¹¹⁰.

Furthermore, in order to understand the place of the Catalan region in the Mediterranean space, it is essential to consider the scholarship regarding the relations between East and West in the Central Middle Ages. Yet at the beginning of the twentieth century P. Kehr underscored the relations of Catalonia with Rome, stressing the Catalan desire for Roman protection against oppression, damage and simony¹¹¹. However, there are few studies done on this before the Crusade era. B. Hamilton, and J.-M. Sansterre have studied Greek culture more specifically in Rome, for Italy was one of the main centres of transmission

106On the Heidelberg Cluster founded in 2007 see ‘Asia and Europe in a Global Context’, in *Engaging Transculturality. Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, eds. L. Abu-er-Rub, C. Brosius, S. Meurer, D. Panagiotopoulos, S. Richter. *Engaging with Series* (London/New York, 2019), in particular ‘Introduction’, pp. XXIII–XLV, p. XXX. The Transdisciplinary Research consortium Käte-Hamburger-Kolleg in Bochum on Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe was established at the Ruhr University Bochum in 2007 and has produced a self-titled series by Brill. For the Göttingen centre established in 2015 see P. Gemeinhardt, ‘Education and Religion in Cultures of the Mediterranean and Its Environment from Ancient to Medieval Times and to the Classical Islam. Collaborative Research Centre at the University of Göttingen’, *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 4 (2017), 325–32.

107*Cultural brokers at Mediterranean courts in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. von der Höh, N. Jaspert, J. R. Oesterle (Paderborn, 2013). See id., ‘Courts, Brokers and Brokerage in the Medieval Mediterranean’, pp. 9–33.

108See more on this in N. Jaspert, ‘Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court in the Crown of Aragon: Social Practice and Inter-Religious Communication’, in *Cultural brokers at Mediterranean courts in the Middle Ages*, pp. 107–47; id., ‘Mobility, mediation and transculturation in the medieval Mediterranean. Migrating mercenaries and the challenges of mixing’, in *Engaging Transculturality*, pp. 136–52.

109*Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, ed. M. M. Tischler; *Transcultural Medieval Studies*, ed. id.

110See more in S. Brentjes, A. Fidora, M. M. Tischler, ‘Towards a New Approach to Medieval Cross-cultural Exchange’, *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1/1 (2014), 9–50.

111P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*. *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1 (Berlin, 1926).

Byzantine culture¹¹². In recent years, the problem of the Eastern and Western Mediterranean gained the attention of scholars who have considered it as a space of mutual political and cultural relations and connections in a dynamic process¹¹³. These investigations remind us to bear in mind the constant presence of the Mediterranean as place of crossing borders and crossing cultures.

The investigation of the circulation and implementation of Christian feasts well reflects how transfer processes mark religious traditions and how they come into contact with other belief systems. Another important topic for these religious studies, closely connected to anthropological and transcultural thought, concerns the concept of purity. The concept of purity is intertwined with religious, political, social and ethnic aspects. A recent edited volume on purity by M. Bley, N. Jaspert and S. Köck explores this construct from the transcultural perspective, highlighting how the concept of purity drew boundaries between different religious groups¹¹⁴. Moving on from the first study of this concept by M. Douglas¹¹⁵, this book unifies several articles which help to establish that purity was a category of different relevance to several religious traditions, and pays attention to the lexical analysis of terms. This anthropological approach is particularly useful and I have adopted it in my analysis of the Jewish image in the Christian account on the *Passio Imaginis Domini* explored in Chapter Four.

These transcultural studies demonstrate the necessity to see medieval processes in a larger framework, as fields of constant intercultural and inter-religious exchange. Working on the Catalan region at the time of the Reconquista¹¹⁶ and the changing borders of the former

112B. Hamilton, 'The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome', in *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900-1300)* (London, 1979), pp. 265–310. J.-M. Sansterre, 'Le monachisme bénédictin et le monachisme italo-grec au X^e et dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle: relations et distinctions', in *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII–X)*, *Atti del VII Convegno di Studi Storici sull'Italia Benedettina*, ed. G. Spinelli. Italia benedettina 27 (Cesena, 2006), pp. 97–118; 'Les moines d'Occident et le monachisme d'Orient du VI^e au XI^e siècle: entre textes anciens et réalités contemporaines', in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente: (secoli VI–XI)*. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 51 (Spoleto, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 289–336. For a broader perspective on Greek language and Byzantine culture in the Occident in the Middle Ages see W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern/München 1980).

113 *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: the Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective*, eds. S. Esders, Y. Fox, Y. Hen, L. Sarti (Cambridge, 2019). See the aforementioned book *Cultural brokers at Mediterranean courts and Entre mers–Outre-mer. Spaces, Modes and Agents of Indo-Mediterranean Connectivity*, eds. N. Jaspert, S. Kolditz (Heidelberg, 2018). More on studies on the Mediterranean see in *New horizons. Mediterranean research in the 21st Century*, eds. M. Dabag, D. Haller, N. Jaspert, A. Lichtenberger. *Mittelmeerstudien* 10 (Paderborn, 2016). On an anthropological comparison of the three main religions in the Mediterranean see also *L'autorité des saints: perspectives historiques et socio-anthropologiques en Méditerranée occidentale*, eds. M. Kerrou, L. Valensi (Paris, 1998).

114 See *Discourses of Purity in Transcultural Perspective (300–1600)*, eds. M. Bley, N. Jaspert, S. Köck. *Dynamics in the History of Religions* 7 (Leiden/Boston, 2015). In another article B. Schneidmüller demonstrates how medieval European concepts of purity and hybridity led Europeans to start connecting blood with the homeland, developing the concept of ethnic purity by 1500. See B. Schneidmüller, 'Medieval concepts of migration and transculturality', in *Engaging Transculturality*, pp. 79–94.

115 M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

116 For an introduction to the notion of 'Reconquista' see A. Besga Marroquín, 'La Reconquista: un nombre correcto', *Letras de Deusto* 41 (2011), 9–91; N. Jaspert, 'Reconquista, Interdependenzen und Tragfähigkeit eines

Carolingian Empire, it is necessary to take a transcultural approach to see how these interactions between cultures, namely different ethnic and religious communities, shaped social and religious ideas through the exchange of texts, manuscripts, knowledge and belief.

II. Politico-Ecclesiastical Context in Early and Central Medieval Catalonia

Before outlining the methodology and the source base of this research, it is important to first sketch some crucial features of the political and ecclesiastical environment in the area where the feasts and cults explored here were being circulated. First, I will provide a brief overview of the political developments in the Catalan counties in the centuries during which these martyrologies were being compiled and used. Second, I will outline the key ecclesiastical structures within these counties, stressing both their networks with Rome and the papacy as well as the shape of the religious congregations that had formed in the Catalan region by the end of the eleventh century. This section seeks to place this study within its broader context, tackling the question of how the political context and institutional networks impacted upon the addition of feasts to martyrological texts. To what extent were these feasts shaped by the *Zeitgeist*, on the one hand, and by decisions of secular and religious authorities, both individual and institutional, on the other?

1. From Carolingian Marca Hispanica to the Crown of Aragon

From the ninth century the Catalan region experienced a new historical period, separate from that of other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, when it became a part of the Carolingian Empire. After several Carolingian raids against Muslims¹¹⁷ from 778 onwards, their expeditions to Girona and Urgell in the 780s, multiple Muslim attacks on Catalan cities in 790s and the final re-conquest of Barcelona in 801, Charlemagne organised the region

wertekategorialen Deutungsmusters', in *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden. Die Iberische Halbinsel im Kontext kultureller, religiöser und politischer Veränderungen zwischen dem 11. und 15. Jahrhundert*, eds. M. M. Tischler, A. Fidora. *Erudiri Sapientia* 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 445–65; A. Kosto, 'Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Histories of Iberia, ca. 1000–1200', in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, ed. T. F. X. Noble (Notre Dame, 2012), pp. 93–116. On the nuanced and complicated relations between Christians, Jews and Moors and the complex coexistence of religious identities during the Reconquista see B. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (London, 2018). In his recent book N. Jaspert reconsiders the multiple conflicts between the Muslims and the Christians as a part of their changing relationship and interweaving interactions which characterises the Reconquista with moments of consolation as well as conflicts. See N. Jaspert, *Die Reconquista. Christen und Muslime auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, 711–1492*, C. H. Beck Wissen 2876 (München, 2019), esp. pp. 110–14.

¹¹⁷While the sources use several terms to describe Islamic people in Spain, I prefer to use the more neutral term 'Muslims'. On this terminology see for example J. V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2003), esp. pp. XV–XVI; J. E. Lindsey, *Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2005), p. 12.

between the Conflent and the Ebro River into the Spanish March (*Marca Hispanica*)¹¹⁸ (Figure 1). The establishment of the Spanish March assimilated the Catalan counties into the Carolingian Empire, it became incorporated into Carolingian political practices and the new Carolingian system divided this region into both counties and bishoprics¹¹⁹. First Carolingian rulers Charlemagne and Louis the Pious assigned aristocrats to govern the Spanish March in order to ensure loyalty on the part of locals to the emperors and sought to bolster royal authority through ensuring justice or bestowing the *aprisio* (a royal land grant)¹²⁰. While it limited comital authority, it also led to the integration of the Spanish March into the Western Frankish kingdom.

Seeking the political roots of Catalonia, R. d'Abadal argued that the act promulgated by Charles the Bald in 865 defined the origin of Catalonia (*acte de naixement de Catalunya*). Following the rebellion of the Gothic Count Humfrid, this act laid out the geographical contours that formed Old Catalonia (*Catalunya Vella*) for the first time¹²¹. By the 860s *Catalunya Vella* included the counties of Carcassonne, Empúries, Roussillon, Barcelona, Urgell and, from the 870s, Conflent¹²². The ninth century also saw the creation of the counties of Girona, Besalú, Empúries and Peralada¹²³. However, three counties constituted the core of the region: Barcelona, Girona, and Osona, which together formed the future 'Catalonia'¹²⁴. This triple bloc of Catalan counties was formed under Count Wilfred the Hairy (840–897), who was Count of Urgell and Cerdanya from 870 and Count of Barcelona, Girona and Osona from 878¹²⁵. Wilfred granted charters for settlement thus contributing to the politics of the repopulation similar to the Carolingian *aprisio*, but this time undertaken under his own initiative. He also restored the Osona bishopric in Vic and founded the monasteries of Eixalada-Cuixà (879), Santa Maria de Ripoll (880) and Sant Joan de les Abadesses (885)¹²⁶.

118J. Canal i Roquet, E. Canal, J. M. Nolla, J. Sagrera i Aradilla, 'Girona entre l'islam i Carlemany. Una ciutat de frontera (759–801)', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 43 (2002), 7–28, 18. C. J. Chandler, 'Carolingian Catalonia: The Spanish March and the Franks, c. 750–c.1050', *History Compass* 11/9 (2013), 739–50.

119J. Bonamusa Roura, 'La riera de Caldes, límit entre els comtats i bisbats de Girona i Barcelona (785–801)', *Sessió d'estudis mataronins* 26 (2009), 43–51, p. 46. On the concept of *Marca Hispanica* see M. Zimmermann, 'Le concept de *Marca hispanica* et l'importance de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne', in *La Marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, ed. P. Senac (Madrid, 1991), pp. 29–48.

120C. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity in an Imperial Province, 778–987* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 60–110, esp. pp. 61, 76–77.

121R. d'Abadal, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*. Història de Catalunya. Biografies catalanes 1 (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 3–12. M. Zimmermann, 'Conscience gothique et affirmation nationale dans la genèse de la Catalogne (IX^e–XI^e siècles)', in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, eds. J. Fontaine, C. Pellistrandi (Madrid, 1992), pp. 47–62.

122R. d'Abadal, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 22–24.

123J. Canal i Roquet, E. Canal, J.M. Nolla, J. Sagrera i Aradilla, 'Girona entre l'islam i Carlemany', p. 21.

124F. Udina i Martorell, 'Els comtats de la Catalunya vella i la seva espiritualitat', *Revista de Girona* 92 (1980), 233–36.

125M. Coll i Alentorn, *Guifré el Pelós en la historiografia i en la llegenda*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Memòries de la secció històrico-arqueològica 39 (Barcelona, 1990), p. 82.

126These Catalan monasteries, supported by the Count of Barcelona, were among the most powerful. See R. d'Abadal, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 136–45, 210–11.

It was also during this period that the Frankish kings were losing control over the peripheries of the former Carolingian Empire, Catalonia included. In the 890s Wilfred the Hairy and his brothers ruled over almost all of the counties of the Spanish March and, while the lineages in Empúries and Roussillon (Sunyer II) and Pallars and Ribagorça (Ramon II) were separate, all three came from families based in Septimania and the Pyrenean regions¹²⁷. The growing political autonomy of the Catalan counties, although rather *de facto* than *de jure*, is clearly expressed in the fact that Count Wilfred was the first count to pass his holdings to his descendants without referring to the then Carolingian king, Odo (888–898)¹²⁸. Chandler states that the sons of Wilfred the Hairy simply took their hereditary places as counts because at the time of the conflict between Odo and Charles the Simple they were not exactly certain which one would sit as king, and therefore they saw no need to receive royal permission to succeed their father¹²⁹. Since then, as R. Southern observed, each generation brought a subdivision of the family estate among the male descendants of Wilfred¹³⁰. Southern noticed that the political structure of the Catalan counties differed from other ruling families in Europe, such as in Northern France, for the counts did not have any rule of primogeniture and thus their territorial disintegration was compensated by the mingling of secular and ecclesiastical power and the concentration of both in the hands of the ruling family¹³¹. Recent studies are more openly cautious about the idea of early centralisation; for instance Chandler argues that the dispersed practices of the counts' burial places hint at the decentralised nature of their power in the Spanish March of that period¹³².

Therefore, by the end of the ninth century, the Catalan counties had become a series of dynastic principalities nominally controlled by various counts with familial connections¹³³. These connections influenced not only the relations between different counties in the region, but also the interaction of secular power with the religious institutions, for the members of comital families often were at the head of bishoprics and monasteries. Over the course of the tenth century Barcelona came to dominate the other counties in the region, still keeping the triple bloc with Girona and Osona (and after a while Urgell). But there were two more families who claimed descent from Wilfred, one gathered around Cerdanya, Besalú, the *pagi* of Berguedà and Conflent, and the other ruling over lands near to Narbonne, Roussillon and Empúries¹³⁴.

127See C. J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity*, p. 170.

128R. d'Abadal, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*, p. 256.

129See C. J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity*, p. 171.

130R. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (Yale, 1961), p. 119.

131Ibid, pp. 118–19.

132See C. J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity*, p. 175.

133J. Jarrett, *Rulers and ruled in frontier Catalonia, 880–1010: pathways of power* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 4.

134M. Aurell, 'Pouvoir et parenté des comtes de la Marche hispanique (801–911)', in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IX^e s. – environ de 900)*, ed. R. Le Jan (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998), pp. 467–80.

The tenth century saw ‘the march towards sovereignty’, as it was traditionally put in Catalan historiography since R. d’Abadal coined the phrase¹³⁵. By the time of arrival of the Capetian dynasty, contact with the Frankish kings had been sporadic for some decades¹³⁶. Wilfred II of Besalú (927–957) was the last to swear fidelity to a Frankish king and, following Al-Mansur’s attack in 985, the Count of Barcelona Borrell II (947–993) appealed unsuccessfully for Frankish aid¹³⁷. This event is largely considered to demonstrate the fact that from the tenth century the Catalan counties went their own way¹³⁸.

Nevertheless, over the course of three centuries, the Catalan counties remained a part of the post-Carolingian world: the scribes’ dating clauses referred to the regnal years of French kings until 1180¹³⁹; most documents and manuscripts were written in Caroline minuscule and not in Visigothic script from the tenth century on¹⁴⁰; and even the marriage practices of the Catalan comital families confirmed a northern leaning¹⁴¹. Eleventh-century Catalan counts contracted marriages with their powerful neighbours: Toulouse, Gascony, Limoges, Carcassonne, Navarra and even Burgundy. As M. Aurell notices, these new matrimonial politics, with a tendency for exogamy and hypergamy, contributed to forming unions to band together against the Muslims¹⁴². Ramon Borrell married Ermessinda of Carcassonne who ruled after his death until 1023, when their son Berenguer Ramon (1005–1035) attained majority. His son Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) after his two marriages with daughters of the counts of Gascony and of Narbonne respectively finally married Almodis de la Marche from Limoges. These connections with Southern French noble families demonstrate the establishing of contacts between religious institutions in these regions and can point to possible routes of manuscript transmission to and from the Catalan lands.

Ramon Berenguer I apparently was the first count to have started the codification of the feudal law that was later to be formed into the so-called *Usatges de Barcelona*¹⁴³. Although from the 1020s to 1050s a series of aristocratic rebellions shattered comital power, Ramon Berenguer I successfully acquired the counties of Razès and of Carcassonne, and it

135‘La marxa dels comtes catalans cap a la sobirania’, see R. d’Abadal i Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans*, pp. 239–40.

136J. Jarrett, *Rulers and ruled in frontier Catalonia*, p. 10.

137See e.g. R. d’Abadal, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 340–44; M. Zimmermann, ‘Conscience gothique et affirmation nationale’, p. 53.

138See more on this in J.M. Salrach i Marès, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (s. VIII–IX)* (Barcelona, 1978); *Symposium Internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya*, ed. F. Udina i Martorell, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1991).

139See M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 995–1001.

140See J. Alturo i Perucho, ‘Escritura visigotica y escritura carolina en el contexto cultural de la Cataluña del siglo IX’, in *Las raíces visigóticas de la iglesia en España: en torno al Concilio III de Toledo, actas de congreso celebrado en Toledo (21 y 22 de septiembre de 1989)*, ed. A. Hevia Ballina (Oviedo, 1991), pp. 33–44.

141See A. Kostov, *Making agreements in medieval Catalonia: power, order, and the written word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2007); M. Aurell, *Les noces du comte: Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)*, Série histoire ancienne et médiévale 32 (Paris, 1995).

142M. Aurell, *Les noces du comte, mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne*, pp. 212–18.

143F. Udina i Martorell, A. M. Udina Abelló, ‘Consideracions a l’entorn del nucli originari dels *Usatici Barchinonae*’, *Estudi general* 5 (1986), 87–104.

was under his reign that Barcelona first testified to its juridical supremacy over the other Catalan counties¹⁴⁴. The growing authority of the counts of Barcelona, grounded in their feudal politics and, as Bonnassie has demonstrated, leaving peasants to local aristocracy, contributed to the development of the *seigneurie*, which became the foundation of feudal Catalonia¹⁴⁵. This was a significant step towards centralisation, which was to be continued by Ramon's grandson Ramon Berenguer III (1097–1131), who extended his power over all of the Catalan counties by inheriting Besalú in 1111 and Cerdanya (with Conflent and Berguedà) in 1118. Moreover, after Ramon Berenguer III married Douce of Provence in 1112, the power of the Count of Barcelona asserted over the Pyrenean border to the north¹⁴⁶. Finally, his politics of reconciliation with his Castilian neighbours later resulted in the marriage union of his son Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–1162) and the daughter of the Aragonese king¹⁴⁷. This alliance of the County of Barcelona with the Kingdom of Aragon in 1137 marked the beginning of the unified Crown of Aragon.

Another important factor of Catalan coexistence with their neighbours were their relations with the Islamic South which defined much of their involvement in Iberian politics before the twelfth century. Although economic contact was constant, the relationship between the counties and the peninsular Islamic powers passed rapidly through distinct stages. The Count of Barcelona Borrell II (947–993) tried to maintain peaceful relations with the Muslim Caliphate of Cordoba, but in 985 Al-Mansur carried out a destructive raid on Barcelona and the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès. The consequences of this raid reinforced the spirit of Reconquista¹⁴⁸. Borrell's son Ramon Borrell Count of Barcelona (992–1017) organised several expeditions against the Muslims, counter-attacked them in Lleida and defeated Al-Mansur's son Abd al Malik in the Battle of Torà in a coalition with three other counts of Cerdanya, Besalú and Urgell in 1006¹⁴⁹. In a similar raid against the Caliphate of Cordoba, which occurred in 1010, two Catalan bishops, Salla of Urgell and Arnulf of Vic, took part, both losing their lives. This fact underscores the close interaction between secular and religious authorities, often unified by familial relations, in the Catalan counties. A century later, successive politics of Reconquista allowed Ramon Berenguer III to push the Muslims deeper

144S. Sobrequés, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*. Història de Catalunya. Biografies catalanes 2 (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 59–73.

145P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Toulouse, 1975), vol. 2, esp. pp. 681–871.

146S. Sobrequés, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 146–50, 161–63.

147Ibid., pp. 173–74.

148See M. Rovira Solà, 'Notes documentals sobre alguns efectes de la presa de Barcelona per Al-Mansur (985), *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 1 (1980), 31–54.

149The description of this battle is provided by the monk Andrew of Fleury who compiled his *Miracula S. Benedicti* in 1043 see in *Les miracles de Saint Benoît écrits par Adreval, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte Marie moines de Fleury*, ed. by Eugène de Certain (Paris, 1858), pp. 173–276 and the new edition *Les miracles de saint Benoît. Miracula sancti Benedicti*, ed. and transl. A. Davril, A. Dufour, G. Labory. Sources d'histoire médiévale 45 (Paris, 2019). See also E. Junyent, *L'arquitectura religiosa a Catalunya abans del Romànic* (Barcelona, 1983), p. 53.

into the south and to reconquer Tarragona, with the following restoration of its Archbishopric in 1118¹⁵⁰ – the dream of generations of Catalan bishops and counts.

The twelfth century thus saw a new period in Catalan history. The alliance with the Kingdom of Aragon led to the creation of a new administrative structure that influenced other spheres of governmental life. Curiously, this century was the first to see expressions of Catalan self-reflection on their past, and it produced a series of narrative sources that shaped Catalan autonomy and identity, such as the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium*, the *Brevis historia monasterii Rivipullensis*¹⁵¹ as well as the *Alterum Chronicum Rotense* (starting in the second half of the eleventh century and continuing until 1205)¹⁵².

Although this political situation does not provide us with the clear reasons for the dissemination of the chosen cults of saints *per se*, it is essential to take it into account while thinking of contemporary religious sensibilities for two reasons. First, this overview demonstrates that the connection between secular and religious power in the Catalan region was very close because of the familial networks between Catalan counts, bishops and abbots. This may point to the possible implementation of saints' models not only in the religious environment but also among the secular elites, as it will be shown in Chapter Three using the model of a lay saint. Second, it demonstrates the fruitful connection between the Catalan counties and the neighbouring regions. The political and religious contacts of the Catalan counts and bishops in the tenth/eleventh centuries with Navarra, Limousin, Loire valley, former Septimania and Italy contributed to an active exchange of texts and manuscripts. A particular emphasis on connections with the Roman See might be seen as an attempt to find a counterweight to the Frankish kings. Catalan rulers turned then to the papacy whose authority started increasing for support and legitimisation. Catalan counts visited Rome accompanied with bishops and abbots, and these travels might suggest one of the possible routes of

150See more on this in J. M. Font i Rius, 'Entorn de la restauració cristiana de Tarragona. Esquema de la seva ordenació jurídica inicial', *Butlletí Arqueològic. Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense* 93–96 (1966), 83–106. More on Tarragona see in L. J. McCrank, *Restoration and reconquest in medieval Catalonia: the Church and principality of Tarragona, 971–1177*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Virginia, 1974) and his various articles e.g. 'La restauración eclesiástica y reconquista en la Cataluña del siglo XI. Ramón Berenguer I y la sede de Tarragona', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 49–50 (1976–1977), 5–39; id., 'Restauración canónica e intento de reconquista de la sede Tarraconense, 1076–1108', *Cuadernos de historia de España* 61/62 (1977), 145–245; id., 'The foundation of the confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga, 1126–1129' in id., *Medieval Frontier History in New Catalonia* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 157–77.

151See more on this in J. Jarrett, *Rulers and ruled in frontier Catalonia*, pp. 130–31. See also M. Zimmermann, 'Les origines de la Catalogne d'après les *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium*. Mythe fondateur ou récit étiologique?', in *Liber Largitorius. Etudes d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, eds. D. Barthelemy, J.-M. Martin (Genève, 2003), pp. 517–44; M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 1010–11; *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva)*, la *Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. S. M. Cingolani. Fonts Històriques Valencianes 55 (València, 2012).

152M. Coll i Alentorn, *Historiografia* (Barcelona, 1991), esp. the part 'La historiografia de Catalunya en el període primitiu', pp. 11–62. There are very few Catalan chronicles before the twelfth century (the first Ripoll chronicle is yet dated to the eleventh century but is written in a very concise and shortened form). See the critical edition by S. M. Cingolani *Els annals de la família rivipullense i les genealogies de Pallars-Ribagorça*, ed. S. M. Cingolani. Fonts Històriques Valencianes 54 (València, 2012), esp. pp. 11–22, and pp. 35–48. See also id., *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva)*, la *Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll* (València, 2012).

migration of the relevant saint models in the Southern French and Catalan regions. Therefore, matrimonial, religious and political aims were seemingly of importance for shaping paths of cultural manuscript transmission.

2. Ecclesiastical Structures and Catalan Connections to Rome

To better understand the connections between religious institutions it is worth briefly presenting the ecclesiastical structures in Catalonia and their development from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. After the fall of the Visigothic metropolitan See of Tarragona in 714, multiple bishoprics faced different destinies. Two of them—Egara and Empúries—disappeared completely over the course of the eighth century whereas three others—Tarragona, Tortosa, Lleida—were restored only in the twelfth century after several successive raids of the Reconquista¹⁵³. The dioceses of Girona and Barcelona remained without bishops for several decades (until 780s and 850s respectively) and, together with Elna, were being restored at the end of the eighth century¹⁵⁴, while the bishopric of Osona was restored only in 886¹⁵⁵. In the bishopric of Urgell episcopal succession continued but at the end of the eighth century it survived an adoptionist crisis with bishop Felix (783–799)¹⁵⁶. All remaining bishoprics became subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Narbonne, while the Archbishopric of Tarragona was finally restored only in the twelfth century with Bishop of Barcelona Oleguer designated as the new archbishop¹⁵⁷.

Carolingian liturgical reform and Carolingian administration installed a new order in the Spanish March, though remnants of Visigothic past remained a part of Catalan religious life until the twelfth century. Nevertheless, even if a number of Catalan religious institutions yet possessed some manuscripts with the Visigoth liturgy, the Romano-Frankish liturgy took

153See C. Baraut, 'La intervenció carolíngia antifeliciana al bisbat d'Urgell i les seves conseqüències religioses i culturals (segles VIII–IX)', in *Jornades internacionals d'estudi sobre el bisbe d'Urgell*, ed. J. Perarnau (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 155–93, esp. pp. 156–57.

154See E. Junyent, 'Enfonsament i restauració de les diòcesis catalanes', in id., *L'arquitectura religiosa a Catalunya abans del Romànic* (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 51–63.

155P. Freedman, 'L'influence wisigothique sur l'Église catalane', in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, pp. 63–72, p. 64.

156The Spanish Adoptionist doctrine was developed by Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo and defended by Felix, bishop of Urgell. Both claimed that in His human nature Christ was the adoptive Son of God (they used the word 'adoptivus' and not 'assumptus' to describe His human form). The Carolingian side interpreted the Adoptionist position as constituting a denial of the unity of Christ's two natures in one person. See more in J. C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993), esp. pp. 71–102. See also C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 52–99; and C. J. Chandler, 'Agobard and Adoptionism. A Controversy Continues', in *Lyon dans l'Empire carolingienne. Autour d'Agobard (816–840)*, eds. M.-C. Isaïa, F. Bougard, A. Charansonnet (Turnhout, 2019), pp. 63–73.

157See J. M. Martí Bonet, A. Rich Abad, J. Belles Sallent, *Oleguer, servent de les esglésies de Barcelona i Tarragona* (Barcelona, 2003). On the restoration of the Tarragona see L. J. McCrank, *Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia. The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Virginia, 1974) and his articles mentioned above in the n. 150.

root in Catalonia from the ninth century on¹⁵⁸. Carolingian liturgical reform made an essential impact on the Catalan region with the dissemination of the Aachen Rule of Canons, composed and proclaimed at the Synods of Aachen in 815–817 which subsequently arrived at, and was copied in its turn in, the Catalan canonical institutions¹⁵⁹. As P. Freedman suggests, these cathedral chapters nevertheless continued to care about their private property and never abandoned their private interests and economical organisation; the focus on their religious discipline might have been a consequence of Visigoth customs¹⁶⁰. At the same time, the rapidly spreading network of Benedictine monasteries, such as Sant Miquel de Cuixà, Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Joan de les Abadesses and many others, brought with it the Benedictine Rule and all the necessary liturgical books for the mass and office¹⁶¹.

After the Carolingian conquest new structures of power were organised in the *Marca Hispanica* according to the model of Charlemagne's Empire, with the designation of a count (*comes*) or civil and military governor and a bishop, dependent on the metropolitan church of Narbonne¹⁶². Parochial systems seemingly existed even earlier, from the Visigoth period, and harmoniously merged with the new Carolingian model of civil and ecclesiastical reorganisation of the Spanish March¹⁶³. From the tenth century on the Barcelona branch of Wilfred's descendants came to rule over all the episcopal sees of this territory except Elna¹⁶⁴. This allowed the count of Barcelona to control ecclesiastical institutions and again reinforced the cooperation between secular and religious power, this time gathered around Barcelona.

These kinship ties between counts, bishops and abbots made the politico-ecclesiastical landscape very complex. At some points ruling counts were also serving bishops, for example Miró, count of Besalú who was also the bishop of Girona¹⁶⁵. Comital dynasties used episcopal sees as extensions of their power and throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries bishoprics

158A. Mundó, 'Les changements liturgiques en Septimanie et en Catalogne pendant la période préromane', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 2 (1971), 29–42.

159See the copy from Vic in Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 C, ff. 1v–45v, 10th c. and from Carcassonne in Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1534, ff. 1r–115r, 9th c. On the lost testimonies see M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation', p. 75, n. 12. See more on the introduction of the Aachen Rule in Catalonia in J. Bauer 'Die vita canonica an den katalanischen Kathedralkapiteln vom 9. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke*, eds. J. Rubio i Balaguer, R. de Balbín (Madrid, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 81–112; id., 'Die vita canonica an den katalanischen Kollegiatkirchen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 21, ed. J. Vincke (Münster, 1963), pp. 54–82.

160P. Freedman, 'L'influence wisigothique sur l'Église catalane', p. 69.

161See more on the circulation of these manuscripts in the recent article of M. M. Tischler, 'How Carolingian was Early Medieval Catalonia', in *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c.900–c.1050*, eds. S. Greer, A. Hicklin, S. Esders (London, 2019), pp. 111–33, in particular pp. 112–25.

162J. Bonamusa i Roura, 'La riera de Caldes, límit entre els comtats i bisbats de Girona i Barcelona (785–801)', *Sessió d'Estudis Mataronins* 26 (2010), 43–51, p. 48.

163Ibid., 47.

164J. Jarrett, 'Archbishop Ató of Osona. False metropolitans on the Marca Hispanica', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 56 (2010), 1–41, p. 4.

165See e.g. J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'El bisbe-comte Miró Bonfill i la seva obra de fundació i dotació de monestirs', in *II Col·loqui d'història del monaquisme català*, vol. 2 (Poblet, 1974), pp. 57–81.

became dominated by comital and viscomital dynasties¹⁶⁶. This intermingling led to a certain confusion over jurisdiction and distinguishing political property from ecclesiastical property¹⁶⁷. Moreover, important noble families used church institutions as a repository for their family influence and much of their family property and, in turn, the Church rewarded such families with important offices as well as a share of church lands and revenues¹⁶⁸. Moreover, some sources point out the existence of married canons, who were in reality laymen associated to the cathedral chapter¹⁶⁹. Furthermore, some bishops simultaneously held abbacies of monasteries: for instance, in the last quarter of the tenth century the bishops of Girona were also abbots of Sant Cugat, while the abbots of Sant Feliu de Girona were also bishops of Vic¹⁷⁰. Having said that, as bishops, they depended on the county where the episcopal See was established, but their abbeys could get privileges from the papacy and thus depend only on the Roman See. If bishop and abbot was the same person, his power nevertheless took different forms in different religious organisations. Certainly, for some manuscript studies such connections may play an important role. However, as I will show further, the data does not specify much about the *auctaria* of saints, analysed in this thesis, but rather explains their simultaneous dissemination in both secular and regular religious communities.

From the second half of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century the Roman See and the papacy were a crucial point of reference for Catalan religious life¹⁷¹. Catalan counts maintained close relations to the papacy and were among the first rulers in Western Europe to build relations with and seek privileges from Rome¹⁷². Certainly, connections to Rome insured that the Catalan counts wielded some power externally from the Frankish kings,

166See more on that in J. A. Bowman, 'The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees', *The Catholic Historical Review* 88/1 (2002), 1–16, esp. pp. 3–6. On the viscounts see also J. E. Ruiz-Domènec, *Quan els vescomtes de Barcelona eren. Història, crònica i documents d'una família catalana dels segles X, XI i XII*. Fundació Noguera, Textos i Documents 39 (Barcelona, 2006).

167For example on Vic see R. Ordeig i Mata, *Els orígens històrics de Vic (segles VIII–X)* (Vic, 1983) [1981], p. 64.

168A. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan society 718–1050* (Austin, 1965), p. 260, accessed 10th August 2020, available at <https://libro.uca.edu/lewis/sfc13.pdf>.

169P. Freedman illustrates his argument with commemorations in the obituary notes of the martyrology of Vic in his article 'L'influence wisigothique sur l'Église catalane', p. 69, and points to the article of M. Riu Riu, 'La canònica de Santa Maria de Solsona. Precedents medievals d'un bisbat modern', *Urgellia* 2 (1979), 211–56, esp. pp. 223, 236–37.

170See A. Sanz i Alguacil, 'Sant Feliu de Girona. Història', in *Catalunya romànica* 5. El Gironès, La Selva, El Pla d'Estany (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 142–43 and J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'Sant Cugat del Vallès. Història', in *Catalunya romànica* 18. Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 159–62.

171Highlighted by P. Kehr, who mentioned the foundation of Sant Benet de Bages subordinated to the Roman See (church of St. Peter in Rome) with annual tribute. See P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*, p. 9. See also T. Deswarte, 'Rome et la spécificité catalane. La papauté et ses relations avec la Catalogne et Narbonne (850-1030)', *Revue historique* 294 (1995), 3–43.

172See R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'L'esperit de Cluny i les relacions de Catalunya amb Roma i Itàlia al segle X', *Studi Medievali* 2 (1961), 3–41; X. Barral i Altet, 'Culture visuelle et réflexion architecturale au début du XI^e siècle: les voyages de l'abbé-évêque Oliba (1^{ère} partie: Les premiers voyages, avant l'itinéraire vers Rome)', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 177–86 and its second part (2^{ème} partie: Les voyages à Rome et leurs conséquences), *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 41 (2010), 211–26.

building a kind of counterweight in their political relations with the Franks¹⁷³. Already in 950 Pope Agapet II provided the Abbey of Sant Miquel de Cuixà with the privileges placing it under Roman authority¹⁷⁴.

The Gregorian reforms (1050s/1070s) illustrate two important aspects in the religious life of Catalan society¹⁷⁵. On the one hand, Catalan society, as part of a larger medieval European society, went through similar social changes and took active part in the Peace of God movement with one of its earliest Councils organised by Abbot Oliba in 1027¹⁷⁶. However, the militarisation in Catalonia took particularly strong forms. For instance, A. Lewis noticed that at the turn of the first millennium the military elite took many church institutions under their control; the increasing simonies and the new military system of castles with professional *milites* demonstrated the problems that the Church as an institution was unable to cope with¹⁷⁷. Bonnassie has also shown the phenomenon of *milites* performing violence when exploring the parochial clergy¹⁷⁸. All of this created favourable ground for, first, the Peace of God movement, and, second, the reform program of Gregory VII.

Another essential aspect of eleventh-century Catalan society was the increase of various reforming movements passing through the Catalan region. Many reformed canonical institutions received papal privileges and exemptions in the later decades of the eleventh century¹⁷⁹. Since the second half of the eleventh century, alongside the papal legates visiting Catalonia, Augustinian regular canons arrived at several Catalan institutions to promote their rule of St. Augustine¹⁸⁰. The collegiate church of Augustinian canons in Provence Saint-Ruf of Avignon was founded in 1039 and in a couple of decades it became a centre of the

173See M. Riu, 'L'Església catalana al segle X', in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII–IX)* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 161–89, p. 182.

174See R. d'Abadal i Vinyals, *Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà* (Montserrat, 1955), doc.73.

175See more in J. M. Martí Bonet, 'Sant Oleguer i l'aplicació de la reforma gregoriana', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 71 (1998), 537–79; A. J. Toshihiro, 'La reforma gregoriana y Catalunya. Las relaciones entre la iglesia y el poder secular, siglos XI y XII. De Ramon Berenguer I a Ramon Berenguer III', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia* 27 (2006), 9–35; J. M. Marquès i Planagumà, 'La reforma gregoriana a Girona', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 55 (2014), 585–602.

176See A. Kosto, 'Oliba, Peacemaker, in *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac i el seu temps: Catalunya i Europa a la fi del primer mil·lenni, Vic–Ripoll 10–13 de novembre de 1999*, ed. I. Ollich Castanyer (Vic, 1999), pp. 135–48; J. A. Bowman, 'Councils, memory and mills: the early development of the Peace of God in Catalonia', *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), 99–129; S. M. Cingolani, 'L'Abat Oliba, el poder i la paraula', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia* 31 (2014), 115–62. J. E. Ruiz Domènec, 'Consideraciones sobre la paz de Dios en el siglo XI: El abad Oliba revisado', in *Entre historias de la Edad Media, veintiún ensayos*, eds. J. E. Ruiz Domènec, A. Blasco (Granada, 2011), pp. 93–116.

177A. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan society*, p. 260, accessed 10th August 2020, available at <https://libro.uca.edu/lewis/sfc13.pdf>.

178P. Bonnassie, 'Les sageres catalanes: la concentration de l'habitat dans le cercle de paix des églises (XI^e s.)', in *Actes des congrés de la Société d'Archéologie médiévale* 3 (1994), 68–79. Also P. Bonnassie, J.-P. Illy, 'Le clergé paroissial aux IX^e–XI^e siècles dans les Pyrenées orientales et centrales', in *Le Clergé rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, ed. P. Bonnassie (Toulouse, 1995), 153–66.

179S. Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms. Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West*. Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte 47 (Berlin, 2020), p. 87.

180See more in A. Pladevall i Font, 'Les canòniques agustinianes a Catalunya durant el segle XI', in *Lambard: Estudis d'art medieval* 12 (1999/2000), 81–89.

reforming movement of the Augustinian canons. According to U. Vones-Liebenstein the first stage of this movement's influence on Catalan counties occurred in the 1080s, while the second and more influential one happened later under Oleguer, Bishop of Barcelona (1116–1137) and, from 1118, Archbishop of Tarragona, who was also the Abbot of Saint-Ruf¹⁸¹. The Serrabone priory was the first to accept *Regula sancti Agustini* among Catalan institutions in 1081, but they were soon followed by Santa Maria de Besalú, which became a priory of Augustinian canons in 1084. In the same decade Bishop of Vic Berenguer de Lluça (1078–1099) tried to reform the Chapter of Vic and involved the other communities (such as the monastery Sant Joan de les Abbadesses in 1083, the collegiate church in Manlleu in 1086, the abbeys of Santa Maria de l'Estany in 1090 and of Manresa in 1094) in accepting the Augustine Rule¹⁸². His attempts to reform the Vic chapter in line with the Augustinian movement, however, failed. Berenguer also supported the idea to include Catalan religious institutions within the bigger monastic congregations formed in Southern France, Saint-Pons de Thomières and Saint-Victor de Marseille¹⁸³. Other religious and secular authorities made similar attempts, such as the Count of Barcelona, Berenguer Ramon II, who tried to incorporate the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès into the congregation under the control of Saint-Pons in 1089–1091. After this failed, Ramon Berenguer III suggested the congregation be placed under the control of Sant Cugat del Valles in 1097–1098, which included five other important houses: Sant Llorenç del Munt, Santa Cecilia de Montserrat, Sant Salvador de Breda, Sant Pau del Camp i Santa Maria del Coll de Font-Rúbia¹⁸⁴. As Sant Cugat was placed in the diocese of Barcelona, this congregation would expectedly and strategically highlight the growing power of Barcelona. This example illustrates the process of the increasing centralisation of secular power around the County of Barcelona, accompanied with the weakening of episcopal power in other bishoprics.

181See more on the connection of Saint-Ruf and Catalan counties in U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1992/1996). Taking this connection into consideration, it appears to be logic that one of the less frequent copies of martyrology of Usuard spread in Catalonia (housed nowadays in the archive of Tortosa cathedral), probably arrived to this institutions in the twelfth century with the canons from Saint-Ruf of Avignon.

182On the collegiate church Saint-Ruf of Avignon and its impact on Catalan religious institutions see M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 810–13. On Santa Maria de l'Estany see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'Sub ordinatione Ermemiri sacerdotis Vic, Arx. Cap., Ms. 6 (LX)', *Ausa* 20 (2002), 695–705, p. 699. See also A. Pladevall, J. Vigué, *El monestir romànic de Santa Maria de l'Estany* (Barcelona, 1978), p. 23.

183P. Freedman, 'L'influence wisigothique sur l'Église catalane', p. 67. See also A. Mundo, 'Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements de l'Est des Pyrénées du X^e au XII^e siècle', *Annales du Midi* 75 (1963), 551–70; J. Bauer, 'Rechtsverhältnisse der katalanischen Klöster in ihren Klosterverbänden (9.–12. Jahrhundert)', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 23, ed. J. Vincke. Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 1 (1967), 69–130. On the influence of Saint-Victor de Marseille see more in M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 807–10. On connections of Catalans with Lagrasse and the expansion of the Lagrasse Abbey see J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'Memoria, poder i devoció: donacions catalanes a la Grassa (segles IX–XII)', in *Histoire et archeologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Ph. Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), pp. 103–17.

184C. Puigferrat i Oliva, 'L'evolució interna del cenobi als segles XI–XII', in *Catalunya romànica* 18. Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 162–66, esp. p. 163.

Altogether, these processes behind the ecclesiastical changes demonstrate how slowly Catalan religious institutions passed through the stages of the reforming movement. For some religious authorities, as Freedman outlines, Gregorian reforms were regarded as a threat to the independence of Catalan monasteries¹⁸⁵. In Catalan society, where the power of counts was inextricably linked to the power of abbots and bishops, often coming from the same family, the new organisation of religious life would have strongly shaken the established order. In this tense period that faced the necessity of social and religious changes, there were notable struggles between different centres of power in the context of the centralising process, such as the attempts to restore a former Tarragona Archbishopric in opposition to the Narbonne one. The dissemination of cults and feasts might help us to better understand the expectations, ideals and needs which shaped the spiritual and intellectual atmosphere of that time.

This overview of the political and ecclesiastical context in medieval Catalonia underscores several important features of Catalan society at the turn of the millennium, which will serve as keystones for my analysis of the feasts and cults disseminated in the Central Middle Ages. It demonstrates: 1) the role of Catalan counts and the growing power of Barcelona which implies a process of unification for liturgical practices; 2) the constant connections with their Aquitanian neighbours within a common ecclesiastical area; 3) the strong role of bishops in shaping the culture of Catalan society; 4) the overlapping of secular and regular institutions in terms of migration of cults and books, particularly given the fact that several bishops were simultaneously abbots; 5) the familial connections between secular and religious authorities, which is suggestive in determining how cults and feasts might have achieved such prominence in the imagination of the lay population; and 6) the constant opposition of Muslims and the presence of Jews shaping the image of the unfaithful Other in contrast to the holy warrior and defender of Christendom, both crucial themes for several *vitae*. Taking into account all of these features of political and social life in Catalonia helps us to refine the analysis of liturgical and hagiographic data and also challenges us to ask to what extent the analysed feasts shed light on social and religious life and developments in the region.

III. Methodology, Sources and Structure of Thesis

1. Methodology

My thesis focuses on the production of liturgical and hagiographic manuscripts, in particular martyrologies, lives of saints, calendars and sacramentaries, in order to analyse changes in religious practices through a comparison of three cults of saints (St. Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald) and two Christological feasts (*Passio Imaginis Domini*, *Transfiguratio*),

¹⁸⁵See his following articles: P. Freedman, 'Jurisdictional disputes over Sant Pere d'Àger (Catalonia) in light of new papal documents', 'Two letters of Pope Honorius III on the collection of ecclesiastical revenues in Spain' and 'Archbishop Berenguer Seniofred de Lluçà and the Gregorian reform in Catalonia', in id., *Church, Law and Society in Catalonia, 900–1500* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 1–29, 37–40 and 153–59 respectively.

all of which received a broad veneration from the tenth century onwards. In doing so, my thesis contributes to our understanding of religious sensibilities in Catalan and Trans-Pyrenean society at the turn of the first millennium. I position my work at the interdisciplinary crossroad between cultural history, hagiographical studies and studies on the production and transmission of liturgical texts. As outlined above, while many studies have examined liturgical sources in Catalonia, none have made a close, textual comparison of extant martyrologies to chart the arrival of new saints' cults over the course of the Central Middle Ages. An exploration of the different contexts within which the feasts were shaped, how they arrived in the region and were transmitted within it, deepens our understanding of their contribution to shaping contemporary religious sensibilities.

When employing the phrase 'religious sensibilities' I mean medieval sensibilities in a broad sense that covers the feelings the cults and feasts inspired in believers and shaped in society and the ideals and messages they transferred and implemented. The history of sensibilities goes back to the *École des Annales*. In 1941 L. Febvre suggested the exploration the history of emotions as a study of the fundamental sentiments of humanity and their forms, and in 1970s the history of mentalities and sensibilities focused on the questions of what 'was felt'¹⁸⁶. In their recent book D. Boquet and P. Nagy produce a history of medieval sensibilities, which 'is tied to other cognitive processes (imagination, memory, reasoning), is founded on a history of experience [...] but also pertains to social history'¹⁸⁷. Thus, when I say I am exploring liturgical and hagiographical material through the lens of their shaping of religious sensibilities I mean that I analyse how the feasts transfer ideological messages on crucial notions in religious culture: for example, models to imitate, values to respect, ideas to follow. My aim is not to apply this analysis haphazardly to broader society (though some suggestions are made regarding the laity in terms of patrons and congregations) but to focus upon religious institutions that held manuscripts concerning these feasts and cults which thus shaped religious sensibilities/mentalities at that time.

The earliest extant Catalan martyrologies are dated to the tenth century. In these texts we can find several *auctaria* – additions of feasts and saints, which copyists added constantly from the end of the tenth century on, transferring new feasts and saints to the latest martyrological volumes from the Catalan region. Examining these additions across different liturgical texts and through their commemoration in hagiographical sources will allow me to analyse the progressive implementation of their liturgical celebration. By applying statistical

186See L. Febvre, 'La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autre fois?', *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941), 5–20; R. Mandrou, 'Pour une histoire des sensibilités', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 14/3 (1959), 581–88; J. Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident. (XIV^e–XVIII^e siècles). Une cité assiégée* (Paris, 1978). See also the articles on medieval emotional communities by B. Rosenwein: 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review* 107/3 (2002), 821–45; ead., 'Les communautés émotionnelles et le corps', *Médiévales* 61 (2011), 55–75; and her thoughts on the methodological paradigms for the history of medieval emotions in B. Rosenwein, 'Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions', *History Compass* 8/8 (2019), 828–42.

187See D. Boquet, P. Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018) [2015], p. 29.

and structural analyses to the manuscript data we can determine possible connections between different religious communities, both within Catalonia and beyond. We should indeed be wary of the simplistic argument that textual sources automatically point to a well-developed devotion to certain cults: as J. Smith rightly points out ‘literary commemoration did not guarantee liturgical cult, let alone devotional popularity’¹⁸⁸. Nevertheless, I suggest that liturgical sources do provide solid testimonies to, at the least, reveal the traces of veneration of feasts and cults and that there are several particular ways of approaching these texts to minimise their limitations.

In doing so, I apply several methodological strands: quantitative and statistical analysis, cultural and transcultural methods, and anthropological and narratological approaches. A quantitative and statistical approach is of primary importance for the selected corpus of texts. Throughout the thesis I make use of numerous tables that compare data from the Catalan martyrologies in order to reveal any correlations between the copies concerning the added feasts, the common feasts among all copies, and the possible sources of the feasts behind the compiled martyrologies. This first level of analysis leaves us with the most common feasts in the Catalan martyrologies from which I choose five that lie at the core of my case studies. The second level of analysis aims at exploring the frequency of each of these feasts in the liturgical production of the Catalan region. To do so, I start again with a quantitative and statistical analysis that brings together all of the collected data in a series of tables. However, at this stage I combine quantitative and qualitative methods by expanding my tables to include a contextual analysis of the genre of manuscripts, their origin and provenance, the dating and types of religious institutions they were copied in. This analysis shows how the feasts arrived at various religious communities and, together with the mass prayers, spread more within the region by the beginning of the twelfth century. For the third level of my analysis I use various theoretical strands, namely the theories of anthropology, narratology, cultural and transcultural history, exploring the added feasts in more depth. These methodological tools allow me to take a fresh perspective on the dissemination of the feasts analysing what is behind their transmission: the feasts travel across cultural borders, shaping identities of religious communities, and transferring the crucial ideas from one religious *milieu* to another. The agency of liturgical manuscripts in targeting various religious communities with essential messages thus points to these manuscripts as media which unify communities throughout Christendom. In these ways, this methodological framework allows me to examine a degree of implementation of new cults and feasts in the religious life of Catalan secular and regular institutions from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

From these common feasts, added to the martyrologies in the late tenth/eleventh centuries, I focus on five key case-studies: St. Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald, *Passio Imaginis Domini*, and *Transfiguratio*. They are all, however, unified by a major question I examine in my thesis: what do these simultaneously added feasts reveal to us about religious sensibilities of society, and how do religious sensibilities influence the promulgation of these

¹⁸⁸See J. Smith, ‘Saints and Their Cults’, in *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, pp. 581–605, p. 583.

feasts? The main pivot of my thesis thus explores five case-studies and their influence on shaping religious ideals that were so crucial for the mind and spirit of contemporary people.

In order to understand this, it is essential to keep in mind the context of eleventh-century society. Through exploring the religious situation in the Archbishopric of Narbonne, developing relations with the Roman See, tumultuous decades for the medieval society at the time of the Peace and God movement, and constant expectation of Muslim attacks for the population in the Iberian Peninsula, I will show how these five feasts respond to the current political and religious situation, to what extent they are the product of their time and how they shape the environment around them. Previous scholarship has touched upon the connection between Catalan and Italian religious centres underscoring trips, pilgrimages and bequests of counts and bishops as well as papal bulls granted to the Catalan and Aquitanian religious institutions. However, the Catalan martyrologies have never been seen as potential instruments to contribute to this intercultural interaction and to shed light on the exchange of both material (texts, manuscripts) and spiritual (ideas, cults and feasts) cultural heritage. My thesis will contribute to the suggested hypothesis on these connections and refine the data on these networks. Also the role of Catalan political authorities cannot be underestimated because of the impact of both individual patrons and institutions on constructing relations between different communities, which in its turn may have contributed to the transferral and integration of arriving feasts. Highlighting the connections between the social, liturgical, theological, and political contexts in the Catalan region at this time allows us to assess the depth and breadth of the implications of feasts in shaping religious sensibilities.

My research also adopts a cultural analysis as another methodological approach essential for exploring this broad topic. Studying the liturgical and hagiographic evidence, my research questions go beyond the implementation of cults to also explore the entrenched devotion in contemporary religious practice and the impact these cults might have had on eleventh-century religious thought. Using the methodological framework of cultural and transcultural studies, I will investigate the Catalan martyrologies as media that help us discover the ‘cultural capital’ of religious institutions and their way of accepting, spreading and absorbing cults and feasts over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Anthropological analysis is also helpful to see in a more structuralist way the religious behaviour and religious ideas connected to feasts and features of saints. This approach may shed light on processes happened between social and religious groups and thus refresh our perspective on exploring religious imagination. Combining these cultural and anthropological approaches to religion with the scholarship on liturgical and ecclesiastical history, I will examine the process of implementation of new feasts in the Catalan region in various religious communities.

Certainly, while the surviving sources are limited in their ability to definitively reveal contemporary social comprehension and absorption of new church feasts, religious sources inevitably point to some degree of conscious ecclesiastical thought on the matter of new additions. The cults rarely arrive on their own: their implementation is accompanied with prayers of the mass and sermons or passions for a particular feast day. Thus the development of all these elements, which can be clearly traced in the texts, suggests three major ideas: the vitality of liturgical life at odds with the old-fashioned view of liturgy as fixed and stable

sources; the awareness of clerics and monks of the message the new feasts presented, and the messages these feasts transferred from the authorities who purposefully propelled them to a broader audience. Therefore, I am convinced that the study of the arrival and impact of new cults and feasts will contribute to a better understanding of religious sensibilities in tenth/eleventh-century Catalan society and beyond.

This thesis explores liturgical and hagiographical material, reconstructing the possible paths of transmission of these texts and books, in order to analyse what unifies these cults and feasts. Considering the martyrology as a medium that transferred different cults, I aim to explore the importance of several chosen cults and feasts for the society of the eleventh century and ask several key questions. Firstly, what brings these cults and feasts together? Why do they arrive in this time period? And to what extent can church feasts help us in exploring the changes of religious sensibilities at that time? Could we speak about forming sensibilities of religious congregations, regional sensibilities or even of a 'common' religious sensibility of medieval Western Europe? Secondly, previous studies from various fields, namely law, liturgy, socio-economical structure, have shown the progressive adaptation of the old to the new in the texts from tenth/eleventh-century Catalonia. Can we follow the same processes in the religious imagination? How was the inadequacy of old forms expressed through the veneration of newly arrived feasts? Answering these key questions through the corpus of liturgical and hagiographical testimonies, this study seeks to provide new perspectives on Catalan liturgical manuscripts and on the mentalities of Catalan religious institutions over the course of the eleventh century.

2. Sources

This thesis analyses a selection of liturgical and hagiographical texts of Catalan provenance compiled from the tenth to the twelfth centuries¹⁸⁹. The corpus of texts explored here consists of different genres of liturgical and hagiographical sources which shed light on

¹⁸⁹Visits to libraries and archives and the analysis of catalogues and inventories provided me with a corpus of sources from the following religious communities: the cathedral chapters of Barcelona, Girona, Vic, Carcassonne and Roda d'Isàvena; the monasteries of Sant Cugat del Vallès, Santa Maria de Serrateix, Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Joan de les Abbadesses, Santa Maria d'Arles-sur-Tech; and the priory of Cassan as well as a number of parochial churches from the dioceses of Urgell, Vic, Barcelona and Girona. See F. Avril, *Manuscrits enluminés de la Péninsule Ibérique* (Paris, 1982). J. Gudiol, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits anteriors al segle XVIII del Museu Episcopal de Vich* (Barcelona, 1934). J. Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España*, 2 vols (Burgos, 1978–80). F. X. Miquel Rosell, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès existents a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1937). F. X. Miquel Rosell, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona*, 4 vols (Madrid, 1958–1969). A. Olivari, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la Biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat* (Montserrat, 1977) and two supplements: id., *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la Biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat. Primer suplement seguit d'una antologia de texts trets del fons manuscrit Montserratí*. Scripta et Documenta 41 (Montserrat, 1991), and id., *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la Biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat. Segon suplement. Manuscrits 1379 a 1487*. Scripta et documenta 87 (Montserrat, 2010). During my research stay in the archives (AC de Girona, AC de Lleida, ACA de Barcelona, BC de Barcelona), the archivists and librarians have gently provided me with the inventories of their fonds.

the implementation of the new cults of saints and on the dissemination of feasts in Catalan religious institutions of the Central Middle Ages. While the Catalan martyrologies provide us with strong traces for the transmission of saints' cults, this approach to these texts has not yet been undertaken in the scholarship.

The most essential texts for this investigation are the martyrologies, which survive as whole versions in some manuscripts though there are also useful partial versions in fragments. This investigation focuses upon eight extant martyrologies from the former Archdiocese of Narbonne, all based upon the original version by Archbishop Ado of Vienne († 874/5). Only these eight martyrologies survived in their complete form in Catalonia over the course of three centuries, making them the essential corpus of texts for this study because they provide examples of Catalan martyrologies in their entirety that can be effectively compared to demonstrate variances in form and structure. This corpus thus provides a unique outlook on the period that, while it does not claim to be a comprehensive overview of every surviving fragment of potential relevance, nevertheless provides significant and informative insights through the use of both quantitative and qualitative data in a focused, comparative approach.

Six of these eight martyrologies were compiled in the Catalan region, namely in the cathedral chapters of Girona (1) and Vic (3), and the Benedictine monasteries of Sant Cugat del Vallès (1) and Santa Maria de Serrateix (1)¹⁹⁰. Two others, copied in the cathedral chapter of Carcassonne (1) and the priory of Cassan (1), come from Septimania¹⁹¹ (Figure 2). Since these sources lie at the core of my methodological research, I dedicate my first chapter to an analysis of their structure and content with the following factors in mind. First, I identify their martyrological type (there were different martyrologies in Western Europe at that time but the Catalan ones belong to Ado's martyrology), and second, a concrete family within this type. In doing so I compare their content and structure determining several *auctaria* (additions into the text) common for these copies and finally observing the possible influence of other types of martyrologies and the *Pasionario Hispánico* on the added feasts.

The remainder of the thesis considers five key case-studies, each corresponding to an *auctarium* explored in the martyrologies: namely the three cults of saints, St. Michael, St. Alexius and St. Gerald, and two Christological feasts, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*. These case studies are explored chapter by chapter, as I outline below. In Chapter One I demonstrate the reasons for my choice of these five concrete feasts in-depth, the main one being their intensive implementation in the Catalan religious life over the course of the eleventh century in various types of religious communities (monasteries, cathedral chapters, parochial churches). In order to analyse the feasts' dissemination and implementation, I explore the following sources: martyrologies, calendars from sacramentaries and miscellaneous books, mass prayers from sacramentaries, chants from antiphonaries (where possible), and *vitae sanctorum* from legendaries or extant fragments.

190Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Mss. 128 A, 128 B, 129; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat, Ms. 22; København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794.

191Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256; Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963.

The choice of five key feasts determines the methodological approach towards the analysed sources: investigating a possible path of feasts' transmission, I mainly concentrate on the information concerning the feasts' celebration in the liturgical and hagiographical sources from the Catalan and surrounding regions. The collected data is brought into comparative tables, which provide me with quantitative and qualitative data with regards to the nature of the analysed manuscripts and religious communities that produced them. Thus the investigation of the manuscripts' and feasts' transmission becomes a part of larger cultural history of the region, with martyrologies and cults being the media of transferring ideological messages and shaping religious sensibilities.

As explored above, in recent decades various scholars studying social, cultural or manuscript history have suggested that the Catalan region should not be taken in isolation¹⁹². This thesis also seeks to consider Catalonia in a wider western-European context. Thus, if we are aiming to observe the role of the newly added feasts in the context of eleventh-century society, we must take into consideration a broader panorama of liturgical and hagiographical sources. As such, I compare the data from Catalan manuscripts with numerous sources from several external regular and secular religious communities which were in contact with Catalan institutions in the Central Middle Ages. These include monasteries from Navarra (San Millán de la Cogolla), Castile (Santo Domingo de Silos), Italy (Monte Cassino), Aquitaine (the monasteries of Saint-Martial de Limoges, Saint-Pierre de Moissac and Saint-Sauveur de Figeac, and the cathedral chapters of Albi and Cahors), Septimania (Saint-Guillhem-le-Désert and Sainte-Marie de Lagrasse); and churches from Narbonne and of the Roman See. Therefore, the data from these calendars, lives of saints and mass prayers has provided me with a broad range of material to analyse the influence of different religious institutions in spreading cults and feasts, and to attempt to reconstruct the pattern of their dissemination.

The choice of the feasts, instigated by the nature of analysed sources, made me realise that the influence of Hispanic connections in their dissemination was minimal. Among the historiographical works on Hispanic sources, M. Férotin's study provides us with a comparative table of nine extant calendars from Cordoba (tenth century), and Silos, Léon, Compostella (eleventh century)¹⁹³. These Hispanic liturgical sources bear witness to the almost absent commemoration of my five key feasts over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Two other Mozarab calendars from the manuscripts with the provenance from San Martín de Abelda and San Millán de la Cogolla copied in the last third of the tenth century, probably under King Sancho II of Pamplona (970–994), contain no information on the

192Such as Bonnassie, Jaspert, Tischler. See e.g. the works quoted above of P. Bonnassie, *Les Sociétés de l'An Mil. Un monde entre deux âges*; id., 'Latium et Catalogne: esquisse d'une comparaison entre deux sociétés méditerranéennes aux X^e-XI^e siècles'; N. Jaspert, 'Mobility, mediation and transculturation in the medieval Mediterranean. Migrating mercenaries and the challenges of mixing'; M. M. Tischler, 'Knowledge transfer on the Carolingian periphery. The case of early medieval Catalonia'.

193*Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. M. Férotin (Paris, 1904), esp. pp. 449–97. See also the later revision by J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, 'Calendarios hispánicos anteriores al siglo XIII', *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 339–80; id., 'Calendarios hispánicos anteriores al siglo XIII (Resumen e índices)', *Hispania Sacra* 3 (1950), 145–61.

analysed feasts¹⁹⁴. Only two single references survive in two calendars, first, a feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* from San Millán de la Cogolla¹⁹⁵, and second, a *Transfiguratio* feast from Huesca¹⁹⁶. It is, however, essential to highlight that these are rare single references, both dated to the end of the eleventh/twelfth centuries, which means, that they cannot testify to the veneration of these cults occurring in Navarra or Castilia before the Catalan region. Interestingly, though beyond the scope of this study, Hispanic calendars do demonstrate the celebration of several saints who were crucial to the congregation of Cluny (such as St. Maiol), which bears clear witness to the spreading of Cluniac networks in the Iberian Peninsula¹⁹⁷.

It is therefore unlikely that there was any possible implementation of the explored feasts in the regions to the West of the Catalan lands. A vivid illustration of the Catalan tendency to ‘look to the East’ (which does not deny their heritage from, and interest in, Hispanic Visigoth liturgy and hagiography) concerns the cult of St. Alexius, whose *Vita* existed in two versions, the Hispanic one, which spread in the Iberian Peninsula in the ninth century, and the Roman one, actively copied in Rome at the end of the tenth century. Nevertheless, the dissemination of St. Alexius’s cult in Catalonia was due to the connection with Rome, rather than a Hispanic link, as I will show in Chapter Three.

Therefore, the data from the regions in the Iberian Peninsula neighbouring Catalonia show that the Mozarab liturgical production was less receptive for implementing the explored cults of saints. The liturgical network with the religious institutions from Pamplona, Navarra and Aragon is thus less obvious in the analysis of the dissemination of the five chosen feasts. This source material explains why I do not refer much to the western regions when comparing liturgical and hagiographic data across my thesis.

Certainly, the corpus of sources this research is based upon is not a complete collection of all possible liturgical and hagiographic data from the Catalan region over the course of three centuries. Nor does this research claim to be exhaustive in this regard. There is an exceptionally impressive amount of extant manuscripts and fragments in Catalan church and

194J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Calendarios hispanicos anteriores al siglo XII’, *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 119–46. S. Fallon, ‘De Césarée de Maurétanie à Albi. La transmission des passions africaines dans le légendier de Moissac’, in *Le Légendier de Moissac et la culture hagiographique méridionale autour de l’an mil*, pp. 395–419, esp. pp. 401–02.

195J. Vezin, ‘Un calendrier franco-hispanique de la fin du XI^e siècle (Madrid, Acad. Hist. 18, ff. 6–11v)’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 121 (1963), 5–25. This manuscript also contains an extract from Jerome’s martyrology dated to the ninth century, which does not include any of the feasts of interest to this study.

196See J. Janini, ‘El calendario de Huesca del siglo XII’, *Hispania Sacra* 29 (1976), 429–39.

197On the Cluniac network in the Iberian Peninsula see e.g. P. Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien: Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-Léon vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Kallmünz, 1974); and also C. M. Reglero de la Fuente, ‘Cluny en España. Los prioratos de la provincia y sus redes sociales (1073–ca. 1270)’, *Bulletin du Centre d’Études Médiévales d’Auxerre* 13 (2009), 391–96; id., ‘El Camino de Santiago, Cluny y la monarquía leonesa’, *Desperta Ferro. Arqueología e Historia* 6 (2016), 46–51

state archives, and there is doubtless more material to discover. However, the sources explored here are archetypical because they target several crucial themes: the organisation of liturgical life in religious communities, the transmission of texts and religious ideals, and liturgical sources as a medium transferring cultural and religious codes/messages. These sources have been selected to test the following hypothesis: that liturgical and hagiographic material provides us with essential data to examine the religious sensibilities of medieval society. These sources allow us to, first, reconstruct connections between religious institutions; second, see what means were used for the dissemination of cults; third, examine how the intertwined politics of religious and lay institutions led to the implementation of certain feasts; and finally, offer insight into the extent to which these feasts reflected the crucial ideas and thoughts of eleventh-century society.

3. *Structure of Thesis*

My thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter One explores in detail the martyrologies which underpin the framework of my methodological approach. Chapter Two analyses the second feast of the Archangel Michael and its celebration on May 8 in Catalonia. Chapter Three aims at providing a comparative overview of two cults of lay saint confessors, St. Alexius and St. Gerald. Chapter Four is dedicated to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the crucial issues it reveals for eleventh-century society. Chapter Five underscores the implementation of the Transfiguration feast and its theological parallelism to the *Passio Imaginis Domini*. Here I will outline the main approaches and arguments of each chapter.

Chapter One applies the structural and content analysis to all of the martyrological compendia to identify the version of Ado's martyrology they belong to and to demonstrate the formation of the book of chapter for religious communities. The applied statistics are an important tool that demonstrates that martyrologies belonging to different types of religious institutions have recognisable structural frameworks but nevertheless differ in terms of their structural coherence, depending on their use by secular or regular Catalan communities. Statistical and structural analysis also helps us to identify possible connections between different communities. Altogether this chapter demonstrates the mediating role of Catalan martyrologies, their lively nature as books in constant use over the course of at least three centuries and suggest either the possible existence of Ado's prototype martyrology with a number of added feasts, or the compilation of analysed martyrologies on the basis of other hagiographical sources, possibly influenced by other martyrological traditions.

Chapter Two provides new data that sheds light on the second feast of St. Michael on May 8 in the Catalan region, which was added to the manuscripts from the eleventh century on. This feast is often included together with the legend on the apparition of the Archangel on Monte Gargano (*Liber de apparitione*). Exploring the data from liturgical sources, this Chapter aims to correlate these changes in the liturgical and religious life in Catalonia with the diffusion of the Monte Gargano legend. The further analysis of five preserved fragments of the *Liber de apparitione* from different Catalan religious communities demonstrates a manuscript network between Catalan and Italian institutions which might explain the origins

and transmission of this text before its full implementation in Catalan religious life. Different sources (liturgical, documentary and iconographical) show that the developing Archangel's cult in Catalonia had several features specific to that on Monte Gargano, such as the healer and warrior dimensions of the Archangel, which are particularly emphasised in the *Liber de apparitione*.

Chapter Three provides a comparative analysis of two cults of confessors, St. Alexius and St. Gerald. These two saints have never been studied together, but they have several characteristics in common as main characters of the *vitae* (in a narrative) and as rhetorical tools the Church might have used as models for the faithful that could be addressed to different social groups. Using narratological methods while comparing these two lay saints, who differed in terms of origin and period, this chapter expands on the possible political and strategic aims behind the dissemination of both cults. Their increasing veneration highlights several new religious tendencies of the tenth/eleventh centuries, namely the facilitation of conditions for reaching divine mercy via accomplishing good acts during one's earthly life, and eremitism as another path to salvation. The manuscript data, within the context of the Peace of God movement, the increasing spirit of the sacralised struggle and the ideas of the reformed monks, demonstrates how these two cults became entrenched in Catalonia, highlighting the ideals, problems and expectations of contemporary society.

Chapter Four explores the implementation of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast which began to form in the Western liturgy after the dissemination of an account called the Beirut Legend or the Sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius, which was compiled for the Second Council of Nicaea (787). Formed during the iconoclast controversy, this account touches upon several crucial ideas for medieval society: devotion to the miraculous image, the earthly relics of Christ, the salvation of one's soul, the baptism of unfaithful, the place of the Jews and a broader image of the Other. The analysis of a surviving copy of the Beirut legend from the eleventh-century lectionary of Roda d'Isàvena demonstrates changing attitudes to some of these questions. This text demonstrates the increasing devotion to miraculous images, the growing tendency to humanise Christ on the Cross, and an increasing attention to the conversion of the unfaithful and their salvation through recognising their errors, rather than only focusing on the accusation of Jews (which are constantly called *Ebraei* instead of *Judaei* in contrast to earlier as well as other versions of the text). I argue thus that this text (which is possibly not the only one that existed in the Catalan region but apparently one of the rare few which has survived) reflects the multicultural nature of contemporary Iberian border society, for it emphasises the image of the 'other unfaithful' without targeting only the Jews. Moreover, the Beirut legend slightly deemphasises the theophanic vision of Christ, which was much more accentuated under the Carolingians: the name *Passio Imaginis Domini* for this feast is more common than the *Imago Salvatoris* in Catalan religious communities. As I show, this is a rare case of a weaker connection with Roman liturgical sources, which were more familiar with the feast of the Saviour (*dedicatio Salvatoris* or *imago Salvatoris*).

Chapter Five is dedicated to another Christological feast, the Transfiguration, and explores the possible reasons behind the simultaneous increase in the celebration of both Christological feasts, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*. Liturgical sources demonstrate the implementation of the Transfiguration into the liturgical life of various

institutions in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions by 1100. The manuscript testimonies analysed here suggest a likely connection to southern Italian communities pointing again to the possible networks between Catalan and Italian religious institutions. Exploring the theological notions of the Transfiguration shows how these two feasts had several similar ideas intertwined in the message they carried to the faithful. The emphasis on the salvation of the soul, the exegesis of baptism as a tool for receiving the forgiveness of sins, and the role of Christ as mediator, indivisible in His two natures and providing a model for imitation. Altogether these ideas bear witness to the shaping of new forms of religious sensibilities by the beginning of the twelfth century.

Therefore, the suggested structure allows for an in-depth analysis of the chosen feasts through a number of liturgical, hagiographical, and in some cases iconographical, sources. The data and source material explored in each chapter is placed within the context of eleventh-century society in the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, the application of methods from anthropological, narratological and transcultural studies provide a combined, critical approach that delves deeper into the comprehension of ideas and ideals that emerged in religious circles. The results of this approach enrich our comprehension of medieval society that existed at the edge of various cultures and beliefs in a time of religious reformation and changing ideas, thus contributing to wider research on institutional networks, hagiography and the changing attitudes in religious sensibilities after the turn of the first millennium.

Chapter One. Catalan Martyrologies (Tenth to Twelfth Centuries): Sources

At the core of the present study lies a corpus of manuscripts and fragments of Catalan provenance compiled from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The explored corpus consists of different genres of liturgical and hagiographical texts, which shed light on the implementation of the cults of saints and on the dissemination of the feasts in Catalan religious institutions in this period. The essential texts for this investigation are martyrologies.

Very few early and central medieval martyrologies from Catalonia survive in modern archives and libraries, even though they were crucial books for religious communities during the Middle Ages. The catalogues of manuscripts¹⁹⁸ mention ten martyrologies, and at least eight fragments from the tenth to twelfth centuries with a provenance from different religious institutions in Catalonia¹⁹⁹. Furthermore, not all of these sources are yet available for consultation (as in case of the patrimony from Sant Joan de les Abadesses, attested for the last time in the Janini catalogue in 1980).

The present thesis focuses mainly on eight martyrologies from this list, coming from both monastic (Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix) and secular (cathedral chapters of Girona, Vic, Carcassonne and the community of canons in Cassan) religious institutions in Catalonia and Septimania. Two other martyrologies from Tortosa and Tarragona are not of a primary importance, for neither belong to the Benedictine communities nor to the Ado version of the martyrology, in contrast with the other eight.

198See the aforementioned catalogues by J. Gudiol on the manuscripts from Vic, by F. X. Miquel Rosell on those from Sant Cugat del Vallès, Library of Barcelona University and Library of Montserrat with two supplements, J. Janini on the manuscripts from Spanish libraries, and F. Avril on Spanish illuminated manuscripts from the BnF. During my research stay in the archives (AC de Girona, AC de Lleida, ACA de Barcelona, BC de Barcelona), the archivists and librarians have gently provided me with the inventories of their fonds.

199Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (from Girona, 960/980; ff. 2va–131ra); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (993/1010; ff. 3v–140v), Ms. 128B (1061; ff. 1ra–122vb) and Ms. 129 (12th c.; ff. 1ra–106vb) (all three martyrologies are from Vic); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256 (from Carcassonne, 1046/1055; ff. 13v–140v.), Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (from Sant Cugat del Vallès, 11th c., end; ff. 2r–135r), København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794 (from Santa Maria de Serrateix, before 1076; ff. 4r–173r.); Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (from Cassan, diocese of Béziers, 12th c., beginning; ff. 14v–224v.); Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 90 (from Southern France and Tortosa, 12th c.); Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, Ms. 106 (from Santa Maria de Bonrepòs, 12th/13th c.). Fragments: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. XII/13 (Sant Pere de Perafita, 12th c.) and Fragm. XII/16 (from Santa Eugènia de Berga, 11th c.); also Vilanova del Vallès, Arxiu parroquial, fr. s.n. (Catalan provenance; 12th c.); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya UAB, Ms. 23 (Collectió Capdevila, ca. 1000), fr.; Sant Joan de les Abadesses, AM, Carpeta 539, n.3; AM, s.n. (both from Sant Joan de les Abadesses, 11th c.); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/13 (f. 17) and Ms. 193/14 (f. 18–19) (both possibly from the parochial church Santa Maria de Verdú, late 11th/early 12th c., see A. Gudayol i Torelló, 'Pervivència d'una biblioteca litúrgica: fragments de còdex de l'Arxiu parroquial de Verdú a la Biblioteca de Catalunya'. *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 22 (2014), 53–94, 69–71. Seven of these martyrologies (from Girona, Vic, Serrateix, Sant Cugat and Tortosa) and two fragments (Sant Pere de Perafita and Vilanova del Vallès) are mentioned in the article by J. A. Iglesias Fonseca who also provides a palaeographical and codicological description of the texts. See id., 'El Martirologio de Adón en Cataluña: consideraciones codicológicas y paleográficas sobre dos nuevos testimonios', in *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval*, ed. M. Perez Gonzalez (León, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 149–60.

Twentieth-century scholarship largely explored martyrologies as hagiographical texts which provided us with fundamental studies and editions of martyrologies that focus on martyrological structure and the lives of the saints themselves. However, in the 1980s McCulloch suggested that a martyrology should also be seen as a source of intellectual history through which we can learn more about the authors and contemporary thought²⁰⁰, an approach that has yielded useful results and reminds us to be wary of taking the sources at face value. Another approach that was pioneered by Catalan scholarship has focused on numerous obituary additions to the main text of the martyrologies²⁰¹. On the one hand, this puts the martyrology into the orbit of diffusing the commemoration of the dead, while on the other, it allows us to reconstruct the community of monks or canons from the standpoints of their social status and their membership within the religious institution. In the same vein recent studies on the martyrologies, as well as other liturgical sources, demonstrate how religious communities understood their own past and shaped their history within the history of the universal Church²⁰². In all these cases, the martyrologies act as witnesses of the development of local religious communities.

As I will show, while I am also interested in the martyrologies as hagiographical sources, my first analytical step is to compare the additions on saints brought into the martyrologies after their compilation. The comparison of all copies with references to the published edition of Ado's martyrology will allow me to identify new feasts which became important in Catalan religious life in the tenth and eleventh centuries. My aim is thus to

200H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques* (Paris, 1908). J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978). *Le martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles, ses trois recensions*, eds. J. Dubois, G. Renaud (Paris, 1984). *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, ed. J. Dubois, *Subsidia hagiographica* 40 (Paris, 1965). See also B. de Gaiffier, 'De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe: Témoignages antérieurs au XI^e siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961), 40–60; id., 'La lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IX^e siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969), 63–78. J. McCulloch, 'Historical martyrologies in the Benedictine cultural tradition', in *Benedictine culture 750–1050*, eds. W. Lourdaux, D. Verhelst (Leuven, 1983), pp. 114–31, p. 118.

201See e.g. À. Fàbrega Grau, 'El necrologio de San Lorenzo de Munt', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 20 (1947), 215–22; L. Serdá, 'Los martirológicos de la Marca Hispanica en la evolución litúrgica de la misma', *Ausa* 1 (1952–53), 387–89; G. Roura i Güibas, 'Martyrologium Adonis. Notes necrologiques marginals', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 6 (1995), 157–64; B. Sutherland, M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El necrologi de Sant Miquel d'Escornalbou (Nova York, Hispanic Society of America, ms. B2715)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 13 (2005), 279–307; J. M. Masnou i Pratdesaba, 'Els necrologis de Serrateix', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 21 (2013), 115–50; M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'Els antics necrologis de la catedral de Vic', *Studia Vicensia* 2 (2017), 7–174. The edition of the obituary notes was often combined with a general palaeographical and codicological description of the manuscript. Mundó and Olivari also analysed the curious genre of their fragment, see A. Mundó, A. Olivari, 'Fragment d'un curiós sacramentari-martirologi', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 21 ed. J. Vincke. Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. Reihe 1 (Münster, 1963), pp. 21–53.

202See more in the article by S. Hamilton, 'Liturgy as History: The Origins of the Exeter Martyrology', *Traditio* 74 (2019), 179–222. See also numerous articles by J.-L. Lemaître where he investigates the martyrologies through the memory of the dead, history of the libraries and the cult of saints. Nineteen of these articles are collected in a recent volume: id., *Autour des livres, du nécrologe au martyrologe. Precamur fraternitatem vestram* (Genève, 2019).

explore five feasts (Archangel Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald and two Christological feasts) added as eulogies in the main text of my martyrological corpus. These feasts had different origins but they all permeated Catalan liturgical and hagiographical material over the course of the eleventh century. None of these feasts appear in previous Frankish martyrological traditions nor in the *Pasionario Hispánico*; rather they all arrived from different sources and through different channels of communication. These five feasts, analysed respectively as case studies in the following chapters, will demonstrate how new models of sanctity arrived to Catalonia, what their impact on religious behaviour was and to what extent they were relevant for eleventh-century religious life as well as socio-political thought.

This chapter consists of three levels of analysis, all built upon structural changes in the martyrology, 1) as a book *per se*, 2) as a part of the book of chapter, 3) as a repository of current hagiographical changes. At first, I will examine the texts which are contained within the martyrologies, exploring them as ‘martyrological compendia’. This part will reveal firstly the notion of martyrology, of historical martyrology and their diffusion in the Catalan region, on the basis of six Catalan martyrologies from Girona, Vic, Sant Cugat and Serrateix and of two martyrologies from Septimania, all of which belonged to the Church of Narbonne, from Carcassonne and Cassan. Secondly, I will go beyond this ‘martyrological compendium’, studying its place in the formation of the book of chapter or *Liber capituli*, developed at this time. Finally, I will focus on the *auctaria*—addition of saints—common to all Catalan martyrologies from the aforementioned period. This last stage will determine possible differences in the content and contextual level and at the same time will clarify the choice of concrete *auctaria*, analysed as case studies in the following chapters.

I. Martyrological Compendia

1. Carolingian Martyrologies: the Ado and Usuard Versions

From the beginning of the ninth century, the Benedictine abbeys in the Carolingian Empire were actively contributing to the change from the Visigoth liturgical ritual to the Roman²⁰³. The Martyrology was one of the most essential liturgical books for the Roman liturgy, as disseminated by the Carolingians. The term ‘*martyrologium*’ appears for the first time in Western use in the *Historia ecclesiastica* by Bede (731) as ‘*martyrologium de nataliis sanctorum martyrum diebus*’²⁰⁴. In the Early Middle Ages, the genre of martyrology begins its development from a catalogue of martyrs and saints arranged according to the order of their feasts throughout the liturgical year to a ‘historical martyrology’²⁰⁵. The latter contained additions of short narratives on the passions, which followed the name of each martyr and the

203A. Mundó, ‘Les changements liturgiques en Septimanie et en Catalogne pendant la période préromane’, *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 2 (1971), 29–43, p. 35.

204 *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Liber V, cap. XXIV. See Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. B. Colgrave, R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p. 570 [corr. repr. 1991]. J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*. Typologies des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 26 (Turnhout, 1978), p. 13.

205 *Ibid.*, pp. 13–4.

place of his martyrdom as well as additions of new names in order to fill out the empty days left in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*²⁰⁶. The Carolingian era, and more precisely the ninth century saw a florescence of historical martyrologies, with two compiled in the most accomplished form: the martyrologies of Ado and of Usuard²⁰⁷.

The Archbishop Ado of Vienne († 874/5) wrote his martyrology between 853 and 860, in Lyon, before he became archbishop of Vienne. H. Quentin, the first scholar who provided us with a compendium on historical martyrologies, identified the sources Ado used for the compilation of his martyrology and divided the known manuscripts of Ado's martyrologies into two groups: the first has a more elaborate structure compared to the second family, in that the first family contains several sections that are missing from the second²⁰⁸. Finally Quentin claimed, Ado's martyrologies existed in three editions, one of each corresponding to the stages of his work. Having reconstructed the first one (which does not survive in any extant copy), Quentin argued that the second contained the name of Ado, his preface and the *Parvum Romanum*²⁰⁹, while the third had a list of added saints from Vienne, in Burgundy²¹⁰.

In 1984 J. Dubois published an edition of Ado's martyrology, where he developed the division suggested earlier by Quentin. This edition is of primary importance for the scholarship on martyrologies, for it contains eulogies for all main versions of Ado's text, thus showing the most important differences between families and recensions throughout the whole martyrology.

While Quentin had doubts on the attribution of the third edition to Ado, Dubois was more certain and confirmed that the third recension was written by Ado. He also confirmed Quentin's distribution of Ado's martyrology into two families with three recensions in the first family²¹¹. Furthermore, Dubois developed the definition of the second family (without recensions) arguing that this one does not belong to Ado but probably to one of his contemporaries. First, these texts include the *Libellus* of Ado—a preface to the martyrology containing the most important 54 eulogies—inserted in the main text of the martyrology; second, they contain the saints added from the Usuard martyrology; third, the notes referring to the diocese of Auxerre²¹².

Therefore, according to the last state of research on Ado's martyrology, Ado completed all empty entries left by previous compilers, but also added long stories of passions (e.g. 197 added eulogies to the Florus version²¹³ and 188 modified in his first

206A.-G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière. Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris, 1965) [1961], pp. 798–99.

207J. Dubois also uses the term '*martyrologes types*' for those martyrologies that have been then considered as a basis for future compilations. Both versions, of Ado and Usuard, refer to this definition. See pp. 29, 42 and 45.

208H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques* (Paris, 1908), pp. 466–76.

209Or *Venerabile perantiquum martyrologium*, see H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 409–11.

210Ibid., p. 674.

211*Le martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles, ses trois recensions*, eds. J. Dubois, G. Renaud (Paris, 1984), pp. XXVI–VII.

212Ibid., p. XXVII.

213Reconstructing several ninth-century martyrologies from Lyon, H. Quentin identifies the texts of Florus, a deacon from Lyon, writing in the second quarter of the ninth century. His version was the basis for Ado's

recension²¹⁴). In his second recension he referred to a non-existent ancient source called *Parvum Romanum* or *Venerabile perantiquum martyrologium* or *Vetus*, a falsification Ado compiled to provide his contemporaries with a solid argument that would justify the new additions he created²¹⁵. The first recension is dated to 853/860; the second to the beginning of 860s; the third a bit later. All three were compiled by Ado. From there, the scribe from Auxerre—Ado’s contemporary—modified his text, placing the main *auctaria* from the *Libellus* in the main text of the martyrology according to their calendar dates. Hence, this produced the second family of Ado’s martyrology²¹⁶. The first family normally had Ado’s preface (*Libellus*) at the beginning of the text; however, the second recension of the first family sometimes omitted the *Libellus*, placing the eulogies from the *Libellus* into the main text of the martyrology. This makes it easy to confuse it with the second family, although the latter does not contain the additions on the popes, which are sometimes included in the second recension of the first family. The main distinction between the second recension and the second family thus would be the presence of *auctaria* on the Auxerre saints and some *auctaria* from Usuard’s martyrology in the second family²¹⁷.

Usuard, monk of the Abbey Saint-Germain-des-Prés († 877), compiled another martyrology, built upon all previous versions (Florus, Beda, martyrology from Lyon), including Ado’s one²¹⁸. This martyrology was created in 858/860, and kept being updated up to 877. J. Dubois argued there have been two recensions of Usuard’s martyrology text, and he confirmed that the conserved ninth-century manuscript from Saint-Germain-des-Prés²¹⁹ (which might have been written by the same Usuard) contained all modifications brought to the second recension, though before these modifications were made it corresponded to the first one²²⁰. Usuard also added 324 eulogies, redrafted 208 and shortened 250²²¹. Its universal, homogeneous and encyclopaedic character probably explains the fact that the martyrology of Usuard received much wider dissemination than Ado’s one²²².

These two martyrologies compiled by Ado and Usuard then spread in different European regions from the end of the ninth century onwards, affecting also the Catalan region. According to the statistical data on the French medieval books of chapter, of 246 of these books with French provenance 142 (61%) contain the martyrology of Usuard and only

martyrology. See H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 385–408; J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*, pp. 40–3.

214 *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, pp. XX–XXI.

215 See H. Quentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 409–64 and *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

216 J. Dubois, J.-L. Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l’hagiographie médiévale* (Paris, 1993), pp. 112–14.

217 See *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae 735–987*, CC Continuatio Mediaevalis, eds. M.-H. Jullien, F. Perelman (Turnhout, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 32–3.

218 J. Dubois, J.-L. Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l’hagiographie médiévale*, pp. 114–16.

219 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 13745 (written in 860s).

220 *Le martyrologe d’Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, ed. J. Dubois, *Subsidia hagiographica* 40 (Paris, 1965), pp. 20–28.

221 J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*, p. 45.

222 J. Dubois, J.-L. Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l’hagiographie médiévale*, p. 114.

39 (16%) the martyrology of Ado²²³. However, the extant martyrological testimonies from the Catalan region point to the obvious predominance of Ado's martyrology over Usuard's during the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries: seven copies of Ado (from Girona, Vic, Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix, including the lost Ado's martyrology from Sant Joan de les Abadesses) against three texts of Usuard (Tortosa cathedral chapter, Santa Maria de Bonrepòs and Sant Miquel d'Escornalbou²²⁴). These martyrologies by Usuard, from Augustinian and Cistercian, rather than older Benedictine communities, are all dated to the twelfth century, while other of Usuard's texts, namely the Grammar, were attested in the region much earlier, in the tenth century²²⁵. Comparing his statistics later, J.-L. Lemaître demonstrates that if the majority of the French martyrologies represent Usuard's version (142 from 246 or 61%), the data for the Languedoc region clearly points to the preponderance of Ado's martyrology (from 9 manuscripts 6 belong to Ado's and 3 to Usuard's martyrology)²²⁶. This data corresponds to the overview we have from the extant Catalan manuscripts, although the Usuard's copies from Languedoc also belong to the Benedictine communities. The more active and probably more popular dissemination of Ado's martyrology in southern France and Catalonia might be explained, first, by the production of Ado's martyrology in Lyon and its geographical means of dissemination, and second, by the impact of Lyon's network in these southern regions²²⁷.

2. Catalan Martyrologies: Identifying the Versions

In order to better understand the varieties of Ado's martyrologies in the Catalan region, it is worth reminding ourselves of the main differences between the two families of Ado's

223Ibid., p. 115.

224Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 90 (Southern France, 12th c., middle); New York, Hispanic Society of America, Ms. B 2715 (Sant Miquel d'Escornalbou, 12th c., end); Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, Ms. 106 (Santa Maria de Bonrepòs, 12th/13th cc.). See the recent article by M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation: The Case of Early Medieval Septimania/Catalonia in the Long Tenth Century (900–1050)', *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019), 72–86, p. 77, n. 21.

225Two manuscripts from the monastery Santa Maria de Ripoll contain different recensions of Usuard's Grammar. A tenth-century codex has both recensions: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 46, ff. 11r–19v (*recensio* A), ff. 21v–22v and 24v–25r (*recensio* B); and a tenth/eleventh-century copy has a *recensio* C (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 74, fol. 5v–12ra). See J. M. Casas i Homs, 'Una gramàtica inèdita d'Usuard', in *Miscel·lània Anselm M. Albareda* 2 [*Analecta Montserratensia* 10 (1964)] (Montserrat, 1964), 77–129; L. Holtz: *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'«Ars Donati» et sa diffusion (IV^e–IX^e siècle) et édition critique (Documents, études et répertoire)* (Paris 1981) [2010], pp. 397–399. According to M. Tischler who provided me with the information on different recensions of the Grammar, these copies from Ripoll point to the connections between Usuard and the Parisian monks and the religious communities of the Spanish March, where the monks of Ripoll might have learned of Usuard's work.

226See J.-L. Lemaître, 'Martyrologes et culte des saints en Languedoc', *Hagiographie et culte des saints en France méridionale: XIII^e–XV^e siècles*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 37 (Toulouse, 2002), pp. 67–111, pp. 75–76, and n. 22 which includes Lemaître's list of manuscripts. However, these sources encompass several centuries, from the ninth to the fourteenth.

227As M. Tischler suggests, the school of Lyon and the intellectual circles related to these Visigothic and Frankish clerics played an important role in the transmission of Carolingian text culture in early medieval Catalonia. M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation', p. 76.

martyrology. H. Quentin distinguished between the texts preceding the martyrology *per se* in the first family of manuscripts and those in the second family²²⁸. Later J. Dubois refined this view by arguing that this data corresponds not only to the first family, but also to its second recension²²⁹. Table 1 demonstrates the main differences between the series of texts preceding the martyrology in both families.

Table 1 – Two Families of Ado’s Martyrology

First family (Dubois’ second recension)	Second family
Ado’s first preface: ‘ <i>Ado peccator lectori salutem. Ne putes me in hoc opere in vacuum laborasse [...] excolere optavi. Salutatis in Christo vale</i> ’	No preface
Parvum Romanum (not always): ‘ <i>Incipit martyrologium romanum. KL. IAN. Romae Almachii decollate [...]</i> ’	No Parvum Romanum
Second preface: [rubric] ‘ <i>Quo genere vel quo cultu sancti martyres venerandi sint. Ex libris beati Augustini episcopi</i> ’. [text] ‘ <i>Populus christianus memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat [...] post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriae celebratur</i> ’ ²³⁰ .	Preface: ‘ <i>Incipit praefatio sequentis operis. Quo genere vel quo cultu martyres honorandi sunt. Ex libro beati Augustini episcopi doctoris mirabilis. Populus christianus memorias martyrum [...] per sacramentum memoriae celebratur. Explicit praefatio</i> ’.
Hymn (not always): ‘ <i>Aeterna Christi munera</i> ’	No hymn
Breviaria apostolorum ²³¹ / Libellus: ‘ <i>In nomine Dei incipit libellus de festivitibus apostolorum et reliquiorum qui discipuli aut vicini successoresque ipsorum apostolorum fuerunt. III</i>	No Breviaria/Libellus

228 H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 468–70 and 475–76.

229 See *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, pp. XXIV–XXVI.

230 See Augustine, ‘Contra Faustum’ XX-21, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De utilitate credendi, de duabus animabus etc.*, ed. J. Zycha, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 25 (Praga/Vienna/Leipzig, 1891), pp. 562–64.

231 *Breviaria apostolorum* are brief notices on apostles containing their names, places of birth and death, originally placed at the beginning of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Ado however expanded them. See AASS, Nov. II-1, 3–4 pp. LXXV–LXXXI and *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, p. XXIII. The breviary sometimes also existed as an independent text from the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See B. de Gaiffier, ‘Le *Breviarium Apostolorum*: (BHL 652). Tradition manuscrite et œuvres apparentées’, *Analecta Bollandiana* (81) 1963, 89–117; id., ‘Les manuscrits du *Breviarium Apostolorum*. Nouveaux témoins’, in *Corona gratiarum: miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica Eligio Dekkers*. *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 10 (Bruges, 1975), pp. 237–41; and J. Carracedo Fraga, ‘El *Breviarium apostolorum* y la historia de Santiago el Mayor en Hispania’, *Compostellanum* 43 (1998), p. 569–87 and id., ‘*Breviarium Apostolorum* (BHL 652): una edición’, *Compostellanum* 50 (2005), 509–10.

<p><i>KL. IUL. Romae, natale beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli [...] qui Dei iudicio in medio flumine interiit. Explicit Libellus prior. Incipit secundus. VIII KL. IUL. Nativitas beati Iohannis Baptistae Praecursoris Domini [...] nec de ea quarere ultra necessarium putat’.</i></p> <p>Martyrology (starts with IX KL. IAN and continues in a calendar order with eulogies for every day of a year). Explicit: ‘<i>Explicit libellus martyrologus. Deo gratias Amen’</i></p> <p>Additions on popes (their exact place varies)</p>	<p>Martyrology: ‘<i>Incipit martyrologium per anni circulum. VIII KL. IAN. In Bethleem Iudae nativitatis Salvatoris Domini [...] IX KL. IAN. Explicit martyrologium’</i></p> <p>No additions on popes</p>
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According to the data from Table 1, the first difference between the two families of Ado’s martyrology is that there are a number of possible prefaces to the martyrology. The first family includes two prefaces, the first one provides us with the name of Ado and his appeal to the audience²³², while the second contains an extract from St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum* XX, 21²³³. The second family contains far fewer additions and starts the martyrology on December 25 with the Nativity of Christ. Finally, the ‘*Breviaria apostolorum*’, so called by Quentin, introduces the *Libellus* of Ado, which consists of two parts (*Libellus primus et secundus*). The following analysis of the extant Catalan copies will demonstrate the complex coexistent combinations of these texts.

The earliest surviving martyrologies copied in Catalan religious institutions belong to the Ado type of martyrology. These are dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries and were produced both in the Benedictine monastic houses and the canonical chapters. Table 2 below represents the particularities of these copies of Ado’s martyrology and allows us to confidently attribute it to a concrete family and the recension of Catalan versions of Ado’s martyrology²³⁴.

Table 2 – Structure of Catalan Martyrological Compendia

N	Martyrology	Time	Institution	Structure
1	Girona Martyrology	960–980	Cathedral chapter of	ff. 2va–3va – 2 nd preface fol. 3vab – hymn ‘ <i>Aeterna Christi munera</i> ’

232The full version is in *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, p. XXV.

233H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p. 469.

234I do not use the aforementioned martyrological fragments, for in this Chapter I provide the analysis of the martyrological structure, and for this reason need to explore the volumes in their entirety.

	(further GirM) ²³⁵		Girona	fol. 3vb – <i>Libellus</i> (incomplete with only 6 eulogies ²³⁶) ff. 5vb–131ra – martyrology <i>per se</i>
2	Vic Martyrology (further VicM ₁) ²³⁷	993–1010	Cathedral chapter of Vic	ff. 3v–4v – 2 nd preface ²³⁸ ff. 5r–15v – <i>Libellus</i> ²³⁹ ff. 15v–140v – martyrology <i>per se</i> ²⁴⁰
3	Vic Martyrology (further VicM ₂) ²⁴¹	1061	Cathedral chapter of Vic	fol. 1r – <i>Libellus</i> ²⁴² ff. 10r–122v – martyrology <i>per se</i>
4	Santa Maria de Serrateix	before 1076	Monastery Santa Maria	fol. 3r – last sentences from <i>aepistola Cromacii et Helyodori episcoporum</i> ²⁴⁴

235Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3, ff. 2va–131ra. The manuscript has a colophon subscribed by the copyist Richarius from the Cathedral chapter in Girona (fol. 131ra). G. Roura places the compilation of the martyrology between 949 and 984 – years of scribal activity of Richarius. G. Roura i Güibas, ‘Martyrologium Adonis. Notes necrologiques marginals’, p. 157.

236According to the numeration in Dubois edition, there are the *auctaria* from 1 to 4 (St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. James, John the Evangelist respectively), 25 (St. Clemens) and 28 (St. Apollinaris). See *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, pp. 1–30.

237Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A, ff. 3v–140v. As suggested by R. Ordeig i Mata, this manuscript was compiled from 993 to 1010 by Iquila, rector of the altar of St. Michael in the Vic cathedral. R. Ordeig i Mata, ‘Guibert, un gramàtic de Lleja a l’escola catedralícia de Vic (vers 1015–1054)’, *Studia Vicensia* 2 (2017), 175–224, p. 209, n. 61.

238The 2nd preface is almost finished, but the next one or two folios are apparently lost, for the *Libellus* continues on the folio 5r, however it is already in the middle of the eulogy 5 to St. Philip and St. James.

239Compared with the Dubois edition, this *Libellus* has seven errors concerning the dating of feasts (eulogy 24 (to St. Onesimus, fol. 7v) suggests MAII instead of MART.; eulogy 25 (to St. Clemens, fol. 8r) forgets one stroke, so VIII becomes VIII; eulogy 29 (to St. Policarpus, fol. 9r) suggests VIII instead of VII; eulogy 32 (to St. Erastus, fol. 9v) adds one stroke to number VII so it looks like VIII; eulogy 33 (to Sts. Rufus and Zosima, fol. 9v) add even two strokes, so XV becomes XVII; eulogy 38 (to St. Trophimus, fol. 10r) instead of IAN. suggests DEC.; eulogy 44 (to St. Tecla, fol. 11r) forgets one stroke, so VIII becomes VIII). The *Libellus* consists of two parts, ‘*Libellus primus*’ ends with the rubric ‘*Finit libellus primus*’ right before the eulogy 50 on Nativity of St. John the Baptist (fol. 14r), with which starts the ‘*Libellus secundus*’. The second *Libellus* has however six eulogies instead of five, as it is attested in Dubois edition, for in VicM₁ the last eulogy on the Nativity of the Virgin is separated into two distinct eulogies, on the Nativity and on the Dormition of the Virgin (fol. 15v).

240Incomplete, the last date is IV ID. DEC. or December 10 (fol. 140v).

241Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B, ff. 1ra–122vb. On the dating see the colophon made by the copyist Ermemir Quintila from Cathedral chapter of Vic (fol. 143vb). Quintila was well-known for many books copied in the middle of the eleventh century. See J. Alturo i Perucho, *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya: orígens i esplendor* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 97–99.

242The *Libellus* starts with the first eulogy to Peter and Paul, although some lines later, and the insight of the first folio clearly indicates that the beginning of the text is missing. Having considered the codicological loss of one folio (the foliation goes from fol. 3r directly to 4v; fol. 3r finishing with eulogy 14 (St. Marcus), and fol. 4v starting with eulogy 22 (St. Hermas), so that eight eulogies are absent in between), all the rest remained in order. The copy contains the similar mistakes as VicM₁ on the folios 4v (two), 5v (three), 6r and 6v respectively. The ‘*Libellus primus*’ is followed by the ‘*Libellus secundus*’ (with the rubric ‘*Finit libellus primus*’, fol. 9r). The last eulogy is divided in two, exactly as in VicM₁ (ff. 9v–10r).

	Martyrology (further SerratM) ²⁴³		de Serrateix	fol. 3rv – ‘ <i>Breviarium apostolorum</i> ’ ²⁴⁵ fol. 4r – part of 2 nd preface fol. 4r – rubric from <i>Libellus</i> ²⁴⁶ fol. 4r–173r – martyrology <i>per se</i>
5	Sant Cugat Martyrology (further StCugM) ²⁴⁷	11 th end	c., Monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès	fol. 2r – ‘ <i>In Christi nomine incipit aepistola Cromacii et Helyodori episcoporum ad Iheronimum presbyterum</i> ’ ²⁴⁸ ff. 2v–3r – ‘ <i>Breviarium apostolorum</i> ’ ²⁴⁹ fol. 3rv – 1 st preface

244These epistles precede the text of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See AASS, Nov. II-1, p. LXXXII.

243København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794, ff. 4r–173r. On the dating see a colophon mentioning the day, the year and the place (monastery of Santa Maria, fol. 173v). On this manuscript see also À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘La biblioteca real de Copenhague: Manuscritos españoles en bibliotecas extranjeras, *Hispania sacra. Revista de història eclesiàstica* 1 (1948), 183–190, p. 187; A. Olivar, ‘Els manuscrits litúrgics de procedència catalana conservats fora de Catalunya’, in *Miscellània Històrica Catalana. Homenatge al P. Jaume Finestres, historiador de Poblet († 1769)* (Poblet, 1970), pp. 15–56, p. 24.

245Not finished, obviously after the fol. 3 some more folios have been lost. On fol. 4r there is a part from Augustinus, *Contra Faustum*, XX, 21, which makes part of the 2nd preface of Ado. See ‘Contra Faustum’, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De utilitate credendi, de duabus animabus etc.*, ed. J. Zycha, p. 562. However it does not continue up to ‘*post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriae celebratur*’ (see aforementioned texts by H. Quentin), but finishes much earlier. The last two sentences are curious because together they correspond to the end of the preface to the Usuard martyrology. See *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 146. At the same time, the first sentence refers to Augustine, *De vera religione*, 297: ‘*Honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem*’, while the second is similar to the one from the same treatise, 304: ‘*Quare honoramus eos caritate non servitute*’. See *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De vera religione. Liber unus*, ed. G. M. Green, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 77 (Vienna, 1961), p. 77 and p. 78 (also *Patrologiae cursus completus series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (further – PL) 34, §108 and §110).

246‘*Incipit libellus de festivitatibus sanctorum apostolorum et reliquorum qui discipuli aut vicini successoresque ipsorum apostolorum fuerunt*’ (fol. 4r).

247Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22, ff. 2r–135r. According to the scholarship, this manuscript was copied at the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès for the dependant monastery Sant Llorenç del Munt. See À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Gràcies de participacio in temporalibus et spiritualibus atorgades, als segles XIII i XIV, per abats de Sant Llorenç del Munt i de Sant Cugat de Vallès’, *Analecta Montserratensia. Miscellanea A. M. Albareda* 9 (1962), 261–64; R. Étaix, ‘Quelques homéliaires de la région catalane’, *Recherches Augustiniennes* 16 (1981), 333–98. Due to the feast of dedication of the church (which corresponded to the feast day in Sant Llorenç on June 24, according to the act of the consecration in 1064) found in the homiliary also present in the volume, the terminus post quem for compilation of the homiliary might have been 1064. It is possible that the homiliary was added to the martyrology later, but the script of the martyrological volume can be dated to the end of the eleventh century. More detailed palaeographical analysis allows us to identify little triangles on the strokes of letters such as b, d and t, which appear in the Western scripts from the twelfth century on. However, the Catalan case might be an earlier development, for the manuscript with these Gothicising palaeographical features appear already at the end of the eleventh century. I am grateful to Tino Licht and Matthias M. Tischler for this palaeographical data.

248See the note on the same *epistola* in SerratM (the StCugM *epistola* is incomplete).

249The rubric (‘*Incipit breviarium apostolorum: ubi predicaverunt, ortus vel obitus eorum*’) is different from what suggested H. Quentin and does not correspond to the *Libellus* of Ado (see *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, pp. 1–30). In StCugM the apostles are named rather in the tradition of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, although with slight variations from the AASS, Nov. II-1, p. LXXVI. For two more Catalan testimonies dated to the ninth and the twelfth centuries see J. Alturo i Perucho, ‘Dos testimonis més del *Breviarium apostolorum*’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 24 (2016), 19–32.

				ff. 3v–4v – 2 nd preface ff. 5r–135r – martyrology <i>per se</i>
6	Vic Martyrology (further VicM ₃) ²⁵⁰	12 th c.	Cathedral chapter of Vic	fol. 1ra – 2 nd preface fol. 1va – rubric from <i>Libellus</i> ff. 1vb–106vb – martyrology <i>per se</i>

Table 2 presents curious results, which allow us to see a clear structural difference between Catalan monastic and canonical versions of the Ado martyrology. It also highlights the mobility of liturgical sources, for their structure is quite vivid even in close religious institutions.

The first overview of the structure shows that the first preface of Ado, which often defines the second recension of the first family²⁵¹, is present only in StCugM (Figure 3). Then, the second preface is in every book except VicM₂. Taking into account the fact that this second Vic martyrology was obviously copied from the first one²⁵², it is unlikely that the absence of the second preface was due to the arrival of any other circulating copy of Ado martyrology in the cathedral chapter. It is more likely that it is missing because either a decision was made not to copy the text, because the cathedral chapter already possessed a complete volume compiled only sixty years before, or due to a codicological loss (the first folio of VicM₂ starts with the eulogy from the *Libellus* with the beginning of the text missing). Finally, the *Libellus* (which according to J. Dubois contained 54 eulogies for the main saints²⁵³), is rather a feature of canonical martyrologies (even when it is incomplete, like in case with GirM), for StCugM does not have *Libellus* at all, and SerratM only has a rubric to the *Libellus*. Although the similar indication only for rubric to the *Libellus* is also in VicM₃, it does not make VicM₃ closer to SerratM, for in all other structural parts they are very different.

The structural analysis thus demonstrates that there is an obvious correlation between the two monastic martyrologies in contrast to the canonical ones. They have the most developed series of texts preceding the main text of the martyrology. The closer analysis of the Serrateix volume makes one suppose that the first preface might have existed in SerratM too with the folios having been later lost, as the Serrateix manuscript has multiple codicological losses throughout the volume²⁵⁴. However, it can be stated that this martyrology

250 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129, ff. 1ra–106vb.

251 *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. XXV.

252 First, both *Libelli* contain the same 'errors' in the dating (see notes 239 and 242); second, the close comparison of the eulogies throughout the volumes prove the exact copying, in particular the additions from the margins in VicM₁ enter the main text in VicM₂.

253 *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. XXVII.

254 The loss of several of the folios, in particular those of the month of November, were already noticed by J. Villanueva. See J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana*, vol. 8. *Viage a las iglesias de Vique y de Solsona, 1806 y 1807* (València, 1821), p. 132.

contained the second preface (with the Augustine text), as folio 4r has a part of this text²⁵⁵. The unfinished '*Breviaria apostolorum*' joined together immediately with the part of the second preface might signify that the first preface once existed between them (Figure 4). Furthermore, both include the epistles of Cromacius as well as the '*Breviaria apostolorum*', which is often found with the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and do not make part of 'traditional' versions of Ado, as they are attested by Quentin and Dubois²⁵⁶. Finally, neither of them contain the *Libellus* and both start with the martyrology *per se* right after the second preface. Even if the SerratM contains a rubric for *Libellus*, it obviously did not mean to copy *Libellus*, for the following first eulogy is a 'classical' vigil for Nativity of Christ on December 24²⁵⁷. Finally, both martyrologies have eulogies from the *Libellus* placed in the main text²⁵⁸. According to the families as defined by Quentin and Dubois, this is either a sign of the second recension or of the second family. Taking into consideration the presence of Ado's prefaces, both monastic martyrologies can be attributed thus to the second recension of the first family, with peculiar additions from the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Without further comparison with other copies, it is complicated to classify them more precisely. More testimonies are required before the manuscripts of the second recension can be decisively attributed to a particular type; a broader study of a wider range of martyrologies would allow us to further specify a possible typology within the second recension. Nevertheless assigning them to the second recension of the first family will be enough for the purposes of this thesis.

Without having so detailed structure of the second recension as suggested in Table 1, the canonical martyrologies nonetheless have the same main features, namely the second preface and the *Libellus*, while GirM has the hymn beyond that. The *Libellus* in GirM is incomplete because the rest of the eulogies were put in the main text. This is also the case with the two monastic volumes from Sant Cugat and Serrateix, which do not include the *Libellus* at all and thus contain all eulogies in the main text. According to Table 2, the Vic martyrologies have the least sophisticated structure among all, with the earliest VicM₁ having only the second preface and the *Libellus* and the later ones with only either the *Libellus* (VicM₂) or preface (VicM₃).

Nevertheless all aforementioned characteristics prove that the Catalan martyrologies belong to the first family of Ado's martyrology, and very probably to its second recension. The diversified structure of these books allows us to put forward a hypothesis that the books had not been circulating among these institutions in the tenth/eleventh centuries: VicM₁ definitely distinguishes from the earliest GirM; and SerratM has a similar structure to StCugM, but still differs in some details (the same ending of the second Ado's preface, see note 245). These observations demonstrate that, at first, the culture of martyrological books

255 See note 245 above.

256 See notes 231, 244 and 249 above.

257 It is placed in the middle of the folio, so there was no evidence it might have been planned and then lost.

258 E.g. eulogy 20 (to St. Parmesanus) from *Libellus* enters his day of commemoration, X KL. FEBR. (see StCugM, fol. 16r, and SerratM, fol. 9r) or eulogy 48 (to St. Agnes) goes on XII KL. FEBR. (see StCugM, ff. 14v–15v, and SerratM, ff. 7r–8r).

was very rich and mobile in tenth/eleventh-century Catalonia, and second, that even within the second recension of Ado's first family there were notable differences between the manuscripts, which challenges scholars to take the detailed study on the regional development of Carolingian martyrologies further than it has currently been taken.

Nevertheless, one should be careful with drawing too far-reaching conclusions from this Table 2, for the number of martyrologies analysed here is too limited to attribute the acquired data as unambiguously specific for the Catalan monastic and canonical martyrologies²⁵⁹.

In addition to these six martyrologies from Catalan cathedrals and monasteries, two more Ado's versions of martyrology had been compiled within the boundaries of the archbishopric of Narbonne. Their provenance from this archbishopric explains their proximity to the manuscript production in the Catalan counties in the eleventh/twelfth centuries²⁶⁰. Two extant canonical martyrologies with the provenance from Carcassonne Cathedral chapter and the priory of Cassan are very close to the Catalan ones, in their palaeographical features as well as in their hagiographical focus. The overview of their martyrological structure (see Table 3) will thus enrich the data on the Catalan martyrologies analysed above.

Table 3 – Structure of the Septimanian martyrological compendia

Martyrology	Time	Institution	Structure
Carcassonne Martyrology (further CarcasM) ²⁶¹	1046–1055	Carcassonne Cathedral chapter	Ff. 13v–14r – 2 nd preface ff. 14r–24r – <i>Libellus</i> ²⁶² ff. 24v–138r – martyrology <i>per se</i> ff. 138r–140v – list of popes
Cassan	12 th c.,	Priory of	Fol. 2r – 1 st preface

259Unfortunately many martyrologies of these period are lost. There are some references, such as in the Ripoll catalogue of 1047, which mentioned even three martyrologies possessed by the monastery. See R. Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 155 (Wien, 1908), p. 104. M. Sants Gros i Pujol points to a martyrology mentioned in the twelfth-century inventory of books of Roda d'Isàvena: '*I Dialogorum cum Vita gregoriana et alium cum Martyrologio*'. See M. Sants Gros i Pujol, 'L'inventari de l'antiga biblioteca de la catedral de Roda d'Isàvena', *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 32/2 (2007), 339–56, 344. J. A. Iglesias i Fonseca mentions a lost twelfth-century manuscript from Montserrat in id., 'El martirologio de Adon en Cataluña', p. 153. We can be fairly certain that other copies do not survive.

260The matrimonial unions of the sovereigns on both sides of Pyrenees ensured close connections between religious institutions and favoured to the exchange of books and texts. See E. Dolset, 'Les fronteres en els comtats catalans i a Europa pels volts de l'any 1100', *Quaderns de les Assemblees d'Estudis* 1 (2014), 29–44, p. 33.

261 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256, ff. 13v–140v.

262Compared with the Dubois edition, this *Libellus* has only three errors concerning the dates: both eulogies 22 (to St. Titus, fol. 18r) and 38 (to St. Trophimus, fol. 20r) instead of IAN. suggest FEBR.) and eulogy 44 (to St. Tecla, fol. 21r) forgets one stroke, so VIII becomes VIII). There is also one replacement (eulogy 35 to St. Onesiphorus is placed after the eulogy 39 to St. Paulus (fol. 20v). The *Libellus* consists of two parts, '*Libellus primus*' ends with the rubric '*Finit libellus primus*' right before the eulogy 50 on Nativity of St. John the Baptist (fol. 23v), with which starts the '*Libellus secundus*'.

Martyrology (further CassM) ²⁶³	beginning	Cassan	ff. 2v–14r – calendar with the Easter Table (fol. 2v) ff. 14v–16r – 2 nd preface fol. 16r – hymn ‘ <i>Aeterna Christi munera</i> ’ ff. 16r–37r – <i>Libellus</i> ²⁶⁴ ff. 37v–222v – martyrology <i>per se</i> ff. 223r–224v – list of popes
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Both these martyrologies definitely belong to the first family of Ado, second recension (Figures 5 and 6). H. Quentin did attribute CarcasM to this family²⁶⁵, and CassM is the most complete of all martyrologies analysed here, for it contains all items which correspond to the second recension of the first family. Furthermore, both manuscripts have at the end of the main martyrology a list of additions on the popes, also one of the important features of this recension²⁶⁶. H. Quentin takes the CarcasM list as example to reproduce the list of popes, both already mentioned in the main text and the new ones²⁶⁷. However Quentin starts this list from the Pope Antheros, whereas CarcasM announces this as the fourth story in the list, mentioning as first Peter, as second Paul, as third Simon and as fourth Silvester²⁶⁸. These four cases are however mentioned further in the Quentin edition, for they are listed in the chronological order. CassM has the same list but the ending of the list and consequently of the manuscript did not survive. However, the colophon which finishes the list of popes in CarcasM is placed at the beginning of this list in CassM²⁶⁹. Finally, another text is placed in between the colophon and the list of popes in CassM, a paragraph from the Chronicle by Prosper of

263 Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963, ff. 14v–224v. On the obituary notes from this martyrology see H. Barthés, *Les documents nécrologiques du diocèse de Béziers (XI^e-XVII^e siècles)* (Saint-Geniès-de-Fontèdit, 1988).

264 Compared with the Dubois edition, this *Libellus* has three errors concerning the dates (eulogy 6 (to St. Bartholomew on fol. 19v) says XVI KL. IUL. instead of VIII KL. SEPT.; eulogy 10 (to St. Simeon, fol. 20r) says XII KL. MART. instead of VI NON. MAII; eulogy 44 (to St. Tecla, fol. 28v) forgets one stroke, so VIII becomes VII); and one replacement (eulogy 42 to St. Dionysius is placed after the eulogy 39 to St. Paulus (fol. 27v). No date for the passion of St. Agatha, the placement is correct though (fol. 31v). The *Libellus* consists of two parts, ‘*Libellus primus*’ ends with the rubric ‘*Finit libellus primus. Item de ipsis qui ante Domini nativitatem fuerunt*’ right before the eulogy 50 on Nativity of St. John the Baptist (fol. 33v), with which starts the ‘*Libellus secundus*’. *Libellus* finishes with the rubric: ‘*Finit de his qui ante Domini nativitatem fuerunt et in presencia natum eum viderunt*’ (fol. 37r).

265 H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p. 466.

266 See *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, p. XXVI.

267 H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p. 470–73.

268 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256, fol. 138rv.

269 See Ms. lat. 5256, fol. 140v and Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963, ff. 222v–223r respectively. This colophon n° 20286 belongs to an anonymous scribe and is attested in the BnF, Ms. lat. 12770, p. 164 and Ms. lat. 12773, p. 398, with the note ‘copy of the Gellone manuscript dated to the ninth or tenth century’. These two manuscripts contain the so-called *Fragmenta historiae Aquitanicae*. See *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle. Tome VI, Lieux anonymes (18952–23774)*, ed., Bénédictins du Bouveret. Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 7 (Fribourg, 1982), pp 157–58. This colophon might thus point to the Aquitanian provenance of the manuscripts and to the possible migration of this colophon in the region.

Aquitaine (390–455)²⁷⁰. CarcasM continues with the same text, interrupted by epistles of Cyprian²⁷¹.

The nature of some changes comparing to the critical edition by Dubois let us think of one possible archetype of the Ado's second recension, which might have circulated in the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne. For example, all martyrologies containing the complete *Libellus* (VicM₁, VicM₂, CarcasM and CassM) place the feast of St. Tecla on September 24 (see notes 239, 242, 262 and 264), which is false, for she is venerated on September 23. When one checks the main text in these four martyrologies, her feast falls on September 23, which corresponds to the Dubois edition and to the factual commemoration day²⁷². This example shows that martyrologies were seemingly blindly copied in every religious community without being checked, and so the errors in the *Libellus* were not corrected by the next copyist²⁷³.

Comparing the results of Table 2 with Table 3 on the Catalan martyrologies, it is noticeable that the canonical martyrology from Cassan has a much more developed structure comparing to canonical martyrologies from Girona and Vic. The first preface in the Cassan volume has not been found in any other canonical copy from Table 2's Catalan manuscripts. Nevertheless, the fact that CassM has the calendar placed between the first and the second prefaces, allows me to assume that GirM might have had a similar structure. GirM starts with a calendar in the middle of the September month, with all previous months missing, and the first folios of the volume are seemingly lost. Presumably, GirM could thus have had the first preface before the calendar too.

These results clearly show that the study on the martyrologies circulating in the neighbour regions, possibly belonging to the same liturgical tradition, can enrich the limited data we have now. The structure of CassM allows us to imagine how GirM might have looked like with the lost folios included. However, it is important to keep in mind, that the chronological gap could also influence the choice of texts in these Ado's versions. Nonetheless, the analysed volumes demonstrate the dissemination of the second recension of the first family of Ado in the Catalan region and beyond into the former Narbonne province from the second half of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century. This Ado version was more predominant than others, albeit it could vary between the texts with or without Ado's proper first preface or the *Libellus*. Furthermore, the extant data show that the monastic martyrologies have had slightly different structures in the texts, preceding the main

270 See the critical edition of this chronicle in the master thesis by D. Brook's, *Prosper's Chronicle: A Critical edition and Translation of the Edition of 445*, Unpublished Masters Thesis (University of Ottawa, 2014), p. 63. The thesis is published online: https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/31820/1/Brooks_Deanna_2014_thesis.pdf, accessed 19th August 2020.

271 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256, fol. 141rv. On the fol. 141v is the text from Prosper's Chronicle. See on these additions H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 469–70.

272 VicM₁, fol. 113v, VicM₂, fol. 94r, CarcasM, fol. 109r, CassM fol. 185r.

273 On the peculiarities of martyrologies containing erroneous saints' names see the article by J.-L. Lemaitre, 'Un chanoine inculte? Le copiste du martyrologe du chapitre cathédral de Béziers', in *Mediterraneo, Mezzogiorno, Europa: Studi Cosimo Damiano Fonseca*, eds. G. Andenna, H. Houben (Bari, 2004), pp. 677–89.

martyrology: both Sant Cugat and Serrateix martyrologies contain some epistles and ‘*Breviaria apostolorum*’ from the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, absent in any extant canonical copy. These conclusions challenge us to explore whether this difference between canonical and monastic copies of Ado’s martyrology concerns only their structure, or if it also involves contextual changes.

II. From Martyrology to *Liber capituli*

The structural changes in the tenth-/eleventh-century Catalan martyrological books having been explored, I will now move on to the place of the martyrology in the formation of the book of chapter. All of the extant Catalan martyrologies are conserved in miscellanea volumes containing different genres of texts. The investigation of these volumes that contain the martyrologies will shed light on the usage of the Catalan martyrologies by different religious communities and on the development of the book of chapter in the Catalan region.

The tradition of commemorating the martyrs during the Liturgy of the Hours spread from the ninth century onwards. In the Northern Iberian Peninsula, e.g. in Pamplona, Zaragoza and Léon it existed independently of the Roman liturgy: the manuscripts of the *Pasionario Hispánico* bear witness to the lecture of martyrs’ passions ‘*ad missam*’ and also sometimes ‘*matutinis horis*’²⁷⁴. Nevertheless, the integration of listing the martyrs has been established as an everyday practice at the Chapter under the Carolingians according to the *statuta* on the monastic and canonical life elaborated in 816–817²⁷⁵. The Aachen Capitular promulgated in 817 declared the martyrology to be read during the office of Prime followed by the Rule or the homily²⁷⁶. This indication in its turn had an impact on the book of chapter, a special book for the liturgical office, which was developing from the eighth century onwards.

274The first *Pasionario hispánico* from Silos (10th c., second half) is in Paris: Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2180; the second one from Cardena (11th c.): London, British Library, Add. 25600, ff. 3r–259r. See A.-G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout, 1992), p. 97. See the edition of the *Pasionario hispánico* in *Pasionario hispánico (siglos VII–XI)*, ed. À. Fàbrega Grau. Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie litúrgica Vol. VI, 2 vols (Madrid/Barcelona, 1953–55) and a recent critical edition that includes three more manuscripts by P. Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario hispánico. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción*. Filosofía y Letras 131 (Sevilla, 1995). A new edition is forthcoming from Brepols: *Passionarium Hispanicum. Saeculum X*, ed. Y. Urquiola. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 171 (Turnhout, 2020). Other scholars have expressed uncertainty about the liturgical use of the *Pasionario hispánico*. See B. de Gaiffier, ‘La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident: à propos du passionnaire hispanique’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), 134–66; G. Philippart, ‘Les légendiers, des origines au début du IX^e siècle’, in *Le légendier de Turin: ms. D.V.3 de la Bibliothèque nationale universitaire*, eds. S. Isetta, M. Goullet. Millennio medievale 103 (Firenze, 2014), pp. 7–74, esp. pp. 37–9, 45–6. See more on this in F. Peloux, ‘Le légendier de Moissac et le Passionnaire hispanique. Enquête ouverte sur la circulation d’une collection wisigothique dans le haut Moyen Âge’, in *Le Légendier de Moissac et la culture hagiographique meridionale autour de l’an mil*, pp. 129–52, esp. pp. 135–40.

275J.-L. Lemaître, *Mourir à Saint-Martial. La commémoration des morts et les obituaires à Saint-Martial de Limoges du XI^e au XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1989), p. 67.

276Aachen Capitulary, §36: ‘*Ut ad capitulum primitus martyrologium legatur et dicatur versus, deinde regula aut homelia qualibet legatur*’. See ‘Synodi secundae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica Aquisgrani in palatio imperiali die 10 mensis Iulii anni 817 promulgata’, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*. Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 480.

During the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, developments in the liturgy fostered the creation of new liturgical books; one of these was the book of chapter, a specific genre of book for the office of chapter. According to J. Vezin and J.-L. Lemaitre, at first this office appeared independently of the Liturgy of the Hours. For several centuries it was then celebrated after the office of Prime until 1266, when the General chapter of the Franciscans introduced it to the Roman Office²⁷⁷. Together with the evolution of this office within the established liturgical cycle or rather its development for this office, the book of chapter was formed.

As the office of chapter comprised the commemoration of martyrs as well as the reading of the anniversaries of the deaths of local people, the newly developing book of chapter contained several texts: a martyrology, a necrology, the rule and a homiliary, and possibly other additions (such as treatises of *computus*, lists of abbots, historical texts, etc.)²⁷⁸. Not all books of chapter have a necrology in the form of a separated item in the volume²⁷⁹. Some of them might contain simple obituary notes put into the main text of the martyrology according to the day of the death. For instance, the majority of Catalan martyrologies do not have a necrology separated from the martyrology, yet all of them preserve in their margins the obituary notes for deceased canons, monks and sometimes even laypersons.

If we think of a martyrology as a single part of the whole, then all Catalan martyrologies were combined in their volumes with other texts. It is necessary then to understand whether the volumes represent simply a compilation made in a later period or whether we are seeing the formation of an early book of chapter.

The three following tables demonstrate the entire structures of the books of chapter. I prefer the term ‘martyrological *compendium*’ to a simple ‘martyrology’, for it better specifies the complex and diversified structural content of Ado’s martyrology (see the previous section in this chapter).

Table 4 – Structure of Catalan canonical books of chapter

Canonical martyrologies

277J.-L. Lemaitre, ‘*Liber capituli*. Le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVI^e siècle. L’exemple français’, in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. K. Schmid, J. Wollasch (München, 1984), pp. 625–48, p. 626.

278J.-L. Lemaitre explores the notion of *Liber capituli* in his article ‘*Liber capituli*. Le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVI^e siècle’. See also J. Vezin, ‘Problèmes de datation et de localisation des livres de l’office de Prime’, in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, pp. 613–24, p. 618.

279As an example of book of chapter E. Palazzo considered the Usuard martyrology, arguing that it contained not only the martyrology, but also other texts for the office of Prime (he meant the BnF Ms. lat. 13745, compiled after 858). See E. Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books from the beginning to the thirteenth century* (Minnesota, 1998), pp. 164–65. This one has already had a separated necrology, albeit quite early comparing for example to Ado’s martyrologies. This may highlight the difference in the evolution and the usage of different versions and families of martyrologies.

GirM ²⁸⁰	VicM ₁	VicM ₂	VicM ₃
Calendar (ff. 1ra–2va)	Calendar (ff. 1r–3v)	Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 1r–122vb)	Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 1ra–106vb)
Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 2va–131ra)	Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 3v–140v)	Epistles (<i>Sancti Clementis epistola ad Jacobum</i> , ff. 123ra–127rb)	
<i>Incipit</i> from the <i>Acta Apostolorum</i> (‘ <i>Incipit prologus in septem epistolas canonicas</i> ’ fol. 131rv)		Treatise (<i>Prologus Augustini de differentia inter angelos bonos et malos</i> , fol. 127v)	
Epistles of St. James (‘ <i>Jacobus dei et domini nostri</i> ’ ²⁸¹), of St. Peter and St. John ²⁸² (ff. 131v–136v)		<i>De correctione rusticorum</i> of Martin of Braga 5–19 (ff. 128ra–131ra) ²⁸³	
		Sermon of St. Fulgentius (‘ <i>Testificor coram Deo</i> ’ ²⁸⁴ , ff. 131ra–132vb)	
		Epistles of St. Jerome and St. Augustine ²⁸⁵ (ff. 132vb–	

280 See L. Serdá, ‘Los martirologicos de la Marca Hispanica en la evolución litúrgica de la misma’, *Ausa* 1 (1952–53), 387–89.

281 *Epistola canonica beati Iacobi Apostoli*.

282 See J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España. Viage á Urgel y á Gerona*, vol. 12 (Madrid, 1850), p. 124.

283 The beginning of this treatise is missing, which clearly demonstrates the codicological loss between the unfinished treatise by St. Augustine on angels and the following *De correctione rusticorum* by St. Martin of Braga, which continues until the end.

284 Sancti Fulgentii, Ruspensis Episcopi, *Liber de fide ad Petrum Diaconum*, III.

285 See fol. 132vb: *Iheronimus ad Nepotianum presbiterum de moribus clericorum*; 133rb: *Iheronimus epistola ad Eustochium ‘Non expedit aprehenso aratro respicere’*; 135ra: *Iheronimus de conditionum primi hominis*, 136rb: *Noticia Augustini de archa testamenti*, 136vb: *Iheronimus ‘Quia ecce in diebus illis’*, 137rb: *Sermo sancti Augustini episcopi de probitate morum*, 138vb: *Iheronimus de antichristo*, 139rb: ‘*De per iurio et falso testimonio*’; 139va: *Depositio terre*; fol. 140ra: ‘*Scire velum*’ (Beda, *Aliquot quaestionum liber*, quaestio X) and extract from Augustine (‘*Ergo ut in quodam loco dictum est*’); fol. 140rb: ‘*De dimittendo debito vel peccato*’, ‘*De flagellis Dei*’; fol. 141rb: ‘*De manifestis occultisque peccatis*’; fol. 141va: ‘*Utrum martires in benediciisque eorum orationibus conferuntur ipsi inter esse credendis in rebus humanis*’; fol. 142ra: ‘*De abstinentia carnis et vini*’, ‘*Que sit differentia paradisorum. Unus est terrenus paradisis ...*’; fol. 142va: ‘*Sermo sancti Augustini de die iudicii*’; fol. 142vb: ‘*Epistola sancti Iheronimi ad clericum*’. See more the detailed description in J. Gudiol, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits a Vich*, p. 136.

		143vb), followed by a colophon	
		Extracts from Beda, on St. Barnaba (' <i>quare tauros quare coronas</i> ', fol. 144rv) ²⁸⁶	
		' <i>Prologus ad genesim</i> ' (ff. 144vb–145vb)	
		Fol. 145vb: ' <i>Post ascensionem Christi ad celos</i> '	

At first glance, Table 4 shows that only two of the four volumes (GirM and VicM₂) belong to the forming book of chapter, for they contain not only a calendar and a martyrological *compendium*, but also sermons, epistles of holy Fathers of the Church and the lives of apostles. However, the martyrologies from Vic reveal a more complicated history.

According to the nineteenth-century evidence, the Vic cathedral library possessed a volume, which contained a martyrology, epistles of St. Clemens, prologue of St. Augustine (all dated to the eleventh century), immediately followed by the *Vita canonica Aquisgranensis*²⁸⁷ and another martyrology (both of the twelfth century)²⁸⁸. The first part of this description corresponds to the contemporary manuscript VicM₂ (Ms. 128B), albeit some texts are missing in the nineteenth-century inventory (as various texts by St. Augustine and St. Jerome). This evidence thus demonstrates, that in the nineteenth century the volumes were joined together, in contrast to their actual state. The catalogue of the Vic archive (reprinted in 1934) clarifies this story²⁸⁹. In the first part of the twentieth century, the manuscripts, catalogued nowadays as 128A and 128B, had been unified in one volume (Ms. 128), whereas Ms. 129 once contained several different texts in contrast to today when it only contains one²⁹⁰. The first volume, Ms. 128, thus seems to correspond to the nineteenth-century inventory description: martyrology – St. Clemens – St. Augustine – *Vita canonica Aquisgranensis* – martyrology, except one detail: two last items are dated to the tenth, and not to the twelfth century. The second volume, Ms. 129, contained the twelfth-century martyrology, followed by a series of eleventh-century texts (around fifteen folios). In the

286 Extracts from *Homilia sive sermo venerabilis Bedae in natalis. Barnabae Apostoli*, 5–6.

287 H. Cowdrey for example, links the widespread adoption of the *Institutio canonicorum* of the council of Aachen with the remarkable development of the cathedral chapters, as in the case of Germany. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Structure of the Church, 1024–1073', in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, Part 1, eds. D. Luscombe, J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 229–67, p. 247.

288 See number 43 from the list of manuscripts discovered in the Vic Cathedral chapter in G. Heine, 'Zweiter Bericht des Dr. G. Heine in Berlin über seine litterarische Reise in Spanien', *Serapeum Zeitschrift für Bibliothekwissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Litteratur* 6 (1847), 81–95, p. 92.

289 This catalogue is based on five articles by Gudiol i Cunill in the *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* which he published between 1920 and 1932 and is complemented by an index by E. Junyent i Subirà.

290 See the previous codicological description in the catalogue of J. Gudiol, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits a Vich* (Barcelona, 1934), pp. 133–37.

1960s, the archivist of Vic Eduard Junyent made the decision to facilitate the use of the volumes by dividing the Ms. 128 of 313 folios into three separated items (henceforth 128A, 128B and 128C) and restoring them²⁹¹. The politics of the archive concerning this recomposition of codicological parts was to keep the palaeographical authenticity while reconstructing a chronological development of the volumes²⁹². As a result, many folios from the previous two volumes have changed their place, according to this new system. The part with the earlier texts (from the sermon of St. Fulgentius to the colophon) from Ms. 129 has been added then to Ms. 128B (now ff. 131ra–143vb) right between other patristic texts (as shown in Table 4 above). The second martyrology from Ms. 128 has been put in a Ms. 128A and the *Vita canonica* in Ms. 128C. Therefore, despite the apparent simplicity of both martyrological compendia VicM₁ and VicM₃, they were once accompanied with other texts. Nevertheless, exactly how these books looked in the Central Middle Ages remains uncertain. In the best case scenario, the compilation of the ancient Ms. 129 (with the twelfth-century martyrology and following eleventh-century extracts) allows us to suppose that the new martyrology might have been used as a book of chapter in the twelfth century. As the canons needed other texts for reading *ad capitulum*, after having written a new copy of martyrology, they compiled the earliest patristic treatises with this later copy. Moreover, given the presence of the tenth-century *Vita canonica Aquisgranensis*, I argue that the first version of the Vic martyrology was already a part of the book of chapter in the beginning of the eleventh century. The second version finished in 1061 enriched the reading at the cathedral chapter with multiple epistles and extracts from the lives of apostles, yet keeping in the same huge volume the earlier version of the martyrology and the *Vita canonica*. Thus this structure of the Vic martyrologies demonstrates their participation in forming the book of chapter.

Table 5 shows the structure of the monastic volumes from Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix in order to see whether these martyrologies were a part of the book of chapter as well and if their content structure differs from their canonical counterparts.

Table 5 – Structure of Catalan monastic books of chapter

Monastic martyrologies	
StCugM	SerratM²⁹³
Charters (fol. 1rv)	Extracts from the Homiliary of Luculentius (fol. 1rv) ²⁹⁴

291 These changes are recorded exclusively in the copy of the catalogue from the Archive of Vic. On the *Vita canonica Aquisgranensis* see J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana. Viage á la iglesia de Vique*, vol. 6 (València, 1821), pp. 40–44.

292 I draw this conclusion from the discussion with the archivist Mn. Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol, which occurred in the archive of Vic in April 2017.

293For the content of this manuscript see the description in the catalogue: E. Jørgensen, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (København, 1926), pp. 238–39.

294For the identification of the texts at the beginning and in the end of the volume as extracts from the Homiliary of Luculentius see F. Altés i Aguilo, ‘Una recensió del segle XI de les homilies sobre les epístoles

Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 2r–135r)	Antiphons (fol. 2rv)
Rule of St. Benedict (<i>‘In nomine Domini incipit prologus regule... Incipit textus regule de generibus monachorum’</i> , ff. 135v–155r)	Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 3r–173r)
Epistles of St. Clemens (<i>‘Incipiunt epistola beati Clementis pape urbis Rome. Quam misit ad beatum Jacobum fratrem in Domini. De ordine clericorum quomodo se agant’</i> , ff. 155r–158v)	<i>Versiculi metrici compositi</i> (fol. 173rv)
Treatise of St. Augustine (<i>‘Incipit sermo sancti Augustini episcopi quod sit differentia inter angelos benignos et malos et quomodo oportet homini ut sit bonus’</i> , ff. 158v–161v)	Calendar-necrology (ff. 173v–85r, 11 th –15 th cc.)
Extracts with <i>lectiones</i> (with rubrics added later in Gothic cursive, fol. 161v) ²⁹⁵	Rule of St. Benedict (ff. 185r–201v)
<i>Vita sancti Ilari episcopi et confessoris</i> (ff. 162r–163v) (BHL 3886)	<i>Ordinarius evangeliorum per circulum anni</i> . (ff. 202r–205v)
Charters separated with lections (one of them on fol. 164v starts with a rubric <i>‘In die corporis Domini’</i> , ff. 163v–164v) ²⁹⁶	Calendar (ff. 206r–227v, 15 th –19 th cc).
Homiliary (<i>‘Incipiunt evangelii de toto circuli anni Dominicales. Legenda ad capitulum’</i> , includes lections for the temporal and for sanctoral, ff. 165r–178v) ²⁹⁷	Extracts from the Homiliary of Luculentius (ff. 228r–229v)

The structure of both volumes presented above clearly points to their usage as books of chapter in these monastic communities. Calendars, martyrological compendia, rules of St. Benedict as well as lectures for the whole liturgical year are all traditional components of the book of chapter. Moreover, in StCugM a rubric preceding the Gospel lectures mentions that they were to be read *‘ad capitulum’*, which possibly attests to their use during the office of the

estivals de l’homiliari dit de Luculenti(us), testimoniada en els homiliaris de l’ofici del monestir de Serrateix i de la canònica de Solsona’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 15 (2007), 273–304, esp. pp. 274–77.

295These extracts belong to the homiliary, which continues further.

296These charters, together with those at the beginning of the volume, refer to the history of the monastery Sant Llorenç del Munt. As suggested by R. Étaix, this codex may have been copied in the monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès for the dependant monastery Sant Llorenç del Munt. See R. Étaix, ‘Quelques homéiaires de la région catalane’, *Recherches Augustiniennes* 16 (1981), 334–98, pp. 378–79.

297Identified as homiliary, as well as some extracts from the previous folia. See R. Étaix, ‘Quelques homéiaires de la région catalane’, 378–87.

Chapter. The Serrateix volume, as F. X. Altés i Aguiló suggested, was destined for the ‘*officium capituli*’, and thus for the office of Prime²⁹⁸.

Furthermore, Table 5 demonstrates the unification between both monastic volumes in their mandatory presence of the Rule of St. Benedict and the complete homiliaries, with temporal and sanctoral. However, a curious fact reconciles the Sant Cugat book of chapter with VicM₂. For instance, both place the epistles by St. Clemens and the tract by St. Augustine on the angels right after the martyrological compendium. This might again point to the possibility that the particular place of the Vic liturgical production was very close to the monastic one due to the connection to the Ripoll monastery.

Finally, it is not redundant to briefly look through the Carcassonne and the Cassan volumes in order to see whether their content structure is similar to the Catalan books of chapter (see Table 6)

Table 6 – Structure of Septimanian canonical books of chapter

CarcasM	CassM
Calendar (12 th –13 th cc., ff. 1r–8v) ²⁹⁹	Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 2r–224v) ³⁰⁰
Calendar with obits (11 th c., ff. 9r–13r)	Calendar with obits (between Ado’s first and second prefaces, ff. 3r–14r)
<i>Antiphona</i> (fol. 13r)	Charter (with the dedication of the church and a list of relics herein, dated to 1115, fol. 14r)
Copy of donation (fol. 13r)	Some texts (fol. 222v)
Martyrological <i>compendium</i> (ff. 13v–140v)	
Epistles (‘ <i>Incipit epistola sancti Cypriani ad successum</i> ’ and ‘ <i>ad clerum et plebem Carthaginensem</i> ’, fol. 141rv)	
Prosper’s chronicle (fol. 141v) ³⁰¹	
<i>Passio Sancti Ignatii</i> ³⁰² (ff. 141v–146r)	

298See F. Altés i Aguiló, ‘El leccionari i collectari santoral de Santa Maria de Serrateix (Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà)’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 10 (2001), 211–93, p. 212. See also J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana. Viage á las iglesias de Vique y de Solsona*, vol. 8 (València, 1821), pp. 126–33, p. 132.

299With the ‘Easter table’ on the fol. 8v.

300The martyrology is interrupted on the fol. 138rv with antiphons right in the middle of the eulogy on St. Beatrix (IV KL AUG, 30 July), then the folio is cut. On 138v there is a text on Pope Gregory VII and his Roman Council in 1074. On this text see A. B. Palacios, ‘La redacción del c. “In die resurrectionis” en las colecciones canónicas pregracianas’, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, eds. P. Landau, J. Müller. Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series D Subsidia 10 (Vatican, 1997), pp. 923–52. From the fol. 139r on, another hand continues the eulogy on St. Beatrix. This hand crosses off the text that existed earlier (also on saint day).

301See the notes 270 and 271 above, on this text in both Carcassonne and Cassan martyrologies.

' <i>De anima quando egrebitur a corpore</i> ' and ' <i>Quando quis queret ubi Pasche terminus heret</i> ' (fol. 146v)
St. Jerome (' <i>Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistolas</i> ' ³⁰³ , ff. 147r–149r)
<i>Lamentationes</i> 1–5 (' <i>Aleph doctrina. Quomodo sedit sola civitas plena populo</i> ' ff. 149r–153v)
Charter and <i>varia</i> (ff. 153v–155r) ³⁰⁴
Rule of St. Augustine (' <i>Incipit regula beati Augustini episcopi</i> ', ' <i>Hec sunt que ut observetis</i> ', ff. 155v–158r)
Rule of St. Benedict (ff. 158r–173v)
Epistle of Paulus Diaconus to Charlemagne in the name of his abbot Theodemar of Montecassino (' <i>Propagatori ac defensori christianae religionis domno Carolo [...] sicut sua exposci necessitas</i> ' ³⁰⁵ , ff. 174ra–175ra) ³⁰⁶
<i>Passio sancti Georgii martiris</i> (ff. 176r–183r) ³⁰⁷ (BHL 3362z)

The Cassan martyrology is the most modest compared to all other volumes. It contains a very detailed martyrological *compendium* by Ado and the calendar. Technically speaking, there is no proof of its use as the book of chapter, unless its other items have been lost throughout the centuries. On the contrary, the content of the Carcassonne volume is remarkably rich: it has a large collection of different genres of texts completing the martyrological *compendium*. According to the codicological analysis of the whole volume by

302 Finishes with a sudden explicit '*Explicit libellus martyrologius Deo Gratias amen*' which in many occasions is placed right after the eulogies on December 23 (X KL. IAN.). H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p. 469.

303 *Prologus sancti Hieronymi presbyteri in Pentateucho, Praefatio sancti Hieronymi in libro Iosue and Prologus Hieronymi in libro Hieremiae prophetae*).

304 See more detailed description of the smaller items at the manuscript description produced by L. Albiero on the Website of the BnF library, <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766391015018>, <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766391015019> and <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766385374239>, all accessed 24th August 2020.

305 Theodemar of Montecassino, 'Epistolae Carolinae' 12, in *Monumenta Carolina*, ed. P. Jaffé. Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 4 (Berlin, 1867), pp. 358–64. See the later critical editions in *MGH Epistolae* 4, ed. E. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2 (Berlin, 1895), p. 509 and in *Theodemari abbatis Casinensis 'Epistula ad Karolum regem'*, eds. K. Hallinger/M. Wegener. *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 141 n. 21.

306 On the smaller items from the fol. 175v see the same BnF Website, <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766385374239>, accessed 19th August 2020.

307 On the smaller items that follow the '*Passio*' see the manuscript description on the same BnF Website, <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766385374240>.

L. Albiero, the martyrological *compendium*, together with the calendar and the texts until St. Jerome (fol. 147r), was compiled at the same time, from 1046 to 1055³⁰⁸. This unit allows us to suggest that the martyrological *compendium* did not exist *per se* from the very beginning, but was accompanied with the epistles and the life of St. Ignatius. It is also noticeable that this volume received two rules in the following decades, dated to the second half of the eleventh century³⁰⁹. This structure content explicitly demonstrates the process of compilation of the book of chapter in the Carcassonne cathedral. By incorporating the texts of St. Jerome and St. Augustine—albeit different ones from those in the Catalan copies—this volume nevertheless reveals the inclusion of texts by the same authors as in the aforementioned regional books of chapter.

Moreover, the existence of the St. Augustine Rule in the Carcassonne volume marks a progressive dissemination of the manuscripts produced under the powerful regular canons from the Abbey Saint-Ruf of Avignon. Their books then travelled to the south, and one later twelfth-century martyrology—although it was the version of Usuard—reached the Cathedral chapter of Tortosa³¹⁰. The addition of the Rule in the second half of the eleventh century in CarcasM corresponds to the time of expansion of these regular canons³¹¹. We know that this Rule was used in 1081 in the Elna diocese, where the Augustinian canons had close connections with the monastery of Saint-Ruf of Avignon; then via Serrabone priory it might have entered other Catalan religious institutions to the south³¹². The *diplomata* reveal the interaction between the canons of Saint-Ruf and those of Besalú, in the diocese of Girona, at the end of the eleventh century, with the following foundation of the collegiate churches in other Catalan dioceses³¹³. Likewise, in the 1080s, the regular canons tried to implement reforms in the Vic Cathedral chapter and at the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses³¹⁴.

308See <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766391015018> (accessed 19th August 2020).

309See <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64191k/ca59766385374239> (accessed 19th August 2020).

310Tortosa, Arxiu de la Catedral, Ms. 90. It was probably copied in Southern France under the influence of Augustinian canons. See M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation', p. 77.

311The Order of Saint-Ruf near Avignon, which was founded in 1039, had 108 dependencies by 1154. See G. Constable, 'Religious Communities, 1024–1215', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV, c.1024–c.1198*, Part 1, eds. D. Luscombe, J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 335–67, p. 335. See more in U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)* (Turnhout, 1995), 2 vols, esp. vol. 1, pp. 448–62 on the connections to the Saint-Ruf with ecclesiastical communities of Carcassonne and the diocese of Béziers.

312A. Mundó, 'Importación, exportación y expoliaciones de códices en Cataluña (siglos VIII al XIII)', in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la península en los siglos VIII–XIII* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 87–134, p. 104.

313On the spreading influence of the Abbey Saint-Ruf in the Catalan region see J. M. Martí i Bonet, *Oleguer, servent de les esglésies de Barcelona i Tarragona* (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 55–79.

314J. Villanueva recorded the '*Statutum de vita canonica S. Augustini in monasterio S. Iohannis de Abbatissis, anno MLXXXVI*'. See J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España. Viage á las iglesias de Vique y de Solsona*, vol. 8 (València, 1821), pp. 241–42. On the collegiate Saint-Ruf of Avignon and its impact on Catalan religious institutions see M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 810–13, and U. Vones-

The next stage of the texts' transmission might have been realised during the abbacy of Ponç de Monells, abbot of Sant Joan de les Abadesses (1140–1193) who was also bishop of Tortosa from 1178. These contacts between these communities seemingly contributed to the diffusion of the Augustinian Rule in Catalan lands. The arrival of the manuscript with the Usuard martyrology and the St. Augustine's Rule within from Saint-Ruf to Tortosa could explain the existence of later Catalan copies of the Usuard martyrology, dated to the thirteenth century, and preserved in New York, Vic and Tarragona³¹⁵.

Furthermore, as shown above³¹⁶, StCugM was compiled in the scriptorium of Sant Cugat but for the dependant monastery Sant Llorenç del Munt. The latter was attached to Sant Cugat in the last third of the eleventh century and this state was confirmed by Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona in 1097/98³¹⁷. We cannot be certain, but the compiled martyrology might have been transmitted to the monastery of Sant Llorenç either right after its attachment to Sant Cugat or after the creation of the congregation. From there the martyrology was likely unified together with the homiliary of Sant Llorenç (written after 1064) and since then used as a book of chapter. Another monastic martyrology from Serrateix, copied before 1076, may possibly be connected with the renovation and reconstruction of the main church, which began under the Abbot Pere from 1077 and finished in 1123 with a solemn consecration by Oleguer, archbishop of Tarragona. It seems logical to assume that the renovation of the main church went hand in hand with the compilation of new liturgical books for everyday use, and one of those might have been a book of chapter.

Certainly, it is important to take into consideration that several parts of the books analysed here might have been added later (as in the case with the homiliary from StCugM). However, the palaeographical similarities between the scripts prove that, even if it was not always intended from the very beginning, martyrologies entered the volumes of books of chapter over the next few decades.

Therefore, almost all martyrologies analysed above (apart from CassM) formed a book of chapter, for they find their place alongside rules, patristic and homiletic texts. The analysis of the content structure of the volumes helps to define their usage for the office of Prime in both canonical and monastic religious institutions. Moreover, all volumes contain obituary

Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, vol. 1, pp. 107–24 and 143–48.

³¹⁵New York, Hispanic Society of America, B 2715, fols. 12r–82r, Sant Miquel d'Escornalbou, end of the twelfth century; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 207, fols. 1r–23v, Catalonia, twelfth to thirteenth century; Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, Ms. 106, fols. 206r–287v, Santa Maria de Bonrepòs, twelfth to thirteenth century. For the provenance of liturgical manuscripts survived in the archive of Tortosa see the catalogue by E. Bayerri i Bertomeu, *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa: novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona, 1962).

³¹⁶See footnotes 246 and 294.

³¹⁷This was the year of building a congregation of Catalan monasteries (already attached Sant Llorenç del Munt and Santa Cecília de Montserrat and three others – Sant Salvador de Breda, Sant Pau de Camp, Santa Maria del Coll de Font-Rúbia) under Abbot Berenguer Folc (1091–1104) of Sant Cugat. See C. Puigferrat i Oliva, 'Sant Cugat del Vallès. Història. L'evolució interna del cenobi als segles XI–XII', in *Catalunya romànica* 18. Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 162–63.

notes within the text of the martyrology and as additions to the calendars. The monastic martyrologies have the Benedictine Rule and the homiliary for the liturgical year in common, while the canonical martyrologies only add epistles and sermons (the huge Carcassonne volume with two rules is seemingly an exception, at least following the sample from the region). The use of similar patristic texts in the two eleventh-century books of chapter from Sant Cugat and Vic might either point to a particular connection between both institutions and their possible exchange of manuscripts at that time or mean that these concrete texts for the reading *ad capitulum*, were considered appropriate at this time and in this region.

The analysis of the place of these martyrological *compendia* within books of chapter also demonstrates some similarities among the monastic copies compared to the canonical ones. Hence martyrological *compendia* were formed as a corpus of texts which varied according to the religious status of the community. The last part of this chapter will clarify whether the content changes in martyrologies consisting of new additions on the saints and cults would contribute to the distinction between monastic and canonical copies.

III. The Martyrology as Source of *Auctaria*

Finally, one deeper step into the analysis of the Catalan and Septimanian martyrological *compendia* relates to the changes brought to the text of Ado's ninth-century martyrology. Among these changes there are, first, the *auctaria* – additions of new feasts and new saints or saints whose cults were seeing a resurgence in popularity. Second, a series of other significant variations, distinct from the known edited copies of Ado's martyrology, such as additions for *vigiliae* and *octavae* of the feasts, which stress the importance of the celebrated feasts. Third, there are a number of additions on the dedications of churches, the last of which are particularly helpful for locating the manuscripts.

It is tempting to explore liturgical sources by considering their multifunctional and multimodal usage and this approach can yield interesting results. Already at first glance one can see that tenth- and eleventh-century martyrologies represent a collection of lively material: they highlight life in local religious communities, mark the relations between religious and secular powers, and point to particular cults and saints that were of interest to the community. Helpful clues concerning the history of particular religious communities can be found in the obits. These not only indicate the members of the community as well as religious and secular authorities in the monastery/diocese/county, but can also be used to reconstruct the networks of this community with other religious centres, for the obits often commemorate different people beyond the place where the manuscript was known to have been used. Another useful tool for this historical analysis concerns the *auctaria*, because they are of a great help for the study of local saints (e.g. in the case of Catalonia these would be the martyrs St. Eulàlia of Barcelona or St. Cugat).

These methods and their results are telling, however, I would argue, that we can use the martyrological *compendia* not as a source which helps us to reconstruct the history of a local religious community, but rather as a witness of migrating cults of saints, and, taking one step further, the cults of universal saints, not simply the local ones. My approach considers the martyrology as a medium which transferred the saints' cults, venerated in the tenth and

eleventh centuries, from various regions to Catalonia. The comparative analysis of a selection of *auctaria* in several martyrologies allows us to observe the degree of implementation of these cults in different religious communities and to track the way in which they were implemented. Exploring hagiographic sources disseminated at the same time in various communities, it will be possible to investigate the rhythm of cults' dissemination and determine the factors behind the pace at which they spread. Thus, this approach to the data, collected altogether and analysed from this standpoint for the first time, provides a fresh perspective to a traditional subject.

1. Statistics of the Auctaria in Catalan and Septimanian Martyrologies

In order to systematise the *auctaria* in the analysed martyrologies, I have created a comparative table that includes all of the additions which are absent in the edition by J. Dubois³¹⁸ (see Appendix II). My aim here is to explore the strategy of tenth- and eleventh-century religious institutions when adding a number of saints to their martyrologies, which might possibly have come through other sources than the copies of Ado's martyrology circulating in the region. I have not have taken into consideration any dedications of local churches in dioceses nor obits, which concern the organisation of local liturgical life in communities. Instead, my research focuses on the nature of more 'universal' *auctaria* as well as the possible correlations between the added feasts and asks whether they would rather point to the common interests between the communities in the diffusion of particular feasts or to the circulation of the same texts? And can they help to hypothesise on the nature of the institutional regional network?

As my statistical analysis shows, six martyrologies from six respective scriptoria (Girona, Vic, Sant Cugat, Serrateix, Carcassonne and Cassan³¹⁹) have 66 additions in common, which correspond to at least two books from different religious communities³²⁰. From these 66 additions, more than a half (42) are repeated in two martyrologies; 14 occur in three or four communities; 2 appear in five centres and 8 are found in all six communities (see Table 7 below).

Table 7 – *Auctaria* in six martyrologies

Feasts found in two communities	42
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318As a point of departure, I take the edition of J. Dubois and G. Renaud, *Martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles, ses trois recensions* (Paris, 1984).

319Two later martyrologies from Vic always repeat all additions made in the first volume.

320There are more additions in the Serrateix and Carcassonne martyrologies, however, they are beyond the scope of this study because they only show the correlation between these two volumes and do not reflect common changes in the additions. Nevertheless, the statistics clearly demonstrate the main tendencies of, as well as the correlation between, the *auctaria* which appear in the martyrologies from the Catalan region.

Feasts found in three/four communities	14
Feasts found in five communities	2
Feasts found in all (six) communities	8
In total	66

Before exploring the correlation between different copies of martyrologies in the region, it is important to observe the nature of the extant *auctaria*. First of all, from these 66 additions four testimonies highlight the liturgical commemoration of some feasts through a special addition of *octavae*³²¹ (2) and *vigiliae*³²² (2). All of the others concern the commemoration of different universal saints, with 3 cases of famous local saints for the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne (St. Paul from Narbonne, St. Eulàlia from Barcelona and St. Felix from Girona – these feast days found in liturgical sources also help to localise the manuscript production). Furthermore, some *auctaria* commemorate the same feasts, albeit attributing them to different days of the liturgical year³²³. Finally, the scribes sometimes added the eulogy of the saint who had already been commemorated on the same day and who was already mentioned in the text. Examples include St. Fulgentius in the martyrologies of Vic³²⁴, St. Narcissus for both Vic and Sant Cugat³²⁵, and St. Theophilus for Sant Cugat and Carcassonne³²⁶. It is hard to explain these sorts of additions with something other than the particular interest in these saints of each religious community³²⁷. For instance, the eulogy for St. Narcissus in the martyrologies is seemingly connected to the first eulogy of the same day dedicated to St. Afra, who converted to Christianity with the help of St. Narcissus, the bishop

321 ‘*Octave epiphaniae*’ in VicM₁ (and the copies VicM₂ and VicM₃ – see fol. 22v, fol. 15v and fol. 6v respectively) and StCugM (fol. 11v). ‘*Octave sancti Laurentii*’ in VicM₁ (and the copies VicM₂ and VicM₃ – see fol. 94r, fol. 76v and fol. 68v respectively), SerratM (fol. 108v), StCugM (fol. 85r), CarcasM (fol. 92v). All are added in the corpus of text. The last one is however typical for the Usuard martyrology. See *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 285.

322 ‘*Vigilia sancti Mathei apostoli*’ in SerratM (fol. 141rv), StCugM (fol. 102r), CarcasM (fol. 107r). ‘*Vigilia Symonis et Jude*’ in SerratM (fol. 153v), StCutM (fol. 116v), CarcasM (fol. 120r). All are added in the corpus of text.

323 E.g. the reference ‘*Eodem die septem dormientium*’ falls on June 27 in GirM (fol. 62r) and CarcasM (fol. 71v) but on August 12 in VicM₁ (and the copies VicM₂ and VicM₃ – see fol. 92v, fol. 75v and fol. 67r respectively) and StCugM (fol. 83r). The same concerns the eulogy to St. Christophorus celebrated on July 25 according to Ado’s martyrology, but also added on July 10 in StCugM, fol. 67v.

324 VicM₁, fol. 18r, VicM₂, fol. 12r; VicM₃, fol. 3v.

325 VicM₁, fol. 84v, VicM₂, fol. 68v; VicM₃, fol. 62v; StCugM, fol. 76v.

326 StCugM, fol. 22r (‘*Beatus Theophilus martirio sociatus beate virgini*’); CarcasM, fol. 38v (the last one is added later but reproduces the first eulogy in a short form: ‘*In Cesarea Capua passio sancte Dorothe et Theophili*’).

327 See fragments of life of St. Fulgentius in Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn XIX/2 (third quarter of the 11th c.). M. Gros i Pujol, ‘Fragments de passioner i de leccionari del santoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 97–145, pp. 123–25.

of Girona. This might explain why he was worthy enough to receive an *auctarium* for this day³²⁸. In the same way, the eulogy for St. Theophilus is also related to the first eulogy of this day to St. Dorothea with his name being mentioned in text³²⁹.

Another interesting remark concerns the feast of St. Trophime. In the edition by J. Dubois, he was commemorated on December 28 (IV KL. IAN.) with the eulogy in the *Libellus*. All of the Vic martyrologies mistakenly place his feast in their *Libelli* on November 28 (IV KL. DEC., see notes 239 and 242 above), yet they celebrate it in the main text in December. It is curious to see the *auctaria* to St. Trophime in the main text of the monastic martyrologies of Serrateix and Sant Cugat placed also on the November day³³⁰. It is worth reminding ourselves here, that these manuscripts did not have the *Libellus* of Ado at the beginning of their martyrologies, so they directly reproduced the eulogies from the *Libellus* in the main text. However, the dating does not correspond to Ado's standard version (e.g. in the Carcassonne and Cassan volumes there is no confusion with these dates), but does to both *Libelli* from Vic. This shows that the *Libellus* from Vic does not reproduce a 'single' mistake, but apparently attests to a spreading commemoration of St. Trophime in the region, even if this one started from a simple mistake.

Therefore, every case of *auctaria* can shed light on the possible interest of a particular religious institution in specific saints. The next step is then to observe whether the statistical information from Table 7 allows us to follow the correlation of *auctaria* between different religious communities. In order to analyse this, I have provided the three following tables: the first (Table 8) provides us with the number of the similar *auctaria* added in the martyrologies from just two religious communities; the second Table 9 shows the number of common *auctaria* between three and four different communities; and the third Table 10 demonstrates the *auctaria* added in the martyrologies in five and six of the aforementioned religious institutions. It is important to note that, apart from these calculated additions, the analysed sources often contain even more added feasts; however, these single occasions have not been taken into consideration in the applied statistics for my main focus aims to explore the correlation in the commemoration of the same five feasts in different communities.

Table 8 – *Auctaria* in two communities

Martyrologies	Number of additions
SerratM + CarcasM	31
VicM + StCugM	9
StCugM + CarcasM	5

328See also a fragment of passionary to St. Afra from the archives of Vic, Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. X/31. M. Gros i Pujol, 'Fragments de passioer i de leccionari del santoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII', pp. 108–09.

329See *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 81.

330SerratM, fol. 162v; StCugM, fol. 128r.

SerratM + StCugM	2
GirM + CarcasM	2
In total	49

Table 8 clearly demonstrates the proximity between the Serrateix and Carcassonne volumes. In some occasions, they reproduce not only the names but also the lists of added saints for different days of the year³³¹. In some parts, the Carcassonne martyrology contains additions to almost every day of the year (in particular concerning saints persecuted in Africa³³²). The correlation between the two monastic martyrologies from Sant Cugat and Serrateix for the number of added feasts is statistically not of high importance. Surprisingly, the results presented in this table do not demonstrate any difference between the conscious work of adding new feasts in monastic copies in comparison to the canonical ones. The geographical factor does not seemingly play any important role either, for instance the indicator between Girona and Carcassonne is low. A possible reason might be a connection between the Serrateix and Carcassonne institutions or the circulation of the same copies.

The next Table 9 shows the correlation between the common feasts added in three or four religious communities:

Table 9 – Auctaria in three and four religious communities

Martyrologies	Number of additions	
Three communities		
SerratM + StCugM + CarcasM	4	Constantinus and Hippolitus, St. Anna, <i>vigilia s. Mathei</i> , <i>vigilia s. Simonis and Iude</i>
VicM + GirM + StCugM	2	St. Alexius, St. Anicetus
VicM + StCugM + CarcasM	1	St. Thomas Becket
VicM + StCugM + CassM	1	St. Maxentius
GirM + StCugM + CarcasM	1	St. Velosianus
Four communities		
VicM + SerratM + StCugM + CarcasM	2	<i>Octave s. Laurentii, translatio</i>

331See e.g. February 3: SerratM, fol. 13v; CarcasM, fol. 35v or August 29 and 30 with lists of saints: SerratM, ff. 116v–117r; CarcasM, ff. 97v–98r. For the StCutM and the CarcasM see e.g. January 29 and 30: StCugM, fol. 18v; CarcasM, ff. 34v–35r.

332CarcasM, ff. 39v–40rv; corresponding to the beginning of March. And later in October it contains many additions too, ff. 119r–131r. At the same time, it suddenly stops adding many saints for the months April and May (ff. 49rv–50rv).

		<i>s. Eulalii</i> (Barcelona)
GirM + SerratM + StCugM + CarcasM	1	St. Sirius
VicM + GirM + SerratM + CarcasM	1	St. Felix (Girona)
SerratM + StCugM + CarcasM + CassM	1	St. Salvius
In total	14	

The correspondence here is low; only one group has a reasonable number of added *auctaria* (4), but this one also combines the martyrologies which contain the biggest number of additions, including the single occasions, within the Serrateix, Sant Cugat and Carcassonne volumes. However, the statistics from Table 9 are not really representative of the study of saints' cults of tenth/eleventh centuries. If we remove the later saints (such as St. Anna³³³ and St. Thomas Becket³³⁴ added in Gothic or even early modern scripts), two vigils, two octaves and one local saint (St. Felix from Girona) from Table 9, there will be no explicit quantitative difference and thus no real statistical correlation between these religious communities. However, this Table 9 does demonstrate that it is much more complicated to identify which feast was common for several religious communities at the same time. On the one hand, it decreases the factor of circulating copies between these institutions; on the other hand it makes it all the more important to pay attention to the feasts which repeat in five or six (e.g. all) religious communities, for these may become a real indicator of spreading the new holy models rather than simply the dissemination of books and texts themselves.

Finally, Table 10 represent 2 feasts celebrated in five and six communities and 8 celebrated everywhere.

Table 10 – *Auctaria* from five and six communities

DATE OF FEAST	MODERN DATE	ADDED FEAST	1st DATING³³⁵
Five communities			
VI KL. AUG.	27/07	St. Felix (Nola)	960/980
VII KL. NOV.	26/10	St. Lucianus and St. Martianus	960/980
Six communities			

333 Later addition in Gothic script or even later (SerratM, fol. 87v; StCugM, fol. 71v; CarcasM, fol. 79r).

334VicM₁, fol. 17, StCugM, fol. 6v, CarcasM, fol. 25v. The feast is added after 1170 (his martyrdom). This liturgical evidence for early commemoration of St. Thomas in Catalonia can inspire an interesting study on his cult considering the well-known mural paintings with his martyrdom in the churches of Egara. See L. Caracasa, 'Esglésies episcopals de Santa Maria, Sant Pere i Sant Miquel de Terrassa', in *Catalunya romànica* 18. El Vallès Occidental, el Vallès Oriental (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 231–67.

335The first time the feast was added in the main text of the martyrology.

VIII ID. MAI	8/05	St. Michael	1061
V ID. MAI	11/05	St. Pontius (Cimiez)	1061
VII KL. IUN.	26/05	St. Iustinus	960/980
VIII ID. AUG.	6/08	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>	993/1010
KL. SEPT.	1/09	St. Egidius	960/980
III ID. OCT.	13/10	St. Geraldus	993/1010
V ID. NOV.	9/11	<i>Passio Imaginis Domini</i>	1061
III ID. DEC.	11/12	St. Paul (Narbonne)	960/980
In total			10

Table 10 demonstrates a curious series of feasts added in all extant martyrologies from six religious communities throughout a century (from the 960s to the 1060s). The data represents a complex combination: there are, first, two Christological feasts (*Transfiguratio Domini* and *Passio Imaginis Domini*) along the saints' days; second, some of the added saints have already had a commemoration date in the same martyrologies but for another day (St. Felix from Nola, St. Michael, possibly St. Iustinus); third, several among them have been venerated on the same day in other Carolingian martyrologies (St. Felix from Nola, St. Lucianus/St. Martianus, St. Egidius); finally, some of these saints have been venerated in the region or in the neighbourhood (i.e. are local saints, such as St. Pons, St. Gerald, and St. Paul of Narbonne). This heterogeneous group is thus even more remarkable for it shows that the feasts which permeated Catalan liturgical life in this period were potentially of different origin, coming from different sources and through different channels of communication. The statistical analysis applied in this section thus demonstrates that the process of adding the *auctaria* in the martyrologies is more nuanced than has been assumed. To define these channels it is crucial to firstly explore whether other versions of martyrologies had an impact on these saints.

2. Channels of Communications: Other Martyrologies and the *Pasionario Hispánico*

1) Influence of Other Martyrologies?

Table 11 below represents the added feasts, the source of which could have been a Carolingian martyrology different from Ado's. The data is calculated from all 66 cases according to the days of liturgical year. The martyrologies are named according to the following abbreviations: MH – *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, FL – martyrology of Florus, RM – martyrology of Raban Maur, US – martyrology of Usuard.

Table 11 – *Auctaria* coming from other martyrologies

DATE OF FEAST	MODERN DATE	ADDED FEAST	PRESENCE IN OTHER MARTYROLOGIES
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KL. IAN.	1/01	St. Basil	FL, US ³³⁶
ID. IAN.	13/01	Octave Epyphanie	RM ³³⁷
III NON. FEBR.	3/02	St. Lupucinus	RM ³³⁸
VI.ID. FEBR	8/02	St. Alexandrius et al.	MH, RM, US for another day ³³⁹
ID. FEBR.	13/02	St. Stephanus	RM ³⁴⁰
VI. KL. IUL.	26/06	St. Maxentius	US ³⁴¹
VI KL. AUG.	27/07	St. Felix (Nola)	RM ³⁴²
XVIII KL. SEPT.	15/08	St. Stratio	RM ³⁴³
XVI KL. SEPT.	17/08	Octave St. Laurentii	US ³⁴⁴
III KL. SEPT.	30/08	St. Gaudentia	MH, RM, US ³⁴⁵
KL. SEPT.	1/09	St. Egidius	US ³⁴⁶
IV NON. SEPT.	2/09	St. Anicetus	RM for another day ³⁴⁷
VIII ID. SEPT.	6/09	St. Eleutherius	RM ³⁴⁸

336 Long eulogy ‘*Apud Caesaream Cappadociam, natale sancti Basilii episcopi ...*’, in *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l’Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus*, eds. J. Dubois, G. Renaud (Paris, 1976), p. 5. ‘*In Caesarea Cappadociae depositio sancti Basilii episcopi, cuius celebritas XVIII KL. IUL. Potissimum recolitur*’. *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 152. Dubois pointed to the celebration of St. Basil on January 1 in older martyrologies and calendars. According to him, Usuard added this eulogy as a form of reminder, though he follows Ado in his placement of the eulogy on June 14. See *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 153. VicM₁, fol. 18r; VicM₂, fol. 12r; VicM₃, fol. 3v; StCugM, fol. 7v.

337 ‘*Octabas Theophaniae*’, *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, ed. J. McCulloh, CCCM XLIV (Turnhout, 1978), p. 9. VicM₁, fol. 22v; StCugM, fol. 11v.

338 ‘*Lugduno depositio beati Lupucini episcopi*’, in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 19. SerratM, fol. 13v; CarcasM, fol. 35v. For the same day Raban Maur’s martyrology contains the eulogy to St. Blasius, which was the single eulogy from the StCugM, fol. 20r.

339 For V.ID. FEBR (February 9): ‘*Sueuo apud Cyprum natale Alexandri, Ammonis ...*’, p. 21. *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 177, with reference to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See AASS, Nov. II-1, 3–4, p. 18, although the list of saints’ names is not exactly the same, as in the SerratM, fol. 16r; CarcasM, fol. 36v.

340 ‘*Lugduno depositio beati Stephani episcopi*’, *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 22. See SerratM fol. 17r, CarcasM, fol. 37r. SerratM, fol. 16v; CarcasM, fol. 37r.

341 ‘*In pago Pictavensi, sancti Maxentii presbiteri et confessoris, gloriosi in miraculis*’. *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 254. Introduced by Usuard, p. 255. The cult mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*Historiarum libri decem*, II, 37). VicM₁, fol. 69v; VicM₂, fol. 55v; VicM₃, fol. 48v; StCugM, fol. 62v; CassM, fol. 126r.

342 ‘*In Campanicae civitate Nola natale Felicis*’, in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 74. VicM₁, fol. 79r; VicM₂, fol. 63v; VicM₃, fol. 57v; SerratM, fol. 88r; GirM, fol. 71v; StCugM, fol. 71v; CarcasM, fol. 79r.

343 ‘*Et in Nicomedia natale sanctorum Strationis, Philippi et Eutiniani cum sociis eorum*’, in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 82. (SerratM, fol. 107v, CarcasM, fol. 92r).

344 ‘*Ipso die, octavae sancti Laurentii martyris*’. According to J. Dubois, this octave did not leave any trace in previous martyrologies but already existed in the liturgy before the ninth century. *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 285. VicM₁, fol. 94r; VicM₂, fol. 76v; VicM₃, fol. 68v; SerratM, fol. 108v; StCugM, fol. 85r; CarcasM, fol. 92r.

345 ‘*Gaudentii virginis*’, *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 86, *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 294, with reference to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See AASS, Nov. II-1, 3–4, p. 13. SerratM, fol. 118v; CarcasM, fol. 98r.

346 ‘*Eodem die natalis sancti Egidii abbatis*’. As J. Dubois mentioned, Usuard was the first person to introduce the cult of St. Egidius (which he added in the second recension of his martyrology). See *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 295. VicM₁, fol. 101v; VicM₂, fol. 83r; VicM₃, fol. 74r; SerratM, fol. 119r; GirM, fol. 91v; StCugM, fol. 92r; CarcasM, fol. 98r; CassM, fol. 169r.

347 For April 20 ‘*Rome Aniciti papae et martyris ...*’, *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 37. VicM₁, fol. 101v; VicM₂, fol. 83v; VicM₃, fol. 74v; GirM, fol. 91v; StCugM, fol. 92v.

VIII ID. SEPT.	6/09	St. Cotidius	MH, US ³⁴⁹
IV ID. SEPT.	10/09	St. Salvius	RM ³⁵⁰
VII KL. OCT.	25/09	St. Bardomianus and St. Eucarpus	RM ³⁵¹
VII KL. NOV.	26/10	St. Lucianus and St. Martianus	RM ³⁵²
VI KL. NOV.	27/10	Vigilia St. Simonis et Iude	RM ³⁵³
In total			18 (with 2 cases for another day)

Table 11 demonstrates that some of the 66 added feasts were not an innovation from Catalan and Septimianian copies, assuming that other Carolingian martyrologies had circulated in the region. From the 66, 16 *auctaria* were added for the same day in other martyrologies, while in 2 more cases the eulogies existed but the saints were venerated on a different day. However, this means that more than one third of the added feasts find their origins in other martyrologies (largely those of Raban Maur and Usuard³⁵⁴). Either these (not extant) martyrologies were being circulated in the archbishopric of Narbonne, which allowed the scribes to compare different versions and to add several feasts to their principal Ado's martyrologies; or the feasts arrived through other liturgical or hagiographic sources, which, in their turn, had been influenced by martyrological traditions different from Ado's. It is also possible that the copies of Ado's martyrology arrived in this region already completed with

348'Romae via Salaria miliario ab urbe I [sic] natale sancti Euletherii episcopi', in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 89. SerratM, fol. 122r; CarcasM, fol. 100r.

349'Le martyrologe d'Usuard', p. 298, with reference to *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See AASS, Nov. II-1, 3–4, p. 117. SerratM, fol. 122r; CarcasM, fol. 100r.

350'Eodem die depositio sancti Salvi episcopi ...', in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 74. SerratM, fol. 125r; StCugM, fol. 97r; CarcasM, fol. 102v; CassM, fol. 175v.

351'In Asia natale Bardomiani, Eucarpi et aliorum XXVI', in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 98. SerratM, fol. 136v; CarcasM, fol. 109v.

352'In Nicomedia natale Luciani, Flori. Et Heraclidae Martiani', in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 109.

353'Vigilia apostolorum Simonis et Tatheï', in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium* p. 109. In the Serrateix martyrology Iuda is spelled 'Taddeus', in other manuscripts – Juda. SerratM, fol. 153v; CarcasM, fol. 120r.

354It is curious that none of these eulogies derives exclusively from the Bede martyrology. However, despite the absence of direct testimonies of other martyrologies in the Catalan archives, it seems that the martyrology of Bede was not unknown at the Ripoll monastery. A twelfth-century manuscript, recently attributed to Ripoll, contains a fragment from the martyrology of Erchempertus (previously attributed to Bede). Madrid, BNE, Ms. 19, ff. 48r–49v. See *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, 21 vols (Madrid, 1953–2011), vol. 1, pp. 20–3; M. Castiñeiras, J. Camps, 'El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180): idea de una exposición', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)*, ed. M. Castiñeiras, J. Camps (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 21–7, p.23. G. Orofino, 'Pieça 120. Manuscrito de Ripoll', in *op. cit.*, pp. 442–43. On the new attribution see more in the database *Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters* by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften <http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/werk/2212>, accessed 19th August 2020.

these feasts from other martyrologies. Nevertheless, these statistics demonstrate that a third of the added feasts were the product or at least influenced by other martyrological traditions.

It remains difficult to ascertain the reasons behind these additions in all *auctaria*. In order to limit the survey for reasons of brevity, I have selected the most common *auctaria*, outlined in Table 10, i.e. the feasts for five and six religious communities. From these 10 examples, 2 feasts of St. Felix of Nola, St. Lucianus/St. Martianus and St. Egidius have been found in the martyrologies of Raban Maur and Usuard. Seven other feasts do not exist in other martyrological traditions. Among these are 5 saints, St. Michael, St. Pontius (Cimiez), St. Iustinus, St. Geraldus, St. Paul (Narbonne), and 2 Christological feasts, *Transfiguratio Domini* and *Passio Imaginis Domini*. Three saints from this list are particularly celebrated in the southern French territories, for they are local saints of Cimiez (St. Pons of Cimiez on 11 May), Aurillac (St. Gerald of Aurillac on 13 October) and Narbonne (St. Paul of Narbonne on 11 December)³⁵⁵. Their liturgical veneration was typical in Elne and Narbonne, and thus possibly in Catalan and Pyrenean religious institutions³⁵⁶. In 936, the relics of St. Pons were transported to the abbey of Thomières (diocese of Narbonne) that became a centre of pilgrimage, well known in Eastern Languedoc and Catalan lands³⁵⁷. Moreover, despite official commemoration of St. Pons on May 14 in the Usuard martyrology, the liturgical books in Languedoc place it on May 11³⁵⁸. Therefore, the presence of St. Pons and St. Paul in Catalan books may have been influenced due to the close interaction with religious institutions within the archbishopric of Narbonne. The veneration of St. Gerald in the Limousin region and the addition of his feast in the majority of liturgical manuscripts on both sides of the Pyrenees will be discussed more precisely in the following chapters.

St. Iustinus is perhaps the most enigmatic saint for it is difficult to ascertain which particular Iustinus is being venerated on May 26. In Ado's martyrology there are three references to the saint called Iustinus but it is unclear which, if any, of these saints is meant: 'vir mirabilis' Iustinus philosopher (on April 13), Iustinus martyr from Tivoli (June 27) or Iustinus presbyter from Rome with a groups of martyrs (Hippolitus, Concordius, Irenaeus, Abundius, Cyrillus) venerated on different days (August 13 and 26, September 17, October

355See e.g. the lives of both St Paul and St. Pons in the eleventh-century Moissac legendary: Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5304, ff. 39r–40r and ff. 45v–46v. See F. Peloux, 'Le légendier de Moissac vu de l'intérieur (Avec en annexe l'inventaire hagiographique du légendier)', in *Le Légendier de Moissac et la culture hagiographique meridionale autour de l'an mil*, ed. F. Peloux. Hagiologia. Études sur la sainteté et l'hagiographie 15 (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 77–115, esp. pp. 87–8; id., 'Le légendier de Moissac à l'époque clunisienne', in *op. cit.*, pp. 441–78, p. 453.

356See e.g. A.-G. Martimort, 'Sources, histoire et originalité de la liturgie catalano-languedocienne', in *Liturgie et musique (IX^e–XIV^e siècles)*, ed. M.-H. Vicaire. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, 1982), pp. 25–49, p. 32.

357R. Amiet, 'Les livres liturgiques et le calendrier du diocèse d'Elne', in *Liturgie et musique (IX^e–XIV^e siècles)*, ed. M.-H. Vicaire. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, 1982), pp. 139–54, p. 148.

358See *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, pp. 229–30. J.-L. Lemaître, 'Martyrologes et culte des saints en Languedoc', in *Hagiographie et culte des saints en France méridionale: XIII^e–XV^e siècles*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 37 (Toulouse, 2002), pp. 67–111. p. 84.

18, 25, 28). The presbyter Iustinus, we are told, buried the bodies of these martyrs³⁵⁹. Any of these three saints could have been commemorated in the Catalan martyrologies also on May 26, but right now there are not enough testimonies to find out the reasons of his particular commemoration in the Catalan religious institutions.

One more step is necessary before focusing on concrete case studies in the chapters which follow, namely a brief overview of some of the liturgical sources from religious centres around Catalonia to determine the possible provenance of the various added cults and feasts.

2) *Other Sources Beyond Catalan Borders: The Pasionario Hispánico*

As shown above, the additions of several saints' cults in the corpus of analysed martyrologies can be explained by their reinforced veneration in the regions around (St. Gerald, St. Pons, St. Paul). In the meantime, some other *auctaria* bear witness to the possible influence of traditions to the west of the Catalan region, such as the saints also present in the Spanish passionary (*Pasionario Hispánico*³⁶⁰). Given the complex coexistence of different liturgical traditions in the former *Marca Hispanica*, it makes sense to consider this Hispanic liturgical source in more detail.

The *Pasionario Hispánico* in the manuscripts from Silos, Cardeña and Toledo contains a passion of St. Facundus and St. Primitivus, read on November 27³⁶¹. This passion can be found in both manuscripts, one from Cardeña, dated to the middle of the tenth, and another from Silos compiled in the second half of the same century³⁶². Catalan martyrologies from Vic and Sant Cugat contain the added eulogies for these saints on the same day³⁶³. The feast has been added in the Catalan texts during the eleventh century, for example the second martyrology from Vic has this eulogy already in the main text. The same martyrologies have another added eulogy dedicated to St. Pelagius from Cordoba and celebrated on June 26³⁶⁴. This eulogy is again placed in the text of VicM₂ copied in 1061, but yet in the margin of VicM₁. The passion to St. Pelagius (who was a recent saint and died in 925 in Cordoba under

359 *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 270–73, 285–86, 318–19, 358, 364–67. The second family of Ado has one more reference on August 4, as also suggested by Florus. See *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 248–49, *Édition pratique*, p. 143.

360 See *Pasionario Hispánico*, ed. À. Fàbrega Grau, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra. Serie litúrgica Vol. VI (Madrid/Barcelona, 1953–55) and its more recent edition by P. Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario hispánico. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción*. Filosofía y Letras 131 (Sevilla, 1995). See also J. Ainaud, 'Supervivencias del Pasionario hispánico', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 28 (1956), 11–24.

361 Cardeña (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 25600, ff. 30r–35r); Silos (Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2180, ff. 13r–17r). See *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 2 (1955), pp. 46–56. Riesco Chueca notices that the manuscript from Silos was compiled earlier at the monastery San Pelayo de Valdeavellano near Burgos and also mentions the manuscript from the Cathedral of Toledo, compiled later in the 13th century, P. Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario hispánico*, pp. XVI–XVII and the edition on the pp. 20–39.

362 *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 1 (1953), pp. 28–29 and p. 34. The Silos volume is known to be offered to the monastery dedicated to St. Pelagius in 992.

363 VicM₁, fol. 137r; VicM₂, fol. 115r; VicM₃, fol. 102r; StCugM, fol. 128r.

364 VicM₁, fol. 67r; VicM₂, fol. 53v; VicM₃, fol. 46v; StCugM, fol. 60v.

the persecutions by Abderrahman III) has been added to the *Pasionario Hispánico* during the eleventh century but already existed in the other tenth/eleventh-century legends³⁶⁵. This tradition apparently found immediate reception in the Catalan liturgical sources, albeit it did not spread everywhere in the region.

There are two more feasts, not included in the statistics of 66 *auctaria*, for they represent a single reference and thus occur only in one case: St. Mancius on June 20, added in the Girona martyrology, and the (*Innumerabiles*) martyrs from Zaragoza on October 23, added to the Sant Cugat volume³⁶⁶. However, these dates do not correspond to their feasts according to the calendars from Silos, Compostela and San Millán de la Cogolla: St. Mancius is celebrated there on May 21, and the Zaragoza martyrs venerated either on April 16 or on November 2³⁶⁷. Although with different commemoration days, the veneration of these feasts in Castilian and Navarrese monasteries might point to the existence of a network between them and the Catalan institutions³⁶⁸. One further example demonstrating the possible circulation of the Hispanic passionary in Catalan lands might be the commemoration of St. Mancius on the correct day in the fragmentary martyrology dated to 1000³⁶⁹. Here the saint was placed on May 21 and the addition contains an even fuller description of his passion in comparison to other Catalan sources³⁷⁰. According to Mundó and Olivar, the archetype of this fragmentary martyrology-sacramentary, however, did not derive from the Ado's martyrology³⁷¹.

The feast of St. Justa and St. Rufina is a curious case as, while Carolingian martyrologies place it on July 19³⁷², Catalan martyrologies, loyally copying this eulogy on July 19 suddenly add another eulogy on July 17³⁷³. The Girona martyrology completely

365Madrid, BNE, Ms. 822, fol. 47c; Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 239, ff. 74r–79v. See *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 1, pp. 226–27.

366GirM, fol. 59r and StCugM, fol. 116r respectively.

367Fàbrega Grau referred to the eleventh-century calendars from Silos, Ms. 3 (1052) and Compostela (Bibl. Univ., Reservado I, 1055) for the martyrs of Zaragoza and from Silos, Ms. 3 and Ms. 4 (1039), Madrid, BNE, Ms. 822, fol. 38a, Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2171 (p. 30) and Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2169 for St. Mancius. See *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 1, p. 169 and p. 227. On St. Mancius see also J. M. Fernández Catón, *San Mancio culto, leyenda y reliquias. Ensayo de crítica hagiográfica* (León, 1983).

368 There is evidence to suggest that influence went both ways along this network. King Sancho III el Mayor of Navarra (992/996–1035) maintained connections with Oliba Bishop of Vic (1018–1046) and Oliba sent Pontius, abbot of the monastery of Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles (1000–1022) to the king. Sancho III admired Pontius and offered him the title of the bishop of Oviedo (1023–1028) and of Palència (1032–1035). See A. Mundó, 'Importación, exportación y expoliaciones de códices en Cataluña (siglos VIII al XIII)', in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la península en los siglos VIII–XIII* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 87–134, pp. 101–102; and id., 'Prólogo', in *Hispania Vetusta. Musical-liturgical manuscripts from Visigothic origins to the Franco-Roman transition (9th–12th centuries)*, ed. S. Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), pp. 13–21, esp. 15–16. Thus some Catalan liturgical and hagiographical traditions might have been brought to the more western regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

369See A. Mundó, A. Olivar, 'Fragment d'un curiós sacramentari-martirologi', p. 29 and p. 37.

370Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya UAB, Ms. 23, p. 7, col. 1.

371See A. Mundó, A. Olivar, 'Fragment d'un curiós sacramentari-martirologi', pp. 40–43.

372Édition pratique, p. 138 (martyrology of the Anonymous of Lyon); *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 228, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, p. 269.

373SerratM, fol. 83rv; GirM, fol. 68v; StCugM, fol. 68v.

replaced the eulogy from 19 to July 17, while the Sant Cugat volume has the eulogy placed in a ‘Carolingian’ way on July 19, but also contains an addition in a late Gothic cursive for July 17. This migration of the date might signify the connection to the tradition of liturgical production from Castilia and Leon. According to Fàbrega Grau, the Hispanic tradition does not have a consensus on the dating of St. Justa and St. Rufina feast day: it moved between 17, 18 and 19 July³⁷⁴. Fifty years later, however, the scholar changed his mind: analysing the calendar of the Frankish origin extant in the Barcelona Cathedral, he argues for the Hispanic influence on it, and as one of the reasons names the feasts to St. Justa and St. Rufina, celebrated on July 17, which, he underlined, is unanimously celebrated in Hispanic manuscripts on July 17³⁷⁵. R. Amiet in his investigation on liturgical manuscripts from Elne also showed that in the manuscripts from the dioceses of Barcelona, Girona and Elne this feast was celebrated on July 17 as a result of the Hispanic influence³⁷⁶. The supposedly implicit influence of the *Pasionario Hispánico* on these martyrologies from the Catalan region evidently took place and had a significant impact.

Finally, St. Felix from Nola, celebrated on July 27 in the martyrology of Raban Maur, also appears in the *Pasionario Hispánico*³⁷⁷. This saint was, however, not of Visigoth origin, so was likely also alien to early Hispanic sources³⁷⁸. Nevertheless it does not undermine the hypothesis that he might have arrived with other Hispanic saints in the Catalan sources. A particular interest in these few Hispanic feasts in Girona and Vic points to the possible existence of the copies of *Pasionario Hispánico* in these religious institutions. J. Ainaud discovered the traces of the Spanish passionary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the dioceses of Urgell, Vic and Girona³⁷⁹. F. Peloux, in his turn, follows the dissemination of the Spanish passionary more to the north; he underlines the importance of Catalan liturgical books under the influence of the *Pasionario Hispánico* for transmitting these Hispanic traditions to the Aquitanian hagiographical production³⁸⁰. The data from Catalan

374 *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 1, p. 135, n. 24.

375 Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 185/1. See À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Un calendari litúrgic franco-mossàrab (ss. X–XI) a l’Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona’, *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 22 (2001), 151–80, p. 157 and pp. 168–69 with n. 39. Furthermore, the same calendar contains a reference to the feast of ‘*septem dormientes*’ on June 27, also added in Catalan martyrologies: GirM, fol. 62r; CarcasM, fol. 71v. Two others also contain this new eulogy, however, for the different day of August 12: VicM₁, fol. 92v; VicM₂, 75v; VicM₃, fol. 67r; StCug, fol. 82v. Fàbrega Grau refers to the oriental character of this feast. À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Un calendari litúrgic franco-mossàrab’, pp. 156, 166 with n.24. M. M. Tischler questions the Catalan origin of this calendar from a palaeographical standpoint.

376 R. Amiet, ‘Les livres liturgiques et le calendrier du diocèse d’Elne’, p. 148.

377 *Pasionario Hispánico*, vol. 1, p. 184. See also J. Pérez-Embid Wamba, *Hagiología y sociedad en la España Medieval, Castilla y León (siglos XI–XIII)* (Huelva, 2002), pp. 20 and 27.

378 F. Peloux, following H. Quentin, notices that St. Felix from Nola is also found in non-Hispanic manuscripts, such as the Moissac legendary. See H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 143–44, and F. Peloux, ‘Le légendier de Moissac et le Passonnaire hispanique’, p. 131.

379 J. Ainaud, ‘Supervivencias del Pasionario hispánico’, in *Analecta Sacta Tarraconensia* 28 (1956), 11–24, pp. 12–13.

380 F. Peloux, ‘Le légendier de Moissac et le Passonnaire hispanique. Enquête ouverte sur la circulation d’une collection wisigothique dans le haut Moyen Âge’, in *Le Légendier de Moissac et la culture hagiographique meridionale autour de l’an mil*, pp. 129–52, esp. pp. 147–48. Peloux also mentions the article by M.-J. Toscano

martyrologies thus contribute to this path of circulating texts and books in the eleventh-century Spanish and French Pyrenees.

3) *Did a Prototype of the Martyrology Circulate in the Region?*

The comparison of regional martyrologies with the edition of Dubois not only provided us with a series of additions concerning the commemoration of forgotten old or newly arrived cults, but also showed a number of textual variations in common between the investigated martyrologies. The first group of these deviations are lexical ones (for example different spellings of proper names). The second group represent additions and omissions in the existing eulogies compared to the main text of the martyrologies. The third group of deviations can be attributed to the eulogies that belong to different recensions or families of Ado's martyrology. Altogether, these deviations might either demonstrate the circulation of an old martyrology-prototype in the region (having probably already contained these changes and mixed versions of Ado's martyrology), or the intense work in Catalan scriptoria due to the combination of different sources, which enriched the content of the copied Ado's martyrology with copies of the *Liber pontificalis*, other martyrologies, passions and lives of saints. To understand this, it is necessary to explore these three types of textual variations.

The first group is the most obvious category in the study of medieval manuscripts. It is quite typical for medieval manuscripts to vary through the addition as well as omission of words or phrases³⁸¹. Some particularities in the spelling of geographical locations³⁸², however, might point to a regional tradition for these names, and thus become a potential clue for localisation of manuscript production. The second group may point to the possible use of the same primary sources Ado used himself for the compilation of his martyrology (such as the *Liber pontificalis*). In the typology of Ado's martyrologies, more elaborated eulogies from the *Liber pontificalis* are often a sign of the second recension of the first family. For instance, according to Dubois, the eulogy for St. Silvester on 31 December in the texts of the second recension contains an addition from the *Liber pontificalis*³⁸³. However, the corpus of martyrologies analysed here suggests a more developed eulogy than Dubois put forward³⁸⁴. It

Rico on the influence of Hispanic tradition on Carolingian manuscripts. See M.-J. Toscano Rico, 'The notice of Verissimus, Maxima and Julia: a clear evidence of reception of the Hispanic hagiographic tradition in Carolingian world', *Euphrosyne* 42 (2014), 1–22.

381E.g. for the eulogy on Annunciation (on March 25) some martyrologies add '*et passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi*' (SerratM, fol. 27r; StCug, fol. 30r) or '*et resurrectio eius*' (CassM, fol. 79r). On the contrary, for other eulogies there are some words omitted, e.g. the eulogy for St. Felicitas and St. Perpetua (on March 7) does not contain last words '*quod in se iam gestum esse nesciret*' (SerratM, fol. 22v; StCug, fol. 25v; CarcasM, fol. 40v; CassM, fol. 73v).

382See e.g. '*Lemodigas*' instead of '*Lemovico*' (Limoges) in VicM₁, fol. 70r; VicM₂, fol. 56v; VicM₃, fol. 49r; '*Lemovigas*' in GirM, fol. 63v and CarcasM, fol. 72r; '*Lemodicas*' in StCugM, fol. 63v. *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 210.

383*Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 40.

384*Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 171–72.

is consequently added in the martyrologies from Vic, Girona, Sant Cugat and Cassan³⁸⁵ and might be a sign of the use of the *Liber pontificalis* by regional scribes. At the same time, all these variations from both groups can also point to a circulating copy of Ado's martyrology with these variations already included.

The third group is the most promising, for it demonstrates an interesting correlation between recensions and families of Ado's martyrology. As was shown above, the structure of the analysed martyrological *compendia* allows us to attribute them to the second recension of the first family. In contrast to Dubois' suggestions, the analysis of the eulogies in these copies reveals numerous cases of using the eulogies from the second recension. These are often based on the additions made by Ado from the *Liber pontificalis*³⁸⁶.

Firstly, in all of the copies that did not contain the *Libellus* of Ado before the proper martyrological text, the long apostolic eulogies from the *Libellus* are added within the text. This concerns two monastic martyrologies, from Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix, but also the Girona volume (which had only six eulogies in the *Libellus*). According to the typology by Quentin and Dubois, these eulogies incorporated in the main text of the martyrology are a feature of the second family of Ado's martyrology³⁸⁷. Moreover, another feature of the second family suggests that the eulogies were added from the Usuard martyrology. Some of them can be found in the analysed volumes (see Table 12; with M meaning *auctaria* added in the margin; and T – *auctaria* added in the main text)

Table 12 – *Auctaria* present in the second family of Ado's martyrology

Date	Saint (Dubois ed.)	Martyrology	Margin or Text
February 6	'Sancti Amandi confessoris' (eulogy 3, p. 81)	SerratM, fol. 15v; CarcasM, fol. 36v.	T M
February 10	'Sancti Troiani episcopi' (eulogy 5, p. 83)	SerratM, fol. 15v; CarcasM, fol. 36v.	T M
February 10	'Sancte Scolastice sororis sancti Benedicti' (eulogy 4, p. 83)	VicM ₁ , fol. 31v; VicM ₂ , fol. 22r; VicM ₃ , fol. 13r; SerratM, fol. 15v; GirM, fol. 22r; StCugM, fol. 22v; CarcasM, fol. 36v.	T T T T M T M
July 28	'Sanctorum Nazarii et	VicM ₁ , fol. 79r;	M

385VicM₁, fol. 18r; VicM₂, fol. 12r; VicM₃, fol. 3v; GirM, fol. 8r; StCugM, fol. 7v; CassM, fol. 41rv.

386See *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. XXVI.

387*Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. XXVII.

	Celsii' (eulogy 4, p. 237)	VicM ₂ , fol. 64r; VicM ₃ , fol. 57r; SerratM, fol. 88rv; GirM, fol. 71v; StCugM, fol. 72r; CarcasM, fol. 79v; CassM, fol. 137v.	T T T T T T
July 31	'sancti Germani Autisiodorensis episcopi' (eulogy 1, p. 241)	VicM ₁ , fol. 81r; VicM ₃ , fol. 99r; SerratM, fol. 91v; GirM, fol. 73v; StCugM, fol. 72v; CarcasM, fol. 81r; CassM, fol. 140r.	M T T M T M T
September 7	'sancti Evurtii Aurelianensis episcopi' (eulogy 3, p. 302)	SerratM, fol. 122v; StCugM, fol. 95r; CarcasM, fol. 100v; CassM, fol. 172v.	T T T T
September 7	'sancti Clodoaldi confessoris' (eulogy 4, p. 302)	SerratM, fol. 122v; StCugM, fol. 95r; CarcasM, fol. 100v; CassM, fol. 172v.	T T T T
October 11	'sancti Venantis abbatis' (eulogy 2, p. 353)	SerratM, fol. 147r; CarcasM, fol. 116v.	T T
December 4	'translatio corporis sanctissimi Benedicti abbatis' (eulogy 3, p. 408)	SerratM, fol. 166v; StCugM, fol. 130v.	T T

The majority of these *auctaria* have been added in the main text of martyrologies during the eleventh century. It is remarkable that all these eulogies are present in both the Serrateix and Carcassonne martyrologies, apart from the last one on St. Benedict. This new date refers to the celebration of the relics of St. Benedict brought to the Abbey of Fleury³⁸⁸. The presence of this last *auctarium* only in the monastic martyrologies makes sense, for in the monastic Benedictine communities they may have been interested in several commemoration days of St. Benedict, in addition to the common feasts on March 21 and July 11 in his honour³⁸⁹. Nevertheless the correspondence between the Serrateix and the Carcassonne

388 *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 408.

389 *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 109 and pp. 222–23.

volumes on this level continues to intrigue. At any rate, the Serrateix martyrology is seemingly the most innovative version of Ado's text, which included several insertions from different recensions and families of Ado.

Altogether, all three groups of textual variations demonstrate the strong influence of the second family of Ado's martyrology. However, their number is not high enough to suggest that the manuscripts that include them definitely belong to the second family. This rather demonstrates the circulation of several copies of different versions of martyrologies by Ado, with regional copyists possibly choosing to add a number of eulogies from these versions during the compilation of their martyrology. Moreover, it is highly doubtful that there was only one martyrological prototype circulating in the region: the nature of added eulogies is quite different among all scriptoria. Nevertheless, a potential book prototype might be the one possibly consulted by the scribes of Serrateix and Carcassonne. Both these martyrologies are almost contemporary (from the middle and third quarter of the eleventh century) and contain the highest number of common *auctaria* in the main text, as well as the nature of these *auctaria* (from other martyrologies, lives of saints and passions of martyrs).

The obvious correlation between the two martyrologies, from Serrateix and Carcassonne, suggests the possible network between both religious institutions. First of all, the relationship between these two institutions might have had roots further in the past. Count Oliba Cabreta of Cerdanya (965–988) and Besalú (984–988) and his brother Miró Bonfill, bishop of Girona (970–984), played an important role in the endowments at the foundation of the monastery of Serrateix and in the election of its abbot in 977³⁹⁰. In 970s–980s Oliba Cabreta, Miró Bonfill and other secular and religious elites (including several famous and enthusiastic Italian hermits, such as Romuald of Ravenna and Pietro Orseolo) were all close to the monastery of Cuixà including Abbot Garin of Saint-Pierre de Lézat, who later also became abbot of Saint-Hilaire de Carcassonne, and Sant Miquel de Cuixà (in 993)³⁹¹. These personal networks might have contributed to the developing connections between the religious communities of Carcassonne and Serrateix. Second, the dissemination of the Homiliary of Luculentius might point to another possible connection: its copies were widespread in different Catalan religious institutions in the tenth/eleventh centuries. For instance, Altés i Aguilo explores the relation between the fragment of this homiliary in the SerratM and a later twelfth-century copy from the Carcassonne Cathedral chapter³⁹². Finally,

390 See two documents, 22 and 23, in *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Serrateix (segles X–XV)*, ed. J. Bolòs. Fundació Noguera, Diplomatari 42 (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 92–9.

391 R. d'Abadal i Vinyals, 'Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà', *Analecta Montserratensia* 8 (1954–1955), 125–337. Moreover, Oliba Cabreta might have been the great-grandson of Oliba I, Count of Carcassonne (821–837), see H. Débax, F. Ponties, 'Saint Hilaire, saint Saturnin et Roger. Un réseau guilhelme dans le comté de Carcassonne au X^e siècle', in *Entre histoire et épopée. Les Guillaume d'Orange (IX^e-XIII^e siècles)*, ed. L. Macé (Toulouse, 2006), pp. 117–33, esp. pp. 120–21.

392 See F. Altés i Aguilo, 'Una recensió del segle XI de les homilies sobre les epístoles estivals de l'homiliari dit de Luculentius(us)', p. 274. He mentions the manuscript from BnF, Ms. lat. 3829. J. Lemarié discusses further Catalan versions of the homiliary of Luculentius from Sant Cugat del Vallès. J. Lemarié, 'La collection carolingienne de Luculentius restituée par les deux codices Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 17 et 21', *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984), 221–371. For other scholarship on this issue see the Webpage of the UAB with a

in SerratM, the calendar-necrology contains a reference to St. Hilari of Carcassonne, which refers to the Carcassonne monastery³⁹³. Since the county of Carcassonne was given to Count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona in 1067, some cults might have also been transmitted to other Catalan lands through this network³⁹⁴. All these observations, though speculative, are also supported by the correlations between the two texts from the manuscript sources, and suggest that we still have a lot to explore to dig deeper into the politico-ecclesiastical connections in the Catalan region.

Conclusion

This thesis has not sought to analyse every new eulogy added to all surviving martyrologies. Instead it has laid the groundwork by closely considering the earliest texts from Girona and Vic as the grounds of all analysis. Nevertheless, as shown above, the data strongly suggests that a broader set of case studies would not significantly alter the results. Therefore, the structural analysis of martyrologies from the former province of Narbonne allows us to draw several important conclusions. First, almost all martyrologies (apart from the one from Cassan) formed part of the book of chapter either from their creation or in the decades that followed, for they find their place alongside rules, patristic and homiletic texts. Second, the structural analysis of martyrologies demonstrates that they belong to the second recension of the first family of Ado in the Catalan region (and more broadly of the former Narbonne province). Structurally speaking, this Ado version was predominant over others, albeit it could vary between the texts with or without Ado's proper first preface or the *Libellus*. The structural analysis thus provides us with a clear attribution of martyrologies to a concrete recension. Moreover, it demonstrates a structural coherence between the monastic martyrologies, which is different from the canonical ones.

Regarding the content changes, the picture is less clear. At first glance, textual variations demonstrate the strong influence of the second family of Ado's martyrology, but their number is not high enough. This suggests the circulation of several copies of different versions of Ado's martyrology rather than the pure compilation of the martyrologies from the concrete first or second family. It is also unlikely that only one martyrological prototype was circulating in the region, for the added eulogies differ a lot among all six scriptoria.

The statistics here demonstrate three key conclusions. Firstly, while they differ from one another, monastic and canonical martyrologies have recognisable models of structure that allow us to identify them. However, the analysis of their *auctaria* does not prove the same correlation. My analysis of eulogies has shown that the monastic martyrologies from Serrateix and Sant Cugat do not represent such a unanimous and consistent tandem vis-a-vis canonical

new project launched by M. M. Tischler on the Study and Critical Edition of the Homiliary of Luculentius in Early Medieval Catalonia, <https://pagines.uab.cat/luculentius/content/bibliography>, accessed 19th August 2020.

393See J. M. Masnou i Pratdesaba, 'Els necrologis de Serrateix', p. 129.

394On the transmission of the counties of Carcassonne and Razès to Count of Barcelona see S. Sobrequés, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*. Història de Catalunya. Biografies catalanes 2 (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 65–73.

ones unlike the structural analysis of the volumes. There is little to suggest in the statistics that the process was more intense in monastic than in canonical institutions. Secondly, another group has similar patristic texts in common—the Vic and Sant Cugat martyrologies—which might point to a possible exchange of manuscripts between these institutions, though they could also simply underline the more frequent choice of these texts for being read *ad capitulum*. Finally, the most reliable correlation is between the Serrateix and Carcassonne volumes: both martyrologies were compiled in the same period (between 1040s and 1070s) and for some added eulogies they reproduce not only the names but also the lists of added saints for different days of the year. It is possible that a martyrological prototype existed and was used to create these volumes, suggesting a connection between Serrateix and Carcassonne.

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrated that the geographical factor was hardly significant in the correlation between different communities: the choice of added *auctaria* does not seemingly depend on proximity of institutions. Nevertheless, Catalan martyrologies might have played the role of mediator, contributing to the continued interest in, and further dissemination of, some Hispanic feasts to the northern Carolingian world.

Thus, the analysed martyrologies represent lively compendia, which were used as books of chapter during the tenth to twelfth centuries at least, with constantly added new eulogies and obits (even in Gothic cursive script). More than one third of the added feasts have their origin in other Frankish martyrologies. This again demonstrates either the former existence of their copies in the archbishopric of Narbonne, or the compilation of our martyrologies on the basis of other hagiographical sources, which, in their turn, might have been influenced by martyrological traditions other than that of Ado. It is also possible that the copies of Ado's martyrology arrived in this region already containing these feasts from other martyrologies.

Nevertheless, the applied statistical analysis does not allow us to build any evident connections between the analysed religious institutions. The deeper investigation of some particular feasts common for any two communities may be a potential field of future study. However, here I am not necessarily concerned with uncovering specific networks among the regional institutions. Rather, by considering the martyrology as a medium that transferred the saints' cults, I aim to explore the importance of several chosen cults and feasts for eleventh-century society. Through investigating the liturgical and hagiographical evidence I will observe the degree of implementation of these cults in different religious communities, the rhythm of their dissemination and provide my own suggestions for why they spread at such a pace.

Chapter Two. The Cult of the Archangel Michael in Early Medieval Catalonia and the Diffusion of the Gargano Legend

From the last decades of the eighth century, the cult of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano spread throughout different Western regions and became a common European religious and spiritual phenomenon³⁹⁵. The Monte Gargano sanctuary on the Eastern coast of Italy (which later became a part of the principality of Benevento) played a crucial role in this new wave of devotion to the Archangel. The cult of St. Michael of Monte Gargano at first received the growing veneration of the Lombards, until being associated with their national consciousness in the second half of the seventh century, after the victorious battle over the Byzantines in 650³⁹⁶. From there the glory and fame of the Monte Gargano sanctuary encouraged the foundation of similar sanctuaries in other regions, such as the Sacra di San Michele on Monte Pirchiriano (at the Val di Susa, Piedmont, near Turin) and the Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, which invoked numerous pilgrimages. An enormous number of donations, bequests and testaments were made in favour of these sanctuaries.

This rising cult of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano also manifested itself in the liturgical sources, acquiring a textual and an auditory dimension with new prayers and new chants. It was particularly developed in the iconography, covering also a visual perception of the saint. In addition to the established feast of the Archangel on September 29, a new feast in honour of St. Michael—on May 8—appeared in several martyrologies, calendars and sacramentaries from the ninth century onwards³⁹⁷. All these changes in the religious and devotional life started from the eighth century in the Southern Italy, with the diffusion of the Gargano legend. Later, they extended into other lands, with the expansion of texts, books and relics.

One of the regions with a strong devotion to the Archangel was Catalonia, represented at that time by numerous counties. The churches dedicated to St. Michael were spread everywhere in the region (like the one at the heart of Barcelona, consecrated in 951 but based on even older foundations no longer surviving today)³⁹⁸. A significant number of bequests and donations to the Archangel were recorded in the early and high medieval documents³⁹⁹. Very few Catalan chronicles of the Central Middle Ages exist, but the earliest Ripoll Chronicle,

395V. Sivo, 'Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta e sul testo dell'Apparitio latina', in *Culto e insediamenti Micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Monte Sant-Angelo 18–21 novembre 1992*, ed. C. Carletti (Bari, 1994), pp. 95–106.

396G. Otranto, 'Genesi, caratteri e diffusione del culto micaelico del Gargano', in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'Archange*, eds. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez (Rome, 2003), pp. 43–64, p. 57.

397G. Otranto, 'Il Liber de apparitione e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale', *Vetera Christianorum* 18 (1981), 423–42, p. 432.

398J. Beltrán, H. Bercero 'De la ciudad tardoantigua a la ciudad medieval: Barcelona en el siglo XII', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)* (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 39–45, p. 39.

399The huge corpus of dotalies published by Ramon Ordeig i Mata is a helpful tool for these sources. See *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, 5 vols (Vic, 1993–2001).

dated to the late tenth/early eleventh century (ca. 980s–1020s) contains several indications that point to the significance of St. Michael's cult in Catalan lands⁴⁰⁰. The liturgical sources, conversely, provide rich material for exploring the implementation of the second feast of the Archangel, in direct connection to the cult of St. Michael on Monte Gargano. The iconography of St. Michael, at least that which survives today, emerged during the Romanesque period with the earliest mural paintings of St. Michael created in the eleventh century at the church of Sant Tomàs de Fluvià (Alt Empordà). The iconographical evidence combine multiples functions of the Archangel, partially expressed in biblical texts, while also introducing new features in his image via his growing cult on Monte Gargano. Therefore, multiple liturgical, documentary as well as artistic evidence can be found in Catalonia from the tenth to the twelfth centuries and thus offer a tempting perspective on the study of the cult of St. Michael on Monte Gargano.

The scholarship on the cult of St. Michael in early- and high-medieval Catalonia is surprisingly scarce. While there are many studies on different religious institutions dedicated to St. Michael⁴⁰¹, there are only four articles that entirely focus on the cult of St. Michael in Spain⁴⁰². One article by P. Henriët, dedicated to the Western and Northern Spain, provides us with an overview of liturgical sources, specifying the political (frontier zone) character and the royal interest in St. Michael's cult. However, it does not consider Catalonia.

Three other articles are of primary importance for the Catalan testimonies. The first one, written in 1971, is still a keystone for the study of the Archangel's cult, in which E. Moreu-Rey aimed to provide a comprehensive exploration of the cult of St. Michael in the Catalan region⁴⁰³. This article provided the first important reflections on the diffusion of the Archangel's cult from the Visigoth period to the Early Modern Times. Firstly, he handles the topographical structure of the churches dedicated to St. Michael. Arguing that the cult came from the upper classes of society, he points then to some *formulae* in the Catalan documents that quoted St. Michael. Finally, he examines the evolution of the name 'Michael' in the region trying also to put in parallel the probable influence of Mont Saint-Michel. However, while groundbreaking, Moreu-Rey mentioned the liturgical sources in only very brief terms.

400See the edition of the *Annales Rivipullense* by S. Cingolani. S. M. Cingolani, *Els annals de la família rivipullense i les genealogies de Pallars-Ribagorça* (València, 2012), p. 37 and n. 28; p. 41 and n. 63; p. 85 and n. 189.

401See e.g. P. Ponsich, 'La grande histoire de Saint-Michel de Cuxa', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 6 (1975), 7–36. A. Pladevall, *San Miguel del Fay. Mil años de historia* (Barcelona, 1970). N. Molist i Capella, J.M. Bosche i Casadevall, 'El cementiri medieval de Sant Miquel d'Olèrdola (Olèrdola, Alt Penedès)', *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI–XII)*, eds. N. Molist, G. Ripoll. Monografies d'Olèrdola 3.2 MAC (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 469–94. M. G. Garcia i Llinares, A. Moro i García, F. Tuset i Bertrán, 'L'edifici funerari de Sant Miquel', *Terme* 30 (2015), 75–100. J. F. Cabestany, M. T. Matas, 'Advocacio de Sant Miquel a les capelles dels castells de la Marca del Gaia i del Penedes, segles X–XI', *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 10 (1998), 141–50.

402P. Henriët, 'Protector et defensor omnium. Le culte de saint Michel en péninsule ibérique (haut moyen âge)' in P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez eds., *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale: atti del congresso internazionale di studi, Bari, Monte Sant'Angelo, 5–8 aprile 2006* (Bari, 2007), pp. 113–31.

403E. Moreu-Rey, 'La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ed. M. Baudot, 4 vols (Paris, 1971), III, pp. 369–88.

Nevertheless, his research remains significant for outlining the major tendencies of the developing veneration of the Archangel.

More than twenty years later F. Español made a convincing study of the cult and the iconography of the Archangel in Catalonia, providing us with an overview on the veneration of St. Michael on the Iberian Peninsula that explored relics, documentary evidence on pilgrimages to the Monte Gargano sanctuary in the Central Middle Ages as well as the topography of his cult⁴⁰⁴. Furthermore, she focused on the funerary context of St. Michael's cult, demonstrating that a series of churches in his honour contained crypts with funerary functions as well as the iconography highlighting his psychopomp dimensions⁴⁰⁵. Her analysis allows us to connect the multiple source evidence and to follow the development of the Archangel's cult in Catalonia throughout the Middle Ages.

Finally, a recent article by R. Ordeig i Mata fills a gap on the cult of the Archangel in Vic in the tenth/eleventh centuries⁴⁰⁶. After a brief introduction dedicated to the creation of churches and crypts of St. Michael in different Catalan towns over the course of the ninth/tenth centuries, Ordeig i Mata investigates the construction of the first funeral church of St. Michael in Vic under Bishop Guadamir in 948. Having explored its history in the following decades, he singles out the architectural decoration of the church, i.e. the column with the forest ornaments. According to Ordeig i Mata, this column refers to the church on the Monte Gargano and thus points to a possible remodelling of the building around 1009⁴⁰⁷. Later the church was destroyed during the renovation of the cathedral of Sant Pere under Bishop Oliba but the altar of St. Michael was transported to the new Romanesque cathedral⁴⁰⁸. Ordeig i Mata also mentions several texts from Vic containing the legend of the apparition of the Archangel on Monte Gargano, but mainly focuses on this church and the altar dedicated to St. Michael. Thus, this article provides us with testimonies of the absorption of the Monte Gargano cult in Vic at the turn of the first millennium but does not aim to deepen our typological understanding of the dissemination of the feast.

This chapter will add to the study of the expansion of the Archangel's cult in the Catalan lands. At the core of this investigation lies the identification of the new—second—feast of St. Michael in the Catalan martyrologies, added into the manuscripts from the eleventh century on. This feast often comes together with the narrative known in the historical sources as *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*. This legend on the apparition of the Archangel Michael in Monte Gargano can often be found in both martyrologies and hagiographical books from the ninth century on. This chapter will also

404F. Español, 'Culte et iconographie de l'architecture dédiés à Saint-Michel en Catalogne', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 28 (1997), 175–86.

405Ibid, pp. 180–83.

406R. Ordeig i Mata, 'El culte de l'Arcàngel Sant Miquel a la Seu Episcopal de Vic (segles X–XI)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 27 (2019), 159–91.

407Ibid, pp. 183–85.

408Ibid, pp. 185–86. On the following use of Roman architectural details in Catalan architecture under Abbot Oliba see X. Barral i Altet. 'Apropiación y recontextualización de lo antiguo en la creación artística románica mediterránea', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)*, pp. 171–79.

demonstrate that the same narrative was disseminated in two ways, which defined its modifications throughout the time: 1) first, as an *auctaria* in the martyrologies; 2) second, as a hagiographical source in lectionaries and *miscellanea* books.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part will deal with the Gargano legend, the narrative on the apparition of the Archangel and the development of the new feast in his honour on May 8. The second part will assess the liturgical and hagiographical evidence from the Catalan region, revealing the implementation of the second feast of the Archangel and the entrenched devotion to his cult on Monte Gargano. Finally, the third part will explore several symbolic functions of St. Michael through the document evidence of donations to this saint as well as through the iconographic material from the Catalan region. This analysis will demonstrate that some of his particular features (as two symbolical dimensions of St. Michael – i.e. the healer and the warrior) were the consequence of the Gargano cult of the Archangel, which was also expressed in the second liturgical feast in his honour on May 8.

Building on new data from the martyrologies, and on their comparison with other liturgical sources, this study aims to correlate these changes in the liturgical and religious life in Catalonia with the diffusion of the Monte Gargano legend. Furthermore, bringing this data together with the documentary and iconographic sources, this research will contribute to a better and fuller understanding of the firm establishment of the second Michael's feast on May 8 in the Catalan region.

I. The Point of Departure: The Gargano Legend

1. Monte Gargano and Liber de Apparitio

The sanctuary of Monte Gargano was apparently established in the sixth to seventh centuries. However, an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Liber pontificalis* contains a note about the foundation of the church of St. Michael at Gargano during Pope Gelasius's reign (492–496)⁴⁰⁹. The sanctuary has consequently been a part of the diocese of Benevento throughout almost the entire Middle Ages⁴¹⁰.

A crucial text that highlights for the first time the miracles worked by the Archangel, and thus emphasises his features as a saint, is the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*, written anonymously sometime between the sixth and tenth centuries. While A. Schaller argues on the basis of pro-Lombardian and anti-Byzantine orientation of the text that the *Liber de apparitione* was written in the late eighth to early ninth centuries, N. Everett contests this on the basis of the political orientation of the text, arguing instead that it was

409N. Everett quotes the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3764, fol. 4. N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione s. Michaelis in monte Gargano* and the hagiography of dispossession', *Analecta Bollandiana* 120 (2002), 364–91, p. 372.

410A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael im frühen Mittelalter. Ikonographie und Verehrung eines Heiligen ohne Vita* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 126–27.

compiled between 663 and 750⁴¹¹. Thus in spite of active debates in the scholarship, the exact dating of the text still remains a mystery.

The *Liber de apparitione* (hereinafter *Apparitio*) mentions the cave on the mount of Gargano where the Archangel Michael performed his miracles and contains also the later apparition of the Archangel himself. It is organised into three major episodes: the story of a lost bull, the battle and the consecration of the cave. The first miracle concerns the lost bull of a man called Garganus. Having found his bull at the entry of the cave, the furious Garganus shot an arrow, which unfortunately turned to strike him instead. Afterwards, St. Michael appeared in the town bishop's dreams demanding for the veneration of this place. The second miracle occurred during the battle with the pagan Neapolitans when the Archangel helped the Christians. Finally, the third miracle describes the footprint of the Archangel in the marble near the church and the following dedication of the basilica⁴¹².

This text was largely disseminated across the Western European medieval world⁴¹³. Containing some similarities with the earliest Chonae Legend from Asia Minor⁴¹⁴, it bears witness to the changing roles of the angels in medieval perceptions. During the first centuries of Christianity, the early Christians appealed to the saints perceiving them as protectors, intercessors and models of behaviour. However the angels, devoid of human qualities and being of an invisible essence much removed from that of human beings, were left in the background. They were instead considered as messengers coming to the earth to proclaim God's divine will⁴¹⁵. Also, contrary to the saints whose liturgical feasts were linked to their death (*dies natalis*), to the invention of their imperishable bodies (*dies inventionis*), to their transmission to the new place of the cult (*dies translationis* or *elevationis*) or to the dedication of the church in their honour (*dies dedicationis*), the sanctification of angels due to their inhuman nature was normally more complicated. Meanwhile, from the ninth century on, the Latin Catholic Church came to venerate the domesticated Michael, localised to his specific site, as if he was a human saint. The legend of Monte Gargano attests to this transition. This

411 'Ein gewichtiges Argument für die Niederschrift der *Apparitio* im späten achten oder frühen neunten Jahrhundert liefert ihre offensichtlich proLangobardische und fast aggressiv ant Byzantinische Ausrichtung, die sich durch die byzantinischen Angriffe aus Süditalien erklären ließe, die schließlich zur Rückeroberung im späten neunten Jahrhundert führten'. See A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 126. N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*', pp. 364–89.

412 At first, the *Apparitio* was edited by the Bollandists (BHL 5948, AASS Septembris VIII, col. 60–63), then by G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878), pp. 541–43. It was also edited and translated in French and Italian in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident*, pp. 1–41.

413 G. Otranto and John C. Arnold have emphasised the importance of Southern Italy (and particularly the shrine of Monte Gargano) in the process of cultic transmission. For a recent re-evaluation of the evidence for both models, and a convincing argument in favour of the 'Italian' over the 'Celtic' theory of diffusion, see John C. Arnold, *Ego Sum Michael: The Origin and Diffusion of the Cult of St. Michael the Archangel*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Arkansas, 1997), pp. 270–345. See also K. A. Smith, *Footprints in stone: Saint Michael the Archangel as a medieval saint, 1000–1500*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (New York University, 2004).

414 See U. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus valley*, *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 372–83.

415 M. M. Tischler, *Die Christus- und Engelweihe im Mittelalter. Texte, Bilder und Studien zu einem ekklesiologischen Erzählmotiv* (Berlin, 2005), p. 19.

text records how the Archangel Michael left visible traces of his appearance on earth, i.e. his footsteps. Curiously, as observed J. Arnold, only anthropomorphic characteristics could truly assure the presence of the archangel⁴¹⁶. The legend of Monte Gargano is thus a crucial source in forging the paradoxical status of St. Michael as supreme angel, defender, protector, guardian angel, not least as saint.

Therefore, the written text of the *Apparitio* records for the first time the miracles of St. Michael. It reveals his numerous apparitions and the tangible evidence of them, mainly in the miraculously-created church in the cave on a South Italian mountain. Built upon this text, the Gargano legend is thus a keystone in the process of sanctification of the Archangel.

2. *The Problem of Dating: Two Days – Two Feasts?*

Due to these changes in the perception of the Archangel, the cult of St. Michael received widespread devotion through a variety of liturgical practices. The two most frequently mentioned feasts in honour of the Archangel fell on September 29 and May 8. The first primarily marked the dedication of the church of St. Michael on Via Salaria in Rome⁴¹⁷. Nearby eighth-century copies of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* mention the miracles performed by the Archangel on Monte Gargano⁴¹⁸. In his ninth-century martyrology Ado ignored the basilica on Via Salaria but composed a long *auctaria* on the apparition of the Archangel on Monte Gargano⁴¹⁹. This apparition of St. Michael and the invention of his basilica in this mountain sanctuary moved to the second day—May 8—in some Italian liturgical books from the ninth century on. The dedication of the church on Monte Gargano remained, however, traditionally on September 29, as attested by the following versions of the martyrologies of Ado and Usuard⁴²⁰. The second feast on May 8 thus continued the Gargano tradition. However, during the Middle Ages, the rationale and origin of the May feast day

416See J. Ch. Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel. The Formation and Diffusion of a Sainly Cult*, c. 300–c. 800 (New York, 2013), p. 68.

417The earliest reference to this Roman basilica of St. Michael belongs to the Leonine Sacramentary (late sixth/early seventh century): ‘*Natale basilicae angeli in Salaria*’. See *Sacramentarium veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV[80])*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg (Rome, 1956), p. 106–08. See also the *Facsimile-Ausgabe des sogenannten Sacramentarium Leonianum (Codex Veronensis LXXV [80])*, eds. P. Alban Dold, P. Meinrad Wölfle (Beuron, 1957), ff. 82v–84v. It followed then in the eighth-century manuscripts of Jerome’s martyrology as ‘*Romae [via Salaria] dedicatio basilicae angeli Michaelis*’ (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Ms. Weiss. 81; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 289), ed. in AASS Nov. II-1, 3–4, p. 127.

418See the aforementioned manuscripts from Wolfenbüttel and Bern. The first one has the provenance from northern France, the second from Metz. See H. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), pp. 242–44. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1998), p. 121.

419*Le martyrologe d’Adon*, eds. J. Dubois, G. Renaud, p. 332–36. Moreover, at the end of this new *auctaria* Ado also mentioned a chapel in Rome which Pope Boniface dedicated to the Archangel. On the falsification of this fact see L. Schwartz, ‘Gargano comes to Rome: Castel Sant’Angelo’s historical origins’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 64/3 (2013), 453–75.

420*Le martyrologe d’Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, ed. J. Dubois (Bruxelles, 1965), p. 311.

received various explanations, although the principal one connected it to the apparition of the Archangel on Monte Gargano.

Nevertheless, the repartition of the Gargano feast upon both May and September dates seems, at first glance, confusing in medieval sources. The date of May 8 appears in some liturgical texts and may be referring to events of the fourth century. A. Schaller reconstructs the legend circulating in the manuscripts of the eleventh/twelfth centuries about the miraculous salvation of Sabina citizens from a dragon⁴²¹. Being a witness of this miracle, Pope Sylvester I (314–335) consecrated the cave on Monte Tancia (in Monti Sabini, Central Italy) on May 8 and put it under the patronage of the Archangel Michael⁴²². Regarding this legend, the date of May 8 is related not to Gargano, but to another miraculous apparition of the Archangel on Monte Tancia. The legend on the Archangel Michael defeating the dragon on Monte Tancia survives in two manuscripts, the earliest of which is dated to the twelfth century⁴²³. Therefore, while this legend seems to be a later compilation, probably destined to recreate the historical memory of this sanctuary, it stresses the particular meaning as well as the spreading celebration of the Archangel's feast on May 8 in eleventh/twelfth-century sources.

N. Everett, however, argues that it was the feast day of September 29, or occasionally 30, that was attributed to Gargano and followed by the later Frankish martyrologies (Lyon, Hrabanus Maurus, Notker of St. Gall)⁴²⁴. None of these texts mentions the date of May 8. G. Otranto explains this choice of the date by highlighting the massive diffusion of the cult of Monte Gargano. He suggests that the cult influenced, in its turn, the multiple Carolingian martyrologies and pushed away the feast of the basilica on the Via Salaria⁴²⁵. For example, Ado's martyrology (860) places the text of a circulating copy of *Apparitio* for the feast of St. Michael on September 29 instead of the dedication of the Roman basilica⁴²⁶. That proves that in ninth century the feast of Gargano still had its vagabond character and did not receive the definitive date by this time.

Meanwhile, the alternative southern tradition was to be found in the liturgical sources from Monte Cassino and Naples. A mass for Michael on May 8 exists in eleventh-century Beneventan liturgical manuscripts⁴²⁷. For the first time, this day appears as '*dies festus*' of the '*inventio*' or '*dedicatio*' of the Gargano sanctuary in the calendar of Monte Cassino. G.

421A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 132.

422The reference to the Pope Sylvester was recorded in the *Chronicon Farfense* dated to 1051. See U. Balzani, *Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino. Precedono la Constructio Farfensis e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa*, 2. Fonti per la storia d'Italia 34 (Roma, 1903), p. 134.

423See the edition in A. Poncellet, 'San Michele al monte Tancia', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patri* 29 (1906), 541–48. The church in the cave is probably dated to 774. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

424N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*', pp. 378–79.

425G. Otranto, 'Il *Liber de apparitione* e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale', pp. 440–41.

426*Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 336.

427Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 38, fol. 61r; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. C 9, fol. 168v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. lat. 145, fol. 124r. See N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*' pp. 378–79.

Otranto argues that even though the date of May 8 was not mentioned in the *Apparitio*, the local population did observe it. Due to this origin of the date, G. Otranto declares May 8 was a local and popular feast⁴²⁸. T. F. Kelly confirms that in Southern Lombardy the feast of the Archangel Michael, patron of the Lombards, was celebrated on May 8, the day of the apparition of the Archangel on Monte Gargano⁴²⁹. At the end of the ninth century the Lombard historiographers also used this date for the battle of 650 between Lombards and Byzantines⁴³⁰. This confusion between the events and the attribution of the dates to them may be explained by the variety of accepted traditions.

Proof for the separate existence of both dates can be found in the tenth century. In 969 Pope John XIII signed the privilege for the bishop of Benevento that allowed the bishop to wear the *pallium* on the two feasts of St. Michael, in May and in September, and that confirmed the bishop's authority over the church on Monte Gargano⁴³¹. This evidence again highlights the local celebration of St. Michael twice per year; moreover, it demonstrates that Roman authorities were aware of the existence of the second Michael's feast.

The visible connection between May 8 and the Gargano legend developing in the Campania and Apulia regions may help to explain the first appearance of this date in the Catalan liturgical manuscripts. Therefore, a possible hypothesis to the promotion of this second feast of St. Michael may be the Italian influence or reception of southern Italian liturgical copies by Catalan religious institutions. Some of the liturgical and hagiographical sources to be analysed in this chapter demonstrate the correlation with the Italian liturgical material. Through exploring the nominations for the May and the September feast through the Catalan and Aquitanian sources this analysis will contribute to a clearer perspective on the development of both feasts as well as on the progressive implementation of the May feast throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries in this region.

II. Textual Evidence from Catalan Lands: Reinterpretations of the Feast

Along with splendid growth of the church dedications to St. Michael in the tenth/eleventh centuries came the first great epoch of archangelic devotion in Catalonia⁴³². This wave of veneration to the Archangel goes hand in hand with the spreading addition of a

428G. Otranto, 'Genesi, carattere e diffusione del culto Micaelico de Gargano', in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange*, pp. 59–60.

429T. F. Kelly, 'La liturgia beneventana e la sua musica come testimonianze della cultura longobarda', in *Longobardia e longobardi nell'Italia meridionale. Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche. Atti del 2° Convegno internazionale di studi promosso dal Centro di Cultura dell'Università Cattolica de Sacro Cuore Benevento, 29–31 maggio 1992*, eds. G. Andenna, G. Picasso (Milano, 1996), pp. 239–54, p. 242.

430See the *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* of Erchempert: 'Nam octavo Ydus Maias, quo beati Michahelis archangeli sollempnia non sollempniter celebramus, quo etiam die priscis temporibus a Beneventanorum populis Neapolites fortiter caesos legimus' (G. Waitz, *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum* (MGH 27), p. 244).

431A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 127.

432See E. Moreu-Rey, 'La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans', p. 374.

new feast of May 8 in the Catalan martyrologies and also to some extant examples of the *Apparitio* copied in the Catalan monasteries.

The Catalan liturgical books mention the second feast for the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano from the tenth century onwards. The implementation of this feast is attested not only in Catalan martyrologies and some calendars with Catalan and Aquitanian provenance, but also through the elaboration of the proper of the mass in several regional sacramentaries. Moreover, the dissemination of the *Apparitio* copies in the lectionaries and *miscellanea* volumes reinforces the argument about progressive implementation of the second Michael's feast in the region. This text of the *Apparitio* arrived in two ways: 1) via the copies of Ado's martyrology who compiled a long *auctaria* for September 29 that venerated the memory of the Archangel on Monte Gargano (BHL 5948); 2) via books of other genres (lectionaries or *miscellanea*) as a unit *per se*. Through the analysis of liturgical and hagiographical sources I will argue that the different genres of these books have different aims considering their usage and their impact on the audience, and thus provide different answers to research questions. This also implies that they were potentially disseminated in different ways and again for different reasons. First, the *auctaria* in martyrologies have been thoroughly copied, so that the text for September 29 does not change in all of Ado's martyrologies investigated here. Second, the various versions of the *Apparitio* disseminated in books that differ one from another, point to several archetypes and show the *Apparitio* being released from the canonical version added by Ado in his martyrology.

1. Liturgical Sources

The feast of the Archangel on the September 29 was well known on the Iberian Peninsula during the tenth and eleventh centuries. P. Henriet attests to the cult of St. Michael in Spain in at least five manuscripts from this period: the Bible from Léon (960), the Hispanic Passionary (tenth century), two liturgical codices from San Domingo de Silos (turn of the tenth-eleventh centuries and 1059) and the lectionary from San Millán de Cogolla (1073)⁴³³. Regarding the dating, all these manuscripts bear witness to the celebration of the feast of the Archangel on September 29, not on May 8⁴³⁴. Seven calendars (from the tenth/eleventh cc.)

433Bible from Léon (Léon, Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Ms. II), the manuscript is dated to 960, the texts on St. Michael might have been added c. end of the tenth century (ff. 11r and 12v–13r); Lectionary from San Millan de Cogolla from 1073 (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 22); liturgical manuscripts from Silos (London, British Library, Add. 30.845, fol. 120r – office; ff. 122r–125r – *Apparitio*; see e.g. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_30845_fs001r, accessed 20th August 2020). Another codex of Silos is only described by M. Férotin, in *Liber mozarabicus*, col. 802–803. He found the text of the *Apparitio* in the manuscript and dated all the volumes to 1059. See P. Henriet, 'Protector et defensor omnium. Le culte de saint Michel en péninsule ibérique (haut moyen âge)' in *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale: atti del congresso internazionale di studi, Bari, Monte Sant'Angelo, 5–8 aprile 2006*, eds. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez (Bari, 2007), pp. 113–31, pp. 115–16.

434One manuscript, the Hispanic Passionary, even proposes a date of 28 September. P. Henriet, 'Protector et defensor', p. 115, n. 15.

and four liturgical books (from the eighth to the tenth cc.) contain the dedication of the church to St. Michael on September 29⁴³⁵. The dating of May 8 has thus not yet been discovered in the sources with Castilian and Aragonese origins.

M. Zimmermann argues that Catalonia could have played a relay role in diffusing the devotion to certain saints on the Iberian Peninsula. However, he only mentions a few hagiographical sources on universal saints in Catalonia. Zimmermann assumes that the cult of St. Michael on Monte Gargano, venerated in Catalonia already in the tenth century, took then root in Rioja before the end of the eleventh century⁴³⁶. In his turn, À. Fàbrega Grau confirmed the presence of St. Michael's relics at the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla already in 759, according to a dated act conserved in the San Millán de la Cogolla cartulary⁴³⁷. If we accept this dating, it turns out that the relics from Monte Gargano might have already been transmitted to the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century. Nevertheless, it does not necessarily deny any contacts between San Millán and Catalan institutions in the Central Middle Ages. As it turns out that the relics from Monte Gargano have been transmitted to the Iberian Peninsula at the latest in the middle of the eighth century⁴³⁸, the argument of the Catalan influence on the Spanish cult of St. Michael remains an open issue. Moreover, while the relics of the Archangel in San Millán de la Cogolla point to the connection to the Monte Gargano sanctuary, the absence of any liturgical evidence of the celebration on the May 8 in Aragon and Castilia does not let us to argue for a proper Garganic tradition of the St. Michael's feast in the regions to the west from Catalonia. It is also unlikely that the text of the *Apparitio* could have been brought to Catalonia from the Western Castilian and Aragonese regions⁴³⁹. Rather, as the present study will show, the text is more likely to have arrived from Italian institutions.

The following analysis is carried out in three groups of testimonies: references from calendars, from martyrologies and from the proper of the mass. These will show the entrenching tradition of particular nomination for two feast days commemorating the

435See e.g. the classification of feasts of saints in the article of J. Vives, 'Santoral Visigodo en calendarios y inscripciones', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 14 (1941), pp. 31–58. He analyses the Mozarab calendar from Cordoba, 961) and six later calendars from Northern Christian parts of the Iberian Peninsula. As for the liturgical books, he examines the *Libellus Orationum* de Verona (8th c.), the *Liber Sacramentorum* from Toledo (11th c.), the *Antifonario* from León with the calendar and the Sanctoral from Cardena (10th c.).

436He connected this cult to the story of invention of Archangel's relics on Monte Gargano in 536. See M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, pp. 866–67.

437À. Fàbrega Grau, *Pasionario hispánico (siglos VII–XI)*, vol. 1, p. 219. See the act mentioning ('*ex reliquis almi Dei archangeli Michaeli*') in *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, ed. L. Serrano (Madrid, 1930), p. 1. However, it is also important to take into consideration that this is a possible forgery, which was not rare in the early Spanish charters with foundation character. In this case the import of St. Michael's cult to Rioja without Catalan influence is doubtful.

438F. Español also points to the existence of the second relic – a part of the marble stone with the footprint of the Archangel at the San Millán de la Cogolla monastery. See F. Español, 'Culte et iconographie de l'architecture dédiés à Saint-Michel en Catalogne', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 28 (1997), 175–86, pp. 175–76.

439J. P. Rubio Sadia demonstrates a reversed influence of Catalan liturgy on Aragonese and Navarrese sources. See id., 'Vestigios de la liturgia catalano-narbonesa en fuentes hispanas', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 22 (2014), 95–114.

Archangel as well as an attempt to distinguish the liturgical celebration through choosing different prayers for the mass.

1) Calendar References

Some calendars preserved in liturgical books from the Catalan and Aquitanian regions show an interesting combination of two feasts (Table 13).

Table 13 – St. Michael. References from Calendars

N	Date	Manuscript	Testimony
1	960–980	Martyrology from the Girona cathedral	<i>III KL. OCT. In monte Gargano venerabilis memoria archangelis Michaelis et Rome dedicatio ecclesie eiusdem archangeli a papa beato Bonifatio instructo in circo qui locus inter nubes dicitur</i> ⁴⁴⁰
2	11 th c., beginning	Sacramentary from the monastery St. Martial of Limoges	<i>III KL. OCT. Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁴¹
3	11 th c., first half	Sacramentary from Limousin	<i>III KL. OCT. Sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano</i> ⁴⁴²
4	11 th c.	Martyrology from the monastery Santa Maria de Serrateix	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Invenio basilisse sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁴³
5	1096–1134 ⁴⁴⁴	Breviary of St. Ramon from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Sancti Michaelis in Monte Auri</i> ⁴⁴⁵ <i>III KL. OCT. Dedicatio sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁴⁶
6	12 th c.	Martyrology from the priory of Cassan	<i>VIII ID. MAI Revelatio domus beati Michaelis archangeli quando post extinctum</i>

440Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 1v.

441Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 6r.

442Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 4v.

443København, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. NKS 1794 (SerratM), fol. 178v.

444The dating is defined by R. Swanson. See R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII* (2016), vol. 1, p. 128.

445Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0029, fol. 8v. The geographical location 'in monte Auri' instead of 'in monte Gargano' remains enigmatic.

446Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0029, fol. 9v.

			<i>divitem apparuit post ieiunium episcopo et dixit ei: Ego sum Michael ipsius loci me sciatis inspectorem atque custodem</i> ⁴⁴⁷ <i>III KL. OCT. In monte Gargano venerabilis memoria archangeli Michaelis et Rome dedicatio aecclesie eiusdem archangeli a beato Bonifacio papa constructe in circo qui inter nubes dicitur</i> ⁴⁴⁸
7	12 th c., beginning	Sacramentary from the Albi cathedral	<i>VIII. ID. MAI. Revelatio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁴⁹ <i>III KL. OCT. Dedicatio Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁵⁰
8	12 th c., second quarter	Calendar from a parochial church in Gironès ⁴⁵¹	<i>VIII. ID. MAI. Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁵² <i>III KL. OCT. Festivitas sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁵³
9	12 th c.	Breviary from Girona	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Revelatio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁵⁴ <i>III KL. OCT. Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁵⁵
10	before 1133 ⁴⁵⁶	Breviary and sacramentary from Urgell for the parochial church Sant Romà de les Bons	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁵⁷ <i>III KL. OCT. Archangeli Michaelis</i> ⁴⁵⁸
12	12 th /13 th cc.	Sacramentary from the monastery Sant	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Inventio spelunce sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁵⁹

447Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (CassM), fol. 6v.

448CassM, fol. 10v.

449Albi, Bibliotheque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 3r.

450Albi, Bibliotheque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 5r.

451F. Altés i Aguiló suggests its provenance either from Santa Maria de Castelló d'Empúries or from a parochial church Sant Julià i santa Basiliissa de Fortià and dates the calendar to the second quarter of the twelfth century. See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'Un singular calendari provinent d'un sacramentari gironí de Castelló d'Empúries', in *Miscel·lània en honor de Josep M. Marquès*, ed. N. Figueras i Pep Vila (Montserrat, 2010), pp. 39–53, p. 41.

452Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10401, fol. 4v.

453Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10401, fol. 7v.

454Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 106r.

455Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 109v.

456Altés i Aguiló argues that the manuscript was compiled before 1133. See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra), (Biblioteca de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Ms. 72)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 13 (2005), 47–277, pp. 52–54. M. Tischler suggests a cautious interpretation of this dating by F. X. Altés i Aguiló, considering that the manuscript consists of miscellaneous parts that might have been written at another time.

457Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 5.

458Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 1.

459Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 8r.

		Cugat del Vallès	<i>III KL. OCT. Dedicatio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁶⁰
13	12 th /13 th cc.	Sacramentary from the monastery Sant Joan de les Abadesses	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Revelatio sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁶¹ <i>III KL. OCT. Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁶²
14	1219–1221	<i>Liber de consuetudinibus</i> from the monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Invenio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁶³ <i>III KL. OCT. Sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁶⁴

The fragment of a calendar from the tenth-century Girona martyrology spells out two main events venerated on September 29: the commemoration of the Archangel in Monte Gargano and the dedication of the church in his honour in Rome. This reference is a synopsis of a longer *auctarium* for this day in the martyrology that follows this calendar⁴⁶⁵. The *auctarium* that starts with ‘*In monte Gargano venerabilis memoria beati archangeli Michaelis*’ contains the version of the *Apparitio* (BHL 5948) which Ado added for the first time in his version of the martyrology⁴⁶⁶. The previous martyrologies commemorate the consecration of the church on this day, with Florus claiming it happened in Rome⁴⁶⁷. The Usuard martyrology, built upon Ado’s, includes a concise version of this *auctarium* with only the very beginning of this text ‘*In monte Gargano venerabilis memoria beati archangeli Michaelis, ubi ipsius consecrata nomine habetur ecclesia, vili facta scemate, sed caelesti praedita virtute*’⁴⁶⁸. At the same time, Usuard omitted the dedication of the Roman church.

However, the evolution of liturgical references in the Catalan and Aquitanian calendars shows that the dedication of the Roman church was not forgotten: two calendars, in the earliest martyrology from Girona and in the twelfth-century martyrology from Cassan mention this event⁴⁶⁹. All other sources place the dedication of St. Michael’s church on September 29, without specifying its exact location. Later, the eleventh to twelfth-century calendars explicitly divide both feasts on 1) invention or revelation of the Archangel in May and 2) the dedication of the church (or a simple mention of St. Michael with one reference to his ‘*festivitas*’) in October. We can observe the clear difference in the nomination for two

460Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 9r.

461Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 68, fol. 3r.

462Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 68, fol. 4r.

463Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 46, fol. 151r.

464Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 46, fol. 153r.

465Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), ff. 105r–106r.

466See *Le martyrologe d’Adon*, p. 336.

467Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bede, de l’anonyme lyonnais et de Florus, eds. J. Dubois, G. Renaud (Paris, 1976), p. 179.

468*Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, p. 311.

469The Cassan reference reproduces this eulogy almost entirely as it was formulated in the Girona calendar.

feasts, although the classical *auctarium* describing the miracles that happened on Monte Gargano yet remains on September 29. I put forward the hypothesis that the nominations of ‘*inventio*’ (5 of 11) and ‘*revelatio*’ (4 of 11) were created on purpose to stress their direct connection to the Monte Gargano history, while the historical ‘*dedicatio*’ remained on September 29, whether it referred to the basilica on Via Salaria or on Monte Gargano. Moreover, a particular emphasis can be seen in the notably long reference in the calendar from Cassan, wherein the ‘*revelatio*’ for May 8 borrows from the *Liber de apparitione* and points to the connection between the Gargano feast and the nomination for the feast on May 8⁴⁷⁰. Therefore, the liturgical sources demonstrate the progressive implementation of the Monte Gargano narration in the liturgy, while forming a second independent feast of the Archangel. The following comparison of martyrological references will deepen this first analytical overview.

2) *The Formulae from the Martyrologies*

While the first feast on September 29 had become traditional and venerated everywhere during the Central Middle Ages, the second one on May 8 was yet in its transitional period. All explored martyrologies have the same *auctaria* on September 29, without any modifications comparing to the Ado’s canonised version. However, the martyrologies from Catalan and the Southern French regions demonstrate a curious variety of *auctaria* for the May 8. These *formulae* for the May 8 are presented in Table 14 below (T – in the main text, M – in the margin).

Table 14 – St. Michael. References from Martyrologies

N	Date	Genre/place in the text	Origin/Provenance	<i>Formulae</i>
1	11 th c.	Martyrology (M) ⁴⁷¹	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Apud Montem Garganum inventio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli</i>
2	1061	Martyrology (T) ⁴⁷²	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Apud Montem Garganum inventio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli</i>
3	1076	Martyrology	Monastery of Santa	<i>Eodem die inventio</i>

⁴⁷⁰See *Apparitio*, 2.

⁴⁷¹Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (VicM₁), fol. 50r.

⁴⁷²Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B (VicM₂), fol. 38r.

		(T) ⁴⁷³	Maria de Serrateix	<i>basilisse beati archangeli Michaelis in Monte Gargano</i>
4	11 th c.	Martyrology (M) ⁴⁷⁴	Cathedral chapter of Carcassonne	<i>Eodem die revelatio [sancti] Michaelis arcangeli</i>
5	11 th c., end	Martyrology (T) ⁴⁷⁵	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Apud Montem Garganum invencio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli</i>
6	11 th c.	Martyrology (M) ⁴⁷⁶	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Inventio domus sancti Michaelis archangeli apud Montem Garganum</i>
7	12 th c.	Martyrology (T) ⁴⁷⁷	Cassan, priory	<i>Eodem die revelatio sancti Michaelis archangeli quando dives Garganus in monte appetit taurum sagitta toxicata et illa velut flamine venti retorta eum a quo iactata est mox reversa percussit⁴⁷⁸</i>
8	12 th c.	Martyrology (T) ⁴⁷⁹	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Apud Montem Garganum invencio spelunce sancti</i>

473København, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. NKS 1794 (SerratM), fol. 45v.

474Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256 (CarcasM), fol. 53v.

475Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (StCugM), fol. 43r.

476Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 42v.

477BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (CassM), fol. 99v.

478It continues with '*Turbati cives et stupefacti, consulunt episcopo quid facti opus sit. Qui indicto triduo ieiunio a Deo monuit esse querendum. Quo peracto. sanctus domini archangelus Michael dixit per visionem episcopo: Ego sum Michael archangelus qui in conspectu Dei semper assisto ipsius loci esse me custodem atque omnium que ibi geruntur inspectorem. Hominem suo thelo percussum. sciatis mea hoc gestum voluntate. His revelationibus conpertis consuetudinem fecerunt cives. hic Deum precibus sanctumque intercessorem poscere Michaelem*'. The text reproduces the story, although not verbatim, of the *Liber de apparitione*. CassM, ff. 99v–100r. See *Apparitio*, 2.

479Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 29r.

				<i>Michaelis archangeli</i>
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In the two earliest Catalan martyrologies, from the Cathedral chapters of Girona (GirM, 960–980) and Vic (VicM₁, 993–1010), the entries concerning the May feast were added later in the margins by an eleventh-century hand (Figures 7 and 8). In the eleventh-century books the second feast of the Archangel started being included in the main text, as demonstrated by the monastic martyrologies from Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix as well as the second canonic martyrology from Vic (VicM₂) (Figures 9, 10 and 11). It is somewhat speculative to suggest that the type of religious institution informed this decision, but there are some suggestive factors. On the one hand, the manuscript from Vic may have been influenced by other monastic communities in the region. Certainly, Vic was a canonical community, but during the eleventh century the bishop of Vic and the abbot of Ripoll had always been the same person. The monastic network and monastic influence on Vic’s production was thus quite common. On the other hand, the veneration to the Archangel played a particular role in Vic for the funeral cult of St. Michael, which was developing there from the middle of the tenth century on⁴⁸⁰. But even if we suggest an independent veneration to St. Michael in the community of Vic with the earliest known reference in 1061, the *auctarium* on May 8 from the Serrateix manuscript, finished in 1076, underlines that this feast had been almost simultaneously integrated in the monastic martyrology. This overview explicitly shows that the second feast of the Archangel became integrated in the liturgical books of both monastic and canonical communities in the third quarter of the eleventh century and was thus already entrenched in the Catalan region.

From a comparative perspective, and due to the growing importance of St. Michael’s cult, it is worth considering the second feast of the Archangel in two other eleventh-century martyrologies. These two were compiled in Southern France but reproduced the Usuard version of martyrology (see Table 15):

Table 15 – St. Michael. Martyrologies of Usuard

1	11 th c., end	Martyrology (M) ⁴⁸¹	Southern France, provenance Apt	<i>Revelatio sancti Michaelis archangeli</i>
2	12 th c.	Martyrology (M) ⁴⁸²	Cathedral chapter of Tortosa ⁴⁸³	<i>Ipsa die memoria beati archangeli Michaelis</i>

480See more in R. Ordeig i Mata, ‘El culte de l’Arcàngel Sant Miquel a la Seu Episcopal de Vic’, pp. 166–76.

481København, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. Thott 134, fol. 26r

482Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 90, fol. 52r

483This martyrology was probably copied in Southern France under the influence of Augustinian canons.

Certainly, we have to take into consideration that the Usuard version of both martyrologies might have received the testimonies of the second feast of St. Michael through other religious networks, very probably through the Augustinian communities spread by Saint-Ruf d'Avignon⁴⁸⁴. However, it is enriching to find out that they simultaneously underscore the May feast and also change the vocabulary ('*revelatio*' and '*memoria*') comparing to the traditional September nomination.

For the lexical choice of the *auctaria*, the samples from Table 14 and Table 15 clearly demonstrate the nomination '*inventio*' dominating over others in the liturgical vocabulary for May 8 (see Table 16 below):

Table 16 – St. Michael. Nominations

11 th century	<i>Inventio</i> (5)			<i>Revelatio</i> (2)	
	<i>Spelunca</i> (3)	<i>Domus</i> (1)	<i>Basilissa</i> (1)		
12 th century	<i>Inventio spelunce</i> (1)			<i>Revelatio</i> (1)	<i>Memoria</i> (1)

It is remarkable that all these martyrologies neglect the word '*apparitio*' and six of them use '*inventio*', even though the feast of May 8 from its origin has been directly linked with the apparition of the Archangel. This proves either that the nomination was purely symbolical, or that these manuscripts had a connection with the Monte Cassino liturgical production, which contained the word '*inventio*' in the calendar⁴⁸⁵. The most frequent mention of '*spelunca*', one of '*domus*' and one more of '*basilissa*' appeal all to the episode of the dedication of the Archangel Michael church in the cave of Monte Gargano, with '*domus*' and '*basilissa*', which could also imply the church in the sense of a building⁴⁸⁶. The martyrology from Tortosa, however, named this feast in a completely different way. The scribe did not go more into detail, only testifying to the celebration of the second feast for St. Michael ('*memoria*'), whatever its attribution to a place or to an event. It might be the result of a brief and general reference of the feast day. Another Usuard martyrology from Apt does not use the same expression twice, preferring '*revelatio*' to '*memoria*'. So do the Carcassonne and the Cassan martyrologies, which may point to different traditions of liturgical texts being established in different dioceses on different sides of the Pyrenees. Moreover, the Cassan martyrology develops the notion of '*revelatio*', connecting it to the episode where the bull miraculously escaped from being struck with an arrow from the *Apparitio*. This evidence is unique among the corpus of analysed manuscripts and helps us to build a bridge connecting the tradition of the feast on May 8 and the dissemination of the Gargano legend.

484M. M. Tischler, 'Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation', p. 77.

485See the reference in the eleventh-century martyrology from Monte Cassino (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4958, fol. 32r): '*Inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in monte Gargano*', and in the calendar from another Monte Cassino martyrology (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. lat. 211, fol. 5v): '*Inventio sancti Michahelis archangeli*'.

486Both terms are used in the text of the *Apparitio*. See *Apparitio*, 5.

Comparing both ways of analysis, through the lexical choice of the word and the pace of entrenchment of the feast at the religious institutions, it may be deduced that there were at least three different ways in which the feast was transmitted to the south and to the north of the Eastern Pyrenees. The texts containing *inventio* are gathered in the Catalan counties (Osona, Girona, Barcelona, Berga), with *revelatio* having an Aquitanian and Languedoc provenance and *memoria* finding its provenance in Tortosa (though also with a strong southern French influence via the network of the St. Ruf canons). All these additions are meaningful for they prove that under different nominations, and being brought by different waves of texts' circulation, this commemorative day nevertheless became an established feast in the Catalan and southern French regions by the beginning of the twelfth century. The following analysis of the mass will clarify the separation process of liturgical texts on two different feast days of the Archangel.

3) *The Development of the Proper of Mass*

The proper of mass for the feast on May 8 had been formed for several centuries. The Catalan and Aquitanian sacramentaries show the established mass only in the twelfth century. Twelve liturgical books from the old ecclesiastical province of Narbonne allow us to see the evolution of the liturgical implementation of the second Archangel's feast (see Table 17).

Table 17 – St. Michael. Proper of the Mass for May and September Feasts

Manuscript	MAY	SEPTEMBER
1) Sacramentary from Limousin (11 th c., beginning) Coll. Scr.	Absent	<i>Dedicatio basilice sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁸⁷ . Deus qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas, concede propitius, ut, quibus, tibi ministrantibus, in caelo semper assistitur, ab his in terra nostra vita muniatur (CO 1798) ⁴⁸⁸ Hostias tibi domine laudis offerimus suppliciter deprecantes ut easdem angelico pro nobis interveniente

487Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 80rv.

488*Corpus orationum*, eds. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (further CCSL) 160 B (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 40–41.

		<p>suffragio et placatus accipias et ad salutem nostram provenire concedas (CO 2995)⁴⁸⁹</p> <p>Beati archangeli tui Michaelis intercessione suffulti, supplices te, domine, deprecamur, ut, quos honore presequimur, contingamus et mente (CO 402)⁴⁹⁰</p>
<p>2) Sacramentary from Gellone (11th c., first quarter⁴⁹¹)</p> <p>Coll.</p> <p>Scr.</p> <p>Pref.</p> <p>Ad compl.</p> <p>Alia</p>	<p>Absent</p>	<p><i>Dedicatio basilice sancti Michaelis archangeli</i>⁴⁹²</p> <p>Deus qui miro ordine angelorum (CO 1798)</p> <p>Hostias tibi domine (CO 2995)</p> <p>VD. Aeterne deus. Sancti Mikaelis archangeli merita praedicantes. Quamvis enim nobis sit angelica veneranda sublimitas, quae in maiestatis tuae consistit conspectu, illa tamen est propensius honoranda, quae in eius ordinis dignitate caelestis militiae meruit principatum (CP 1429)⁴⁹³</p> <p>Beati archangeli tui Micahelis (CO 402)</p> <p>Da nobis omnipotens deus beati archangeli tui Michaelis eotenus honore proficere ut cuius in terris gloriam</p>

489 *Corpus orationum*, eds. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 C (Turnhout, 1994), p. 298–99.

490 *Corpus orationum*, eds. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 201.

491 I refer to the dating suggested by M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, who demonstrates this with the reference to the name of Pope Joan XIX (1024–1032) in the canon of the mass ‘Te igitur’ as well as with the date of dedication of the church in May. See more in id., ‘El sacramentari II de Gellona (Montpellier, Bib. Mun., ms. 18)’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 20 (2012), 53–231, pp. 57–8.

492 Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 18, ff. 135v–136r.

493 *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 428.

		praedicamus eius precibus adiuvemur in caelis (CO 921) ⁴⁹⁴
3) Sacramentary from Ripoll (1040)	Absent	<i>Sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁹⁵ Deus qui miro ordine angelorum (CO 1798) Hostias tibi domine (CO 2995) VD. Aeterne deus. Sancti Mikaelis archangeli merita praedicantes (CP 1429) Beati archangeli tui Michelis (CO 402)
Coll.		
Scr.		
Pref.		
Ad compl.		
4) Sacramentary from Limousin (11 th c., first half)	Absent	<i>Sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁹⁶ Deus qui miro ordine angelorum (CO 1798) Hostias tibi domine (CO 2995) VD. Aeterne deus. Sancti Micaelis archangeli merita praedicantes (CP 1429) Beati archangeli tui Micahelis (CO 402)
Coll.		
Scr.		
Pref.		
Ad compl.		
5) Sacramentary from Figeac (11 th c., third quarter)	Absent	<i>Sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁴⁹⁷ Deus qui miro ordine angelorum (CO 1798) Hostias tibi domine (CO 2995)
Coll.		
Scr.		

494 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 25.

495 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Ms. 67, fol. 146r.

496 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, ff. 82v–83r.

497 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 2293, ff. 128v–129r.

Pref.		VD. Aeterne deus. Sancti Micaelis archangeli merita praedicantes (CP 1429)
Ad compl.		Beati archangeli tui Micahelis (CO 402)
6) Collectary-ordinary from the monastery of Lagrasse (11 th century, fourth quarter) ⁴⁹⁸	<i>VIII ID. MAI. Inventio specus sancti Michaelis</i> ⁴⁹⁹	<i>III KL. OCT. Sancti Michaelis archangeli</i> ⁵⁰⁰
Coll.		Da nobis omnipotens deus (CO 921)
Alia		Deus qui miro ordine angelorum (CO 1798)
Alia		Beati archangeli tui Michaelis (CO 402)
Alia		Perpetuum nobis domine tuae miserationis praesta subsidium quibus et angelica praestitisti suffragia non deesse (CO 4225) ⁵⁰¹
7) Sacramentary from the Cathedral of Girona/ Collegiate church Sant Feliu de Girona (12 th c., first half) ⁵⁰²	<i>Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵⁰³	<i>In natale sancti Michaelis Archangeli</i> ⁵⁰⁶

498I refer to the dating suggested by M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El Collectari-Ordinari de l'Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa (París, BnF, ms. Lat. 933)', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 16 (2008), 203–453, 207–08.

499Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, fol. 59v.

500Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, ff. 75v–76r.

501*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 E (Turnhout, 1995), p. 326.

502 M. Sureda i Jubany and M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol argue that the manuscript was compiled for the use of the bishop and canons of the cathedral of Girona and then passed to one of chapels of the collegiate church. See the provenance and the dating in id., 'El sacramentari de Sant Feliu de Girona (Girona. Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 17 (2009), 83–210, pp. 88–9.

503Girona, Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46, fol. 64v.

506Girona, Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46, ff. 96v–97r.

Coll.	Da nobis omnipotens deus (CO 921)	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)
Alia		Deus cuius claritatis fulgore beatus Michael archangelus tuus precellit agminibus (CO 1156) ⁵⁰⁷
Scr.	Munera populi tui domine quesumus dignanter assume quod non nostris meritis sed sancti archangeli tui Michaelis deprecatione sit gratium (CO 3533) ⁵⁰⁴	Hostias tibi (CO 2995)
Ad compl.	Adesto plebi tue misericors deus et ut gratiae tuae beneficia pociora percipiat beati Michaelis archangeli fac supplicem deprecationibus sublevari (CO 168) ⁵⁰⁵	Beati archangeli tui Michaelis (CO 402)
8) Sacramentary from the parochial church Sant Iscle d'Empordà (12 th c., first half) ⁵⁰⁸	<i>Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵⁰⁹	[part not preserved]
Coll.	Da nobis omnipotens deus (CO 921)	
Scr.	Munera populi tui domine quesumus (CO 3533)	

504 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 D (Turnhout, 1994), p. 244.

505 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 89.

507 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 141.

508 M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol argues for the clear Gironian provenance of the manuscript and suggests that the manuscript was copied in the first half of the twelfth century probably sometime after the dedication of the church in 1123. See M. Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari gironí de Sant Iscle d'Empordà', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 11 (2003), 57–118. Having compared this one with the late medieval manuscript (14th c.) from the parochial church Sant Iscle d'Empordà, Gros i Pujol stresses the common accents put on particular dates and feasts in both manuscripts (p. 58, and n. 4; pp. 62–3). At the same time he offers to consider the place of compilation of the manuscript the *scriptorium* of Girona Cathedral and of Sant Feliu de Girona (p. 63).

509 Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. Mús. 420, ff. 33v–34r.

	Ad compl.	Adesto plebi tue misericors deus (CO 168)	
9) Sacramentary from Albi (12 th c., beginning)		<i>Revelatio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹⁰	<i>Dedicatio ecclesie sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹¹
	Coll.	Deus cuius claritatis fulgore (CO 1156)	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)
	Scr.	Munera populi tui (CO 3533)	Hostias tibi (CO 2995)
	Ad compl.	Adesto plebi tue misericors deus (CO 168)	Beati archangeli tui Mikaelis (CO 402)
10) Sacramentary from Albi (12 th c., beginning)		<i>Revelatio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹²	<i>Dedicatio basilice sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹³
	Coll.	Deus cuius claritatis fulgore (CO 1156)	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)
	Scr.	Munera populi tui (CO 3533)	Hostias tibi (CO 2995)
	Ad compl.	Adesto plebi tue misericors deus (CO 168)	Beati archangeli tui Mikaelis (CO 402)
11) Sacramentary from Vilabertran (12 th c., third quarter) ⁵¹⁴		<i>Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹⁵	<i>Inventio sancti Michaelis</i> ⁵¹⁶
	Coll.	Da nobis omnipotens deus (CO 921)	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)
	Scr.	Munera populi tui (CO 3533)	Hostias tibi (CO 2995)

510Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 77v.

511Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, ff. 106v–107r.

512Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 6, fol. 66rv.

513Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 6, fol. 120rv.

514 For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari de Santa Maria de Vilabertran (París, BnF, lat. 1102)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 19 (2011), 47–202, pp. 50–1.

515Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1102, fol. 121rv.

516Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1102, ff. 153v–154r.

Ad compl.	Adesto plebi tue misericors deus (CO 168)	Beati archangeli tui Mikaelis (CO 402)
12) Missal from the Abbey Arles-sur-Tech (12 th c., fourth quarter)	<i>Inventio sancti Mikaelis</i> ⁵¹⁷	<i>Sancti Mikaelis archangeli</i> ⁵¹⁸
Coll.	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)	Deus qui miro ordine (CO 1798)
Scr.		Hostias tibi (CO 2995)
Pref.		Sancti Mikaelis arkangeli (CP 1429)
Ad compl.		Beati archangeli tui Michaelis (CO 402)

The overview of these sources demonstrates that a specific liturgy for celebration of the second feast of St. Michael on May 8 started entering the liturgical books in the Catalan and border Pyrenean region from the twelfth century on. Six eleventh-century sources from Limousin, Languedoc and Ripoll show the rather uniform version of the proper of the mass only on September 29. Six other twelfth-century manuscripts from the Girona province, Albi and Arles-sur-Tech (Elne) already contain the prayers for both feast days.

The nomination of the feast is also strictly divided in the sacramentaries: ‘*inventio*’/‘*revelatio*’ for the May feast, ‘*dedicatio/sancti archangelis*’ for September (except the one from Santa Maria de Vilabertran, which curiously attributed the nomination ‘*inventio*’ also for the September feast – this time as if May’s nomination defined the September one). The sacramentaries thus use the same name distinction for two feast days as in calendars and martyrologies.

According to these sacramentaries, the liturgy for the day September 29 always uses the same texts (for collect, oblation prayer, preface and communion). The texts for the second feast on May 8 are however less unified. All manuscripts containing the proper of the mass for both liturgical days have the same oblation (CO 3533) and communion (CO 168). The main difference is in the choice of the collect. Three manuscripts from Sant Feliu de Girona, Sant Iscle d’Empordà and Santa Maria de Vilabertran use the collect CO 921, which corresponds to the collect for the vigil of St. Michael read on September 28 in the earlier books, for instance in the Ripoll sacramentary (compiled in 1040)⁵¹⁹. So the whole liturgy for May 8 in these three manuscripts is similar to this vigil celebration in Ripoll (collect, oblation

517Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 82v.

518Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, ff. 107r–108r.

519Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, fol. 145v. See *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, ed. A. Olivar (Madrid/Barcelona, 1964), p. 177.

and communion). In one case of the early eleventh-century Gellone sacramentary this collect CO 921 was suggested as an option for reading on September 29, and not on the vigil. Altogether, this shows that the liturgy for the second feast of the Archangel was still based on the available texts, but they have only been replaced from the vigil celebration to the new feast day from the twelfth century on.

Two other manuscripts from Albi suggest the third option for the collect (CO 1156), which is absent in the Ripoll sacramentary. However, this third text of the collect is also present at the sacramentary from Sant Feliu, it comes under the rubric ‘*alia*’, albeit for the September feast day. Therefore, this collect referred to both the September and May commemoration days of the Archangel, although the majority of manuscripts have it on May 8⁵²⁰. The sacramentary from Sant Feliu de Girona follows the Beneventan tradition. At the same time, beyond the Pyrenean border, in Albi, the same collect (CO 1156) is used for the May feast, as conserved in the manuscripts from Monte Cassino, northern Italy and Sicily. Could this point to different liturgical traditions circulating in the Pyrenean region?

Another argument in the favour of this hypothesis may be that the manuscripts from Arles-sur-Tech and Lagrasse do not contain any prayers for the feast day on May 8, although both explicitly refer to it in the sanctoral. Moreover, in Arles-sur-Tech the only one reference in the text for this day mentions the collect CO 1798, which was normally read on September 29 (including the same manuscript, and its September proper of the mass). This might point to the transitional period in the establishment of a new feast day for the Archangel. On the one hand, it has been entrenching more deeply, as the texts from different liturgical institutions demonstrate, while on the other the texts have yet been confused between two days. In some cases, as for the preface CP 1429 (on September 29), this piece of the proper of mass was also used for May 8⁵²¹. However for the eleventh/twelfth century manuscript production it appears to be a rare phenomenon⁵²². The collect CO 402 also seems to be sometimes used for the May feast day⁵²³. The mixed use of the same collect for different feast days in Italian religious institutions highlights the dynamic in the liturgical celebration of two Archangel’s feasts. The vivid migration of the same prayers between two feasts of the Archangel occurred thus in different Mediterranean regions: Catalonia, Sicily, Campania and Rome, and reflected the progressive implementation of the Gargano feast in the liturgy and religious consciousness throughout the twelfth century.

520For September see the Beneventan tradition (Baltimore, Walter’s Art Gallery, Ms. W 6, 11th c.), and for May the manuscripts from Monte Cassino (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. lat. 145, 11th c.), Berceto and northern Italy (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B27 inf., B 28 inf., B 48 inf., 10th–11th cc.), and of Norman origin from Sicily (Palermo, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Ms. 2, before 1130). See *Corpus orationum*, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), pp. IX, X, XV, XXXVII and 141.

521The preface was read for the May feast day in the missal from Benevento. See S. Rehle, ‘Missale Beneventanum (Codex VI 33 des Erzbischöflichen Archivs von Benevent)’, *Sacris erudiri* 21 (1972–1973), 323–405, p. 361. It is noticeable that the same manuscript does not contain any reference for September 29.

522Only one case out of 19. See *Corpus praefationum*, CCSL 161 D (Turnhout, 1980), p. 702.

523*Corpus orationum*, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 201.

Therefore, the observed liturgical testimonies demonstrate the progressive development of distinct nominations for both feast days of St. Michael from the late tenth to the twelfth century. The sources point to an obvious tendency to distinguish between two feasts and to provide each feast with its terminology and symbolical act concerning the Archangel. This desire to vary on liturgical pieces of texts and prayer is very curious, all the more so since later medieval and early modern missals, unified and standardised after the Council of Trent, came back to the same Mass prayers⁵²⁴. The process happening in the Central Middle Ages thus bear witness to the richness of different regional traditions, even in so seemingly fixed forms of liturgical books as sacramentaries and martyrologies. The following overview of the *Apparitio* in hagiographical sources reinforces my hypothesis on the establishment of the Archangel's second feast in the Catalan lands and underline the Italian connections.

2. *Hagiographical Sources. The Apparitio*

The dissemination of the hagiographical version *Apparitio sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* also demonstrates that the feast on May 8 had been integrated into the religious life of the Catalan region. There are at least five extant Catalan copies from the tenth/eleventh centuries. Apart from these five copies, the Catalan archives hold two another later copies. The first is housed at the library of the Montserrat monastery⁵²⁵. This manuscript is dated to the thirteenth century and attributed to the monastery Sant Feliu de Guixols in the Girona province⁵²⁶. Only the title and the very beginning of this fragment survive: *Inventio domus sancti Michaeli archangelis. Incipit invencio domus sancti Michaelis archangele que est apud mon...*⁵²⁷. This reference conforms to the notice from Girona's martyrology as shown in Table 14. The second belongs to the thirteenth-century breviary from Cuixà, which suddenly omits the May feast of the Archangel and connects the September feast with the Monte Gargano legend⁵²⁸. However, the rubric and the main reading for this day refer to the feast on May 8, at the same time making a distinction between the '*invencio domus*', which happened on May 8, and '*dedicacio domus*' on September 29. The text which follows repeats the *Liber de apparitione* (BHL 5949). Even considering the absent celebration of St. Michael's feast in

524 See e.g. *Missale romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum summorum pontificum cura recognitum* (Regensburg, 1956), pp. 592–93 and pp. 769–70.

525 V. Sivo mentioned a bifolium from a homiliary, which contained the title of the *Apparitio* of the Archangel Michael. V. Sivo, 'Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta e sul testo dell'*Apparitio* latina', 103.

526 A. Olivar, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat*, p. 169.

527 Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 757-II.

528 '*Incipit invencio domus sancti Michaelis Archangeli, que est apud Montem Garganum, cuius sollempnitas dedicationis celebratur III^o Kalendas octobris: Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi quingentesimo trigessimo sexto, temporibus videlicet Zenonis imperatoris, Constantinopolitane Urbis et Gelasii Pape Romane Sedis et Laurentii Antistiti [sic] civitatis Sypontis, indiccione quarta decima, octavo idus madii, a Gargano, magistro militum prefate civitatis Sypontis, inventus est specus in monte Gargano, ubi in honorem Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi et memoriam sancti Michaelis archangeli...*'. P. Pujol i Tubau, 'El Breviari de Cuixà', *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 6 (1920–1922), 329–341, p. 336.

May, which has already become widespread in the Catalan and Pyrenean regions, the reading in this breviary for September 29 confirms the distinction in the nomination of both feast days, albeit included in this manuscript together for the more traditional September feast⁵²⁹. The singularity of this testimony, and its later dating compared to the analysed tenth- and eleventh-century texts in this thesis, suggests rather an individual explanation for this dating. Moreover, several folios later, the breviary contains a developed series of readings for the celebration of Michael's feast on Mont St. Michel (October 16)⁵³⁰. Probably, the Cuixà monastery with its particular reverence to St. Michael unified these two individual feasts, combining the feast in May into the traditional celebration of St. Michael on September 29, preferring to distinguish rather between the Monte Gargano cult and the cult of the 'Monte Thumba'. The early reference to the church of St. Michael in Via Salaria in Rome is then completely omitted. This might also have emphasised all three Archangels at the monastery of Cuixà, so that the consecration day fell on September 28 in 974/975⁵³¹, right before the day of Archangel Michael on September 29, Archangel Gabriel on October 2 and Archangel Raphael on October 3⁵³².

Therefore, the five texts which are key texts analysed in this section were copied in the tenth and eleventh centuries and were a part of volumes containing miscellaneous texts, hagiographical for the majority of them, some of them exist nowadays in books, others in fragments. The analysis is carried out, first, through the material data from these testimonies; second, through the structural differences in the textual part; and third through the reconstruction of the archetypes within the surviving *Apparitio* and their dissemination in tenth- and eleventh-century Catalonia.

1) *Five Testimonies: The Place of the Apparitio in the Fragments and Books*

The text of the *Apparitio* is preserved in five copies with Catalan provenance. All of them belong to the same religious institutions as some of the martyrologies, cited above. Two are nowadays preserved in miscellaneous volumes and two other exist as fragments in a single folio. The earliest one, dated to the middle of the tenth century with a complete text of the

529See also the traditional '*In s. Mikaelis*' with a reading from Matthew (18, 1–10) on September 29 in the twelfth-century Gospel book from Cuixà. This manuscript has, however, a lacuna from February 22 to August 15. J. Lemarié, *Le santoral de Saint-Michel de Cuxa d'après le manuscrit Perpignan B.M. 2*. Liturgica 3. Scripta et Documenta 17 (Montserrat, 1966), pp. 85–100, pp. 86 and 93.

530P. Pujol i Tubau, 'El Breviari de Cuixà', pp. 336–37.

531R. Ordeig i Mata mentions that the sermon of Garsias was written for the anniversary of the consecration of Sant Miquel de Cuixà of 28 September 975, before the feast of the archangel, although the act of endowment had been granted on September 30. Id., 'La documentació del monestir de Cuixà referent a Oliba i als anys del seu abadiat', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 39–51. See also the act on September 30 in R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes. II. Anys 952–998', p. 166.

532See L. Vones, "'Sermo" in Briefformen, Reliquienkult und Klosterpolitik. Das Schreiben des Mönches Garsias an Bischof Oliba von Vic über Gründung und Ausstattung des Klosters Sant Miquel de Cuixà', *Écriture et genre épistolaires: IV^e–XI^e siècle*, eds. T. Deswarte, K. Herbers, H. Sirantoine (Madrid, 2018), pp. 247–58, p. 250.

Apparitio, comes from the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès (further – SC⁵³³). Next, the manuscript Ripoll 74 (further – R), compiled at the turn of the tenth/eleventh centuries, contains an unfinished version of the *Apparitio*⁵³⁴. Finally, three others are preserved in the Archive of Vic. One whole text was copied in 1064 in the Cathedral chapter of Vic (further – V₁⁵³⁵); another one represents a fragment with the eleventh-century provenance of the parish church of Sant Genís de Taradell in the Vic diocese (further – V₂⁵³⁶); the third one is also preserved as a fragment (further – V₃⁵³⁷) being written during the eleventh century⁵³⁸.

With regard to the codicology of these fragments, the SC *Liber collectaneus* contains the whole text of the *Apparitio*, placed in a volume within the Homiliary of Luculentius alongside some works by Isidore of Seville (Figure 12). Another volume with the whole version conserved in the Archive of Vic (V₁) contains the extracts from the Etymologies of Isidore, the Aachen Rule for Canons and some patristic treatises (Figure 13). The place of this *Apparitio* within the miscellaneous volume without any other hagiographical content is very curious. Taking into account that the Aachen Rule for Canons already existed in an earlier copy in the Vic chapter⁵³⁹, this new volume of 1064 could have fit into the strategy of structuration of the chapter library and the renewal of liturgical manuscripts. The copying of the *Apparitio* in this volume is possibly connected to the particular devotion to the Archangel in the chapter of Vic. E. Morey-Rey mentions that the cult of St. Michael was introduced into the cathedral of Vic between 948 and 957 but does not refer to any source⁵⁴⁰. Apparently he means the dedication of the chapel consecrated to the Archangel, according to the act on October 11 in 948/956⁵⁴¹. In his recent article R. Ordeig i Mata provides us with a more detailed investigation of the dedication of this church and all of the authorities who were involved: Bishop Guadamir, Count Sunyer of Barcelona, his son Borrell, and Archdeacon Ansemon⁵⁴². Ordeig i Mata refines the dating of the dedication of the church on October 11 in 948, and ties it to the vigil of the commemoration of the apparition of St. Michael to St. Wilfrid⁵⁴³. Thus the new volume, which combines the new copy of the Aachen Rule for

533Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 21, ff. 212vb–214rb. On the dating and provenance see A. Mundó, ‘Entorn de dos còdexs del segle X de Sant Cugat del Vallès’, *Faventia* 4 (1982), 7–23; J. Lemarié, ‘La collection carolingienne de Luculentius restituée par les deux codices Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 17 et 21’, *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984), 221–371, pp. 225–28. M. Tischler expresses doubts about the provenance of this manuscript from a palaeographical standpoint.

534Barcelona, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ripoll Ms. 74, fol. 156v.

535Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 44, ff. 144vb–146rb.

536Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. X/5.

537Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. XXIV/4.

538I am grateful to Fernand Peloux who introduced me to this fragment.

539Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 C, ff. 3v–45v.

540See E. Morey-Rey, ‘La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans’, p. 375.

541R. Ordeig i Mata, ‘Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes. II. Anys 952–998’, p. 155. The same date is mentioned in the margin of the earliest Vic Martyrology (VicM₁). Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A, fol. 121v.

542R. Ordeig i Mata, ‘El culte de l’arcàngel Sant Miquel a la Seu Episcopal de Vic (segles X–XI)’, pp. 171–73.

543Ibid., p. 174. This vision took place on October 12 in 709 in Meaux, as attested in the Vita of St. Wilfred. See V. Juhel, C. Vincent, ‘Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel en France’, in *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell’Europa medievale*, eds. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez (Bari, 2007), pp. 183–207.

Canons and the *Apparitio*, further underscores the particular devotion to the Archangel that had existed for more than a century in this religious institution. Moreover, the *Apparitio* specifically reinforces the Gargano cult of the Archangel, which suggests the expanding of St. Michael's cult in the Vic Cathedral chapter as well.

Three other versions arrived in fragments. Two of them belonged to hagiographical volumes, being conserved alongside other liturgical feasts. The V₂ fragment consists of only one folio that contains on its recto side the Invention of the Holy Cross and on the verso side the beginning of the *Apparitio* (Figure 14). V₃ includes the *Apparitio* that follows the passions of Quiriacus of Jerusalem, celebrated either on May 1 or on May 4⁵⁴⁴ (Figure 15). A bifolium from the middle of the quire is probably lost, so the text of the *Apparitio* stops on the verso side and a translation of relics of St. Eudald is exposed on the following recto side⁵⁴⁵.

The R fragment also represents a partial text but is placed at the end of a miscellaneous volume, catalogued as *Liber glossarum et etimologiarum* with several treatises on grammar and liberal arts (Figure 16). It is the only fragment written in a fast draft manner without any decoration on the verso side and left unfinished. It seems to have been put in that place in order to be recopied later in another volume with a different purpose. Unfortunately, with the heavily damaged manuscript patrimony from Ripoll, no other *Apparitio* text was found. Another hypothesis could be that this text might have existed already in another copy, and thus was never finished and compiled.

These data that the preserved Catalan testimonies reveal demonstrate, first, the importance of the Gargano cult of St. Michael for some religious institutions in particular (e.g. for the Vic cathedral), and second, prove that the tradition of celebrating the May feast of the Archangel was becoming increasingly entrenched as can be seen by the way in which the hagiographic volumes follow the order as laid out in the calendars. The following analysis of the structural text modifications will deepen these primary conclusions.

2) *The Apparitio: Statistics of the Text Modification*

The five found texts of the *Apparitio* belong to two different BHL versions and are summed up in Table 18:

Table 18 – St. Michael. Incipit of Every Fragment of the Apparitio

Sources	Incipit	BHL
SC (10 th c., middle)	<i>Incipit miracula sancti archangeli Michaelis ...</i>	5948

⁵⁴⁴Ado places two eulogies of Quiriacus, the traditional one on May 1 and adds another on May 4. *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 138–39 and 147. Here the text of Quiriacus is BHL 7022.

⁵⁴⁵This text is analysed by F. Peloux, 'Le récit retrouvé du vol des reliques de saint Eudald, martyr d'Ax-les-Thermes, par les moines de Ripoll en 978. Édition et commentaire d'un texte fragmentaire', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2019), 211–38.

R (10 th c., end/ 11 th c., beginning)	<i>Anno quingentisimo trizesimo VI ab incarnatione domini ...</i>	5949
V₁ (1064)	<i>Incipit de inventione basilice sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano ...</i>	5948
V₂ (after 1076)	<i>De inventione ecclesie sancti Michaelis archangeli ...</i>	5948
V₃ (11 th c.)	<i>Apud montem Garganum inventio domus sancti Michaelis archangeli. Anno quingentisimo ...</i>	5949

This table again illustrates the variety of nominations concerning the church consecrated to the Archangel (*domus, basilica, ecclesia*) as well as of the subject of the text, whether it discusses the discovery of the church consecrated to St. Michael, or his miracles. Therefore, the five discovered unedited Catalan versions of the *Apparitio* permit us to create a comparative table for analysing the correlation between all these copies. The following analysis will show whether the existence of two BHL versions supports the idea of two families of these texts in the Catalan region.

The comparative edition of these Catalan texts based on the edition in *Acta Sanctorum* stresses five principal changes to the text. The first variation concerns the modification of the words' order (as '*manu sibi*'/'*sibi manu*', see Appendix III, 4). The second reveals word form changes (as '*posita*'/'*sita*' or '*erectus*'/'*preerectus*', see Appendix III, 6). The third refers to the grammatical changes (as '*pascerentur*'/'*pascebantur*', see Appendix III, 9). The fourth concerns the omitted words. Finally, the fifth shows the replacements of the words or the additions of the new ones (as '*Sipontus*'/'*vir*'/'*homo*'/'*prefatus*', see Appendix III, 8).

Regarding this structure, Table 19 provides some important results.

Table 19 – St. Michael. Modifications in the *Apparitio*

Principal changes	SC	R	V₁	V₂	V₃
The changing order of words/ chains of words	2	4	4	4	6
Word form changes	6	8	5	4	7
Grammar changes	6	11	15	21	6
Omitted words/ chains of words	4	2	9	8	6
Word replacements/ additions (words and chains of	3	10	9	8	10

words)					
Total	21	34	41	45	35

Taking into account the later edition by G. Waitz, a number of the changes do not belong only to the Catalan copies⁵⁴⁶. Looking through early medieval versions of the *Apparitio* from the tenth and eleventh centuries, it can be seen that both proposed editions, in the *Acta Sanctorum* and by G. Waitz, have captured the most common variations. For example, it concerns variations of word forms such as *gregis/congregis* or of word replacements as *Apulie finibus/Campanie finibus*. The comparison between the Catalan copies among themselves does not bring any proportional modifications to the statistics. The results demonstrate that even though some variations were taken into consideration by the existing critical editions, a considerable number of them are still contained in the Catalan copies.

The applied statistics clearly show the correlation between the copies from Ripoll and from Vic compared to the one SC fragment standing apart. Moreover, the results allow us to gather in one group R and V₃ and in another group V₁ and V₂, for the frequency and number of changes similar in the copies within each group. According to the data shown in Table 19, the SC fragment was the least modified, whereas both V₁ and his direct copy V₂ are full of changes. This statistical information corresponds absolutely to the content and codicological data. First of all, according to the defined BHL versions, the first group (R and V₃; further Group I) belongs to BHL 5949 and the second (V₁ and V₂; further Group II) to BHL 5948. The main difference here is the incipit of the BHL 5949 that represents a little introduction to the text indicating the time of the Gargano event and the date of the St. Michael's feast (*VIII Idus Maii*). The Group I thus clearly points to the date of May 8 as the feast of the Archangel on Monte Gargano. Then, Group II contains the biggest amount of modifications, especially for a number of additions, omissions and grammar changes, which are quite similar for most of the manuscripts. V₁ belonged to the Cathedral chapter of Vic and was copied in 1064, whereas V₂ had the provenance from a parish church in the Vic diocese, consecrated in 1076⁵⁴⁷. Due to this historical testimony, V₂ could have been copied from the chapter volume, probably for the need of the renewing of old liturgical and hagiographical books in the parish church in the course of the texts' dissemination. Finally, the presence of the SC *Apparitio* since the tenth century in Catalonia without any visible influence on the spreading copies a century later means that this fragment may have had a separate copy of the *Apparitio* in its origin.

Thus, this statistical analysis of the quantitative data confirms the qualitative data collected from the analysis of the content and the codicology. Brought together, they allow us to move to the next stage of constructing a *stemma codicum*.

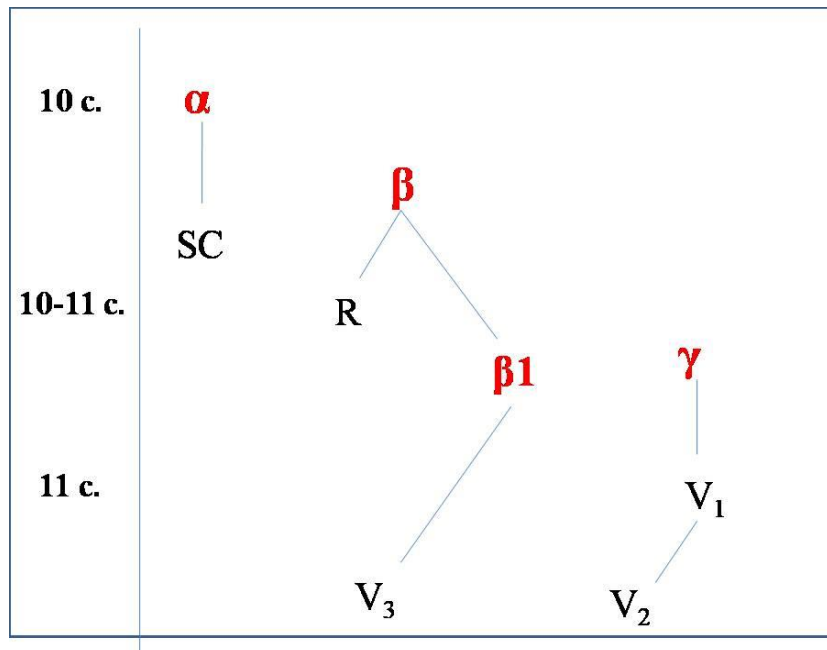
546G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878), pp. 541–43.

547The church in honour of Sant Genís, Sant Joan and Sant Pere was consecrated in 1076. See act n° 233 in *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, II (1997), p. 233–34.

3) *The Apparitio: Building a Stemma*

Taking the repartition of five texts into three different groups into account, we can now define three textual archetypes that served as a basis for the dissemination of Catalan copies in the tenth/eleventh centuries. The stemma shown in Image 1 presents the apportionment of texts regarding to their dating and their distribution within the aforementioned groups.

Image 1 – St. Michael. Three Archetypes of Catalan Fragments



The SC fragment was generated from the earliest α archetype, which was probably written around the beginning of the tenth century. Considering that the R text was copied at the turn of the tenth century, the β archetype may have been created in the same century. The fragment V_3 , however, did not reproduce the R variant, despite the fact that they both belong to BHL 5949 and to the same family (Group I). Therefore, another version likely existed, which I call β_1 (the derived version of β), which thus led to V_3 . This β_1 version must have been created in the first half of the eleventh century before the V_3 copy. Finally, we have the γ archetype, the most recent copy, which already existed in the first half of the eleventh century. It gave birth to Group II (V_1 and V_2) which demonstrates the diffusion of the *Apparitio* in the Vic diocese during the eleventh century.

The analysis carried out of the five fragments argues for the intensive diffusion of the text of the *Apparitio* through Catalonia. The presence of three archetypes indicates the different origins of the *Apparitio* and then bears witness for an extensive manuscript network between the Catalan and other medieval *scriptoria*. As I intend to show, these archetypes likely came from different Italian centres.

One of the clearest examples of such a difference is the geographical nomination in the text, providing three options (each one for A, B and C). Describing the position of the Monte

Gargano cave (*est autem locus ...*), the SC fragment uses *in Neapole finibus*, the Group I *in Apulie finibus* and the Group II the classical *in Campanie finibus*, the last one is the traditional norm of the auctaria in Ado's martyrology. Whereas the option *in Neapole finibus* is quite particular, the two others have been marked in Italian versions.⁵⁴⁸ N. Everett suggests that the manuscripts which mention *in Apuliae finibus* instead of *in Campaniae finibus* were generally produced later.⁵⁴⁹ From the big BHL list of the *Apparitio*, at least three manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh centuries also have the *Apuliae* nomination.⁵⁵⁰ The comparative analysis however does not allow us to attribute the close interaction between all these copies with the R fragment. Nevertheless, it explicitly demonstrates the differences in the copies spread in different religious centres.

It is still necessary to specify the dating of May 8 as one of the testimonies of the dissemination of the Gargano legend. Here, Group I provides chronological evidence for the correlation between the *Inventio in Monte Gargano* and the new feast of the Archangel having entered the liturgical manuscript production from the tenth century onwards. In Group I the earlier R version contains *Octavo idus Maias inventio erit beati Michaelis archangeli in Monte Gargano*. This sentence does not even mention the invention of the *basilica* or *domus* or *spelunca* but appeals metonymically to the Archangel himself. The presence of this dating in R from the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century testifies that in Ripoll May 8 had been already perceived as a liturgical feast in honour of St. Michael on Monte Gargano. The later V₃ text formulates the same dating in another way: '*VIII idus Maii a Gargano magistro militum prefate civitatis inventum est specus in monte Gargano*'. Both fragments thus testify to the establishing of a connection between the diffusing *Apparitio* version and the celebration of the feast on May 8 in the Catalan counties.

Another curious testimony confirming the forming tradition of the May feast in Ripoll belongs to the Ripoll chronicles. The earliest one, the so-called *Annals de Ripoll I*, was produced at the monastery Sant Miquel de Cuixà before 984, and then brought to Ripoll between 984/988, where it was completed and revised, according to S. Cingolani⁵⁵¹. These Ripoll Annals named the invention of the church of St. Michael on Monte Gargano in 526⁵⁵², which corresponds to the dating at the very beginning of the R fragment. Moreover, this is the

548This difference has already been noted in the edition of the *Acta Sanctorum* with the references to manuscripts from the Vatican and Florence libraries. *Acta Sanctorum Septembris*, t. 8, Antwerp, 1762, p. 62.

549N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*', pp. 364–91, in particular p. 369.

550Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5301, beginning of the eleventh century, ff. 196r–198v (see further n. 550); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 339 (9th c.), ff. 16r–18v (see M. M. Tischler, *Einharts "Vita Karoli"*. *Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*. MGH Schriften 48 1/2 (Hannover, 2001), vol. 1, p. 109–11); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586 (second half of the 11th c.), ff. 269v–270v.

551See S. Cingolani, who discusses the hypotheses of M. Coll and T. Bisson and his dating for the Ripoll chronicles. S. M. Cingolani, *Els annals de la família rivipullense i les genealogies de Pallars-Ribagorça* (València, 2012), pp. 28–33.

552'ANNO DXXVI. *Inventio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli*'. See S. Cingolani, *op.cit.*, p. 37. Since the Ripoll Annals mention both annual numbering systems from the very beginning, the Spanish Era and *Anno incarnationis Domini*, and later indicate only '*anno*', I assume this entry refers to the *Anno Domini* date, the year 526. See the beginning of the Annals with both systems in S. Cingolani, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

only one version from five with such an incipit. It starts with a historical reference to the time of the Pope Gelasius (*'Anno quingentesimo trizesimo VI ...'*) that takes nine lines, and only afterwards the text continues with *'memoriam beati archangeli Michaelis'*. Such an insert is also presented in later manuscripts, but not in exactly the same words and with a modified date, from the Normand abbey Mont Saint-Michel of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries⁵⁵³. However, in the earliest part of the same manuscript 213, dated to the tenth century, this addition is absent⁵⁵⁴.

The attribution of the Archangel's feast to May or to September in other fragments can also be explained by the surrounding texts. In general, the text of *Apparitio* was often inserted in the volumes with hagiographical content (legendaries, passionaries, saints' or martyrs' lives) and arranged in calendar order⁵⁵⁵. For example, the earliest tenth-century manuscripts, legendaries and passionaries, containing the *Apparitio* among other saints' lives, attribute it to September 29⁵⁵⁶.

The V₁ version is inserted alongside the Aachen Rule for Canons and the patristic treatises, so there are no visible hints for the dating of the feast. The V₂ fragment comes right after the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. This feast, according to the same Ado's martyrology, was celebrated on May 3. Such an order in the V₂ fragment seems to be organised in a chronological way and thus attests the attribution of the St. Michael's feast to the day of May 8.

The feast of the Holy Cross on May 3 is also indicated in the martyrologies and sacramentaries in the region⁵⁵⁷. Following the principle of the codicological volume's organisation, we can put forward the hypothesis that the *Apparitio* joined together with the feast of the Saint Cross in V₂, bears witness to the celebration of the Archangel's day on May

553Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 213, ff. 95r–97r; Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 211, ff. 1r–4v.

554Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 213, ff. 156r–161r. https://www.unicaen.fr/services/puc/sources/chroniqueslatines/consult/msBoued/apparitio_lat.xml/LATapparitio.1.1 accessed 19th August 2020.

555V. Sivo, 'Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta e sul testo dell'Apparitio latina', p. 97.

556Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 18298, ff. 129r–131v (10th c., French origin, see C. Denoël, 'Le fonds des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame de Paris à la Bibliothèque nationale de France', *Scriptorium* 58/2 (2004), 131–73, p. 163); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 17002, ff. 99r–100r (first quarter and second half of the 11th c., from Moissac; see Denoël, 'Notice codicologique. Paris, BnF, lat. 17002 (*Vitae sanctorum*, pars II) et Paris, BnF, lat. 5304, ff. 1r–60r (*Vitae sanctorum*, pars I)', in *Le légendier de Moissac et la culture hagiographique meridionale autour de l'an mil*, ed. F. Peloux. Hagiologia. Études sur la sainteté et l'hagiographie 15 (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 55–66, p. 55); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 11748, ff. 57r–58v (10th c., with Saint-Maur-des-Fossés provenance already in the 12th c., see Denoël, 'Un catalogue des manuscrits de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés au XII^e siècle', *Scriptorium* 60/2 (2006), 186–205, p. 200); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5301, ff. 196r–198v (beginning of the 11th c., from Limoges, see F. Peloux, 'Le manuscrit vu de l'intérieur (Avec en annexe l'inventaire hagiographique du légendier)', in *Le Légendier de Moissac*, pp. 77–115, p. 91); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5327, ff. 178v–180v (tenth century, from Saint-Amand, see R. McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823–877) and his library', in ead., *Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 28–47, p. 43).

557See *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 141–46. The feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross is consequently copied in all three conserved martyrologies from Vic. See VicM₁, fol. 46v; VicM₂, fol. 35r; VicM₃, fol. 26v. It is mentioned also in the calendar of the sacramentary from Sant Cugat. See Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 8r.

8. Having in mind the dating of V₃, it is possible to argue for the ample integration of the second liturgical feast for the Archangel in the Vic diocese before the end of the eleventh century.

The correlation between the Annals from Ripoll and the R fragment point to the spreading tradition of the Monte Gargano cult in Catalan lands. The manuscript evidence shows a possible network with texts coming from the Cuixà to the Ripoll monastery, and then from Ripoll to the Vic Cathedral chapter. This circulation explains the early implementation of the Archangel's May feast in Ripoll and Vic's religious communities. Another possible arrival of St. Michael's cult might be the contacts with Rome via Oliba, abbot of Cuixà and Ripoll (1008–1046), bishop of Vic (1018–1046), who made at least two significant visits in 1011/1012 and between 1012 and 1014⁵⁵⁸.

If the texts from Ripoll and Vic (Group I) clearly attribute the *Apparitio* versions to the May feast of the Archangel, the SC *Apparitio* provides us with different information. It is placed right between the biblical lectures and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The Exaltation of the Saint Cross, according to the martyrology of Ado, was celebrated on September 14⁵⁵⁹. Regarding the calendar order, one would rather expect to see the feast of the Exaltation first and the St. Michael feast second. In any case, however, the SC *Apparitio* seemingly refers to the September month.

A curious coincidence is that the same manuscript 21 with the SC fragment also contains the Luculentius Homiliary, which suggests the Apocalypse reading (Apc 1, 1–5) for the feast day of St. Michael (as well as another homiliary with the origin from Sant Cugat del Vallès, manuscript 17, dated to 956/957)⁵⁶⁰. Placed between the 19th and the 20th Sunday after Pentecost, this text from the *Liber de apparitione* was mostly probably attributed to September. The dating seems to be traditional, yet the full copied text of the *Apparitio* in a miscellaneous volume points at least to the particular interest of the Sant Cugat monastic community in the promotion of the Archangel's cult.

This spectrum of choice based on different genres of liturgical books aims to follow not only the fact of celebration of the Archangel's feast, but also its nomination, the area of its diffusion as well as the intensity of implementation of the Gargano legend into the religious life of Catalonia. The considerable volume and variety of references to the Archangel Michael in the calendars and sanctorals of sacramentaries, martyrologies and hagiographical

558This new dating suggests X. Barral i Altet in his two articles on the travels of Bishop Oliba to Rome. See X. Barral i Altet, 'Culture visuelle et réflexion architecturale au début du XI^e siècle: les voyages de l'abbé-évêque Oliba (1^{ère} partie: Les premiers voyages, avant l'itinéraire vers Rome)', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 177–86 and its second part (2^{ème} partie: Les voyages à Rome et leurs conséquences) in *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 41 (2010), 211–26, esp. p. 212. Traditionally, the scholarship has dated the second Oliba's trip to 1016/1017. See e.g. the recent article by L. Vones, "'Sermo" in Briefformen, Reliquienkult und Klosterpolitik', p. 253.

559*Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 313–15.

560See J. Lemarié, 'La collection carolingienne de Luculentius restituée par les deux codices Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 17 et 21', *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984), 221–371, p. 271.

manuscripts bears witness to the evolution of his second May feast in Catalonia in post-Carolingian times.

This thorough analysis of the liturgical and hagiographical data allows us to reveal the possible arrival of the Gargano cult from the monastery of Cuixà—where it has already flourished in the middle of the tenth century⁵⁶¹—to the Ripoll monastery at the end of the tenth century. Then, in the first half of the eleventh century, probably under the abbot Oliba, this cult arrived to the Vic Cathedral chapter. The manuscript evidence underlines the increasing references to May 8 in the Vic manuscript production throughout the eleventh century.

Therefore, the analysis of liturgical and hagiographical manuscripts demonstrates: 1) the network of religious communities via Cuixà – Ripoll – Vic on the one hand and Sant Cugat on the other. It also shows 2) the progressive development of two different nominations for both Michael's feast days, in May and in September, in the Catalan and Aquitanian religious communities, from the late tenth to the twelfth century. Finally, it reveals 3) the compilation of prayers for the May feast, different from those read in September for the mass of St. Michael during the twelfth century.

III. Symbolism of the Archangel and its Transmission

The last part of this chapter contributes to a deeper exploration of the Gargano cult of the Archangel Michael in the Catalan lands, through documentary and iconographic evidence. Bringing this data together will provide us with a clearer picture of how the second Michael's cult was implemented in Catalonia in the Central Middle Ages. These sources testify to the increasing veneration of the Archangel, while also stressing his particularly features, specific to the Gargano cult (as both a healer and a warrior).

1. Sources

The documents that provide information for this part of the chapter present several acts of the consecration of churches in the Catalan region⁵⁶². From the period of the tenth/early-twelfth centuries, at least thirteen acts concern the consecration of the churches in the honour of St. Michael. Seven of them mention the Archangel among two other patrons:

- Church of Santa Maria de Bisbal, consecrated in 904 to the Virgin, St. Michael and St. John the Baptist⁵⁶³;
- Church Sainte-Marie d'Er (now in France), consecrated in 930 to the Virgin, all saints, St. Peter, all apostles and St. Michael⁵⁶⁴.

⁵⁶¹The influence of politics in changing the holy patron at the monastery of Cuixà in the middle of the tenth century will be developed further.

⁵⁶²See R. Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotacions de les esglésies de Catalunya, segles IX–XII*, 5 vols (Vic, 1993–2001).

⁵⁶³R. Ordeig i Mata, *op. cit.*, I (1993), pp. 81–83.

- Monastery Saint-Martin-du-Canigou (now in France), consecrated in 1009 to St. Martin, St. Mary and St. Michael⁵⁶⁵;
- Monastery Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles, consecrated, in 1040, to the Trinity, St. Mary, St. Michael and St. Saturnin⁵⁶⁶;
- Church Sant Miquel en el castell de la Roqueta, consecrated, in 1043, to St. Michael⁵⁶⁷;
- Church Sant Marti del Brull in the Osona comarca, consecrated in 1061 to St. Martin, St. John and St. Michael⁵⁶⁸;
- Church Santa Maria de Gerri in the Pallars comarca, consecrated in 1149 to St. Mary, St. Vincent and St. Michael⁵⁶⁹.

Moreover, different mural paintings and polychrome altar frontals can be found in several churches in the Catalan region. Eight of these churches from ten are located in the Pyrenees area with six of them having the frescos with St. Michael: four in the Pallars comarca Santa Maria d'Àneu, Sant Pere del Burgal (both of the late-eleventh/early-twelfth century), Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran and Santa Maria de Taüll (first quarter of the twelfth century); and two in the Urgell comarca Sant Pau Esterri de Cardos (1124–1150) and Sant Miquel d'Engolasters (Sant Miquel, c. 1160, now in Andorra)⁵⁷⁰.

Two others from the Pyrenean area included the image of the Archangel on their altar frontals: in the Cerdanya comarca Sant Miquel de Soriguerola (thirteenth century) and a church in the Ripoll valley (the altar there was built by the same artist as in Sant Miquel de Soriguerola; thirteenth century)⁵⁷¹.

Then, two more mural paintings were found in other regions of Catalonia: in the Girona province the church Sant Tomàs de Flúvia (eleventh-twelfth century) and in the

564Ibid., pp. 117–18.

565R. Ordeig i Mata, *op. cit.*, II, 1 (1996), pp. 11–12.

566Ibid., pp. 86–94, p. 89.

567E. Junyent noticed, this was not a proper act of dedication of a church, but rather an announce to be remembered. See E. Junyent, *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba* (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 255–56.

568R. Ordeig i Mata, *op. cit.*, II, 2 (1997), pp. 190–92.

569R. Ordeig i Mata, *op. cit.*, III, 1 (2001), pp. 145–48.

570See their representations on the Website of the museums. For the images of the church apse of Santa Maria d'Àneu and the church in Burgal see the Museu Nacional de l'Art Català (MNAC): <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-de-santa-maria-daneu/mestre-de-pedret/015874-000>; <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/pintures-del-burgal/mestre-de-pedret/113138-cjt>. The representation of the apse of Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran is on the Website of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/472381>. For the following see respectively the photos from the MNAC: <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/judici-final-de-santa-maria-de-taull/mestre-del-judici-final/015836-000>; <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-desterri-de-cardos/anonim-catalunya/015970-000>; and <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-dengolasters/mestre-de-santa-coloma-dandorra/015972-000>, all accessed 19th August 2020.

571See respectively the Website of the MNAC <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/taula-de-sant-miquel/mestre-de-soriguerola/003901-000> and the Museu episcopal of Vic <https://www.museuepiscopalvic.com/fr/colleccions/roman/parements-lateraux-dautel-mev-9694-9695>, accessed 19th August 2020.

Tarragona province the chapel Sant Miquel from the Marmellar castle (twelfth century)⁵⁷². Finally, another altar frontal of thirteenth century was decorated in the Catalan area by the maître of Sant Pau de Casserres, comarca of Berguedà⁵⁷³.

The tradition of celebrating St. Michael's feasts and depicting him in numerous churches and monasteries continued in Catalonia throughout the Middle Ages. During the fourteenth century, the monastery of Sant Miquel Castello d'Empúries organised a big celebration of May 8 every year with an office in the chapel consecrated to St. Michael⁵⁷⁴.

The impressive number of both documentary and iconographic⁵⁷⁵ sources encourages us to apply the same methodological approach through this corpus. The aim thus will be to explore whether the Garganic cult left any traces in non-liturgical sources. In order to understand this, it is important to analyse the particular features of St. Michael that the Gargano legend develops and stresses.

2. *Dimensions of the Archangel*

The text of the Gargano legend provides us with several actions performed by the Archangel: his miracles, his aiding the Lombards in battle, his function as a guardian of a specific location, which he chose himself, etc. If some of his functions have roots in earlier beliefs it does not reduce the particular accents on his healer and warrior dimensions which are clearly significant in the Gargano narrative. G. Otranto identified two important dimensions of St. Michael's cult in Gargano: medical ('iátrico') and warrior ('guerriero')⁵⁷⁶. The first one was manifested in the presence of a miraculous spring in the cave of Monte Gargano whose waters, known as *stilla*, flowed out by drops from the northern rock to the altar and could heal⁵⁷⁷. The warrior dimension is demonstrated in the episode of the Christian victory over the pagan Neapolitans, thanks to the help of the Archangel⁵⁷⁸. Nevertheless, analysing Greek accounts on Archangel's miracles J. Arnold argues that St. Michael

572For Fluvià see the image on http://www.terresdegiroa.cat/alt_emporda_st_tomas_fluvia.htm; for the Marmellar castle see MNAC, <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-de-marmellar/anonim-catalunya/071998-000>, accessed 19th August 2020.

573See the Website of the MNAC: <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/frontal-daltar-dels-arcangels/mestre-de-sant-pau-de-casserres/003913-000>, accessed 19th August 2020.

574With the documentary description of the chapel from 1378. See e.g. M. Pujol i Canelles, 'El retaule de Sant Miquel de Castelló d'Empúries i la seva circumstància sòcio-cultural', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos* 27 (1994), 43–76, p. 54.

575Eight mural paintings are preserved now in the National Art Museum of Catalonia, where the entire apses of the Catalan churches were transferred to Barcelona in the early twentieth century. The paintings from Sant Tomàs de Fluvià remain in their church and the altar frontal from the Ripoll valley is conserved in the Episcopal Museum in Vic. The apse from the Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran is now in The Cloisters in New York.

576G. Otranto, 'Genesi, carattere e diffusione del culto Micaelico de Gargano', pp. 63–64. L. Shwartz later argued that the *Liber de Apparitione* emphasised the Archangel's military triumph, in particular, by the Lombards, in the opposite to the eastern Chonae narrative with the focus on the healer dimension. See L. Shwartz, 'Gargano comes to Rome', p. 68.

577*Apparitio*, 6.

578*Apparitio*, 4.

embedded both functions as healer and as symbol of imperial victory in the East even earlier, namely in the later fourth–early fifth century⁵⁷⁹. This accent on Christian victory might, however, receive a slightly different interpretation in these fourth/fifth-century Greek texts compared to the later Latin Gargano story: it was St. Michael in the context of the Roman and Greek goddess of victory, Nika, who was the focus of these earlier texts and had a distinct character from St. Michael in later traditions, who struggles in a more biblical context against Satan (or presumably any pagans).

It is, however, important to analyse two other dimensions that were widespread in the Catalan region, in both documentary and iconographic sources. The first one concerns the Archangel as intercessor and guardian angel: *‘Ibi geruntur ipsiusque loci me esse inspectorem atque custodem’* – the self-definition of St. Michael in the *Apparitio*⁵⁸⁰. The second one, deriving from the previous, but not developed in the Gargano legend, is the eschatological dimension. Regarding the Catalan iconography, these two functions should be analysed together.

1) *Healer Dimension of St. Michael*

The healer dimension of the cult of St. Michael may have its roots in the previous pagan beliefs in the region. Paying attention to the pre-Christian cults in Apulia, G. Otranto underlines their survival in the cult of the Archangel, in particular, the cult of legendary healer Podalirius⁵⁸¹. Another possible source of promoting St. Michael as healer might again be the eastern influence: the Greek texts contain this evidence about healing powers of St. Michael in the early Byzantine period in western Asia Minor⁵⁸². One of the chapels in honour of the Archangel was built in Hierapolis, after a girl had her voice miraculously restored with the help of the healing source⁵⁸³.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the fame of the Archangel’s healing powers reached the Northern Spanish kingdoms. The sources of the eleventh to twelfth centuries noticed the sanctuary San Miguel de Excelsis where laymen were miraculously healed, as was King Peter I of Aragon (1094–1104), and demonstrate the significance of devotional practices under the Aragonese and Navarre kings⁵⁸⁴. Given the inherited pagan and Eastern traditions, the Archangel apparently continued to be perceived as a healer in the medieval Western Europe⁵⁸⁵.

579J. Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel*, pp. 49–51.

580*Apparitio*, 2.

581G. Otranto, ‘Genesi, carattere e diffusione del culto Micaelico de Gargano’, pp. 45, 48 and 62.

582See U. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus valley*, p. 373.

583Ibid., p. 374. ‘Narratio miraculi Chonis patrati ab archangelo Michaelo 4, Narratio de miraculo a Michaelis archangelo Chonis patrato adjecto Symeonis Metaphrastae de eadem re libello’, ed. M. Bonnet, *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1889), 287–328, pp. 324–25. Greek p. 310.

584J. Lacarra de Miguel, ‘Milagros de San Miguel de Escelsis’, *Cuadernos de etnología i etnografía de Navarra* 3 (1969), pp. 348–350 and pp. 360–67. See e.g. P. Henriot, ‘*Protector et defensor*’, p. 129.

585On the arrival of the Chonae legend through Constantinople to Italy see W. von Rintelen, ‘Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West im frühen Mittelalter’, *Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 22

This healer function of the Archangel obviously invoked the increasing pilgrimages that took place since the sanctuary of Monte Gargano had become famous. The pilgrimage to Monte Gargano reached its peak in the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century⁵⁸⁶. At this time, together with St. Peter in Rome and the Virgin in Puy, St. Michael constituted a triad of the intercessors seeking for the generosity of the dying people and of the pilgrims⁵⁸⁷.

Between 981 and 1032, several waves of pilgrimage are attested from Catalonia to Rome and to the Monte Gargano, which also contributed to the diffusion of the cult of St. Michael in Catalonia⁵⁸⁸. M. Zimmermann argues that the testators wished to associate the sanctuaries that were big centres of the pilgrimage with their strategy for salvation⁵⁸⁹. The study of Catalan wills shows the awareness of the Monte Gargano cult in Catalan lands. As mentioned E. Moreu-Rey, in 981 one noble from Manresa County included St. Michael on Monte Gargano among others in his bequest for the commemoration of his soul. The bequests from the eleventh century also mentioned the sanctuary on Monte Gargano⁵⁹⁰. R. Ordeig i Mata notices that in the Cathedral chapter of Vic the Archangel was considered to be protector of the sick and of pilgrims, due to the position of the church situated close to the albergue (*l'Albergueria*)⁵⁹¹.

The healer dimension of St. Michael is nevertheless closely connected to the warrior one, due to numerous pilgrims to the Archangel's sanctuaries being attracted by both dimensions. As B. Hamilton points out, pilgrimage continued to be made to well-established shrines, like those of St. Michael the Archangel, captain of the host of Heaven, and therefore popular for warriors, at Monte Gargano in Apulia and Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy⁵⁹². The pilgrimage could be also performed as penance, as in case of Emperor Otto III, who made a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano in 999, according to the eleventh-century *Vita beati Romualdi* by Peter Damian⁵⁹³.

These testimonies bear witness to multiple contacts between Catalan and Italian lands. The miraculous fame of the Monte Gargano sanctuary was an important motivator of

(1971), 71–100; B. Martin-Hisard, 'Le Culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIII^e–XI^e siècles)', in *Culto e insediamenti Micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, eds. C. Carletti, G. Otranto (Bari, 1994), pp. 351–73; G. Otranto, 'Il culto Micaelico del Gargano', in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident*, eds. P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez (Rome, 2003), pp. 47–48.

586A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 127.

587M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, 2 vol., p. 784.

588M. Zimmermann, 'Saint Michel de Cuxa et l'Italie', in G. Casiraghi, G. Sergi eds., *Pellerinaggi e santuari di San Michele nell'Occidente medievale. Atti del Secondo Convegno Internazionale dedicato all'Archangelo Michele. Atti del XVI Convegno Sancrense, Sacra di San Michele, 26–29 settembre 2007* (Bari, 2009), pp. 269–317, p. 293. See also M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, 2 vol., p. 784.

589M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne*, 2 vol., p. 794.

590*Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, ed. J. Rius i Serra (Barcelona, 1946), vol. 2, acts for 1016, 1032 and 1057. E. Moreu-Rey, 'La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans', p. 381.

591R. Ordeig i Mata, 'El culte de l'Arcàngel Sant Miquel a la Seu Episcopal de Vic', p. 175.

592B. Hamilton, 'Religion and the Laity', in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV, The New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, c.1024–c.1198, Part 2, eds. D. Luscombe, J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 499–533, 514.

593*Petri Damiani Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco (Rome, 1957), pp. 53–54.

exchange of religious doctrines, texts and books. The documentary evidence from the Catalan lands thus confirms, that the May feast was a progressive and conscious step in the formation of the Archangel's cult, which helps us to understand the process of its implementation into religious life in Catalonia.

2) *Warrior Dimension of St. Michael*

The roots of the warrior dimension of the Archangel can already be seen in the Bible. In the Old Testament, in the Book of Prophets, St. Michael is mentioned as one of the chief princes helping to resist against the Persians (Dn 10, 13–21)⁵⁹⁴. This episode likely inspired the perception of St. Michael as the patron of warriors and crucial to victory, corresponding to one of the manifestations of the Archangel's power in the Gargano legend.

In the New Testament, the text of the Apocalypse reveals St. Michael with other angels fighting against the dragon (Apc 12, 7–9). This is also the most commonly diffused image of St. Michael in the iconography. In Catalonia, two altar frontals present this scene, though both date from the thirteenth century. The first one from the Catalan area, named the Altar Frontal of the Archangels, contains several episodes with the participation of St. Michael⁵⁹⁵. The second one comes from the church Sant Miquel de Soriguerola de Fontalans de Cerdanya and is dated to the end of the thirteenth century⁵⁹⁶.

In the lands of the Lombards, the cult of the Archangel Michael even acquired a national character⁵⁹⁷. First, King Grimoald (662–671) transformed it in the official cult of his 'state'⁵⁹⁸ – his interest to the Archangel as a saint, as noticed Schaller, was intrinsically connected with the political instrumentalisation of the biblical Michael-tradition, where the Archangel supported the chosen people of Israel⁵⁹⁹. Then King Cunincpert (688–700) placed the royal authority under the patronage of the Archangel Michael and ordered that the image of the Archangel be engraved on the kingdom's gold coins⁶⁰⁰. Catalonia followed a similar

594On the development of this symbolical dimension of the Archangel-warrior in the spiritual as well as in the real combat under the Capetians see E. Dehoux, *Saints guerriers. Georges, Guillaume, Maurice et Michel dans la France médiévale (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Rennes, 2014).

595<http://museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/frontal-daltar-dels-arcangels/mestre-de-sant-pau-de-casserres/003913-000>, accessed 19th August 2020.

596<https://www.museuepiscopalvic.com/fr/colleccions/roman/parements-lateraux-dautel-mev-9694-9695>, accessed 19th August 2020.

597G. Vitolo, 'L'organizzazione della cura d'anime nell'Italia meridionale longobarda', in G. Andenna, G. Picasso eds., *Longobardia e longobardi nell'Italia meridionale. Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche. Atti del 2^o Convegno internazionale di studi promosso dal Centro di Cultura dell'Università Cattolica de Sacro Cuore Benevento, 29–31 maggio 1992* (Milano, 1996), pp. 101–47, p. 108.

598S. Palmieri, 'Duchi, principi e vescovi nella Longobardia meridionale', in *Longobardia e longobardi nell'Italia meridionale*, pp. 43–99, pp. 63–4, and n. 56.

599A. Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 124.

600P. Antonopoulos, 'King Cunincpert and the Archangel Michael', in *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, eds. W. Pohl, P. Erhard (Vienna, 2005), pp. 383–86. P. Delogu, 'Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic', in *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest. An ethnographical perspective*, eds. G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, C. Wickham (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 251–89, p. 262.

process in the eleventh century, when in Besalú and Girona the mints issued coins with the images of St. Raphael and St. Michael⁶⁰¹.

The identification of the Archangel to local power elites, following the Lombard tradition, continued in other regions. The tenth century was seemingly the period of frequent adding or modifying of the holy patrons to the religious institutions⁶⁰². One of the most eloquent examples of such modification in favour of St. Michael in Catalonia belongs to the Cuixà monastery. In 878, the monks from Sant Andreu d'Eixalada lost their monastery in a flood, settled in Cuixà and consecrated the church of Sant Germà there. However, in the tenth century, the monastery required another saint patron, St. Michael, who would later become the principal one. In his honour a second church was built in 938 with the reconstruction and the solemn consecration occurring in the middle-tenth century (from 956 to 975)⁶⁰³.

R. d'Abadal argues that the change of a patron in the case of Cuixà was a political decision⁶⁰⁴. Garsias, a monk from the monastery Sant Miquel de Cuixà, mentions the relics of St. Michael in his *Epistola* to abbot Oliba (1043/1046): '*Sunt reliquiae ipsius gloriosi archangeli Michaelis, ex pallio scilicet ejus sanctae memoriae*'⁶⁰⁵. The *Apparitio* also uses the word *pallium* in the description of the church in the cave miraculously-created by the Archangel. When the people entered there, they saw at the southern wall an altar covered by a small red mantle ('*altare venerandum robroque contectum palliolo*')⁶⁰⁶. Thus, the pieces of this mantle of Monte Gargano became the main relic of St. Michael and hence of the monastery Sant Miquel de Cuixà.

According to the schema proposed by H. Morey-Rey, the devotion of the Archangel extended in the form of a star, whose rays spread from the abbey St. Michel de Cuixà⁶⁰⁷.

601M. Castiñeras, 'Mural Paintings', in *Romanesque Art in the MNAC Collections*, eds. M. Castiñeras, J. Camps, J. Duran-Porta (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 21–88, p. 67. On the contested nature of coinage in Catalan counties cf. St. P. Bensch, 'Lordship and Coinage in Empúries, ca.1080–ca.1140', in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350*, eds. R. F. Berkhofer III, A. Cooper, A. Kosto (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 73–91.

602See the addition of the patron St. Michael to the name of the churches. E.g. the case of the monastery Sant Llorenç del Munt, J. F. Cabestany, M. T. Matas, 'Advocacio de Sant Miquel a les capelles dels castells de la Marca del Gaia i del Penedes, segles X–XI', p. 135.

603P. Ponsich, 'Saint-Michel de Cuxa, du IX^e au XII^e siècle', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 1 (1970), 19–26.

604R. d'Abadal, *Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà* (Montserrat, 1959), pp. 59 and 93; J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'El comte-bisbe Miró Bonfill i l'acta de consagració de Cuixà de l'any 974', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 10 (1989), 107–24. See also L. Vones, "'Sermo" in Briefformen, Reliquienkult und Klosterpolitik. Das Schreiben des Mönches Garsias an Bischof Oliba von Vic über Gründung und Ausstattung des Klosters Sant Miquel de Cuixà', *Écriture et genre épistolaires: IV^e–XI^e siècle*, eds. T. Deswarte, K. Herbers, H. Sirantoine (Madrid, 2018), pp. 247–58, p. 248.

605See Garsias, *Garciae monachi Cuxasensis epistola ad Olivam episcopum Ausonensem de initiis monasterii Cuxasensis et de sacris reliquiis in eo custoditis*, PL 141, col. 1447. See also a modern edition in *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. E. Junyent (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 369–86, 373.

606*Apparitio*, 5.

607E. Moreu-Rey, 'La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans', p. 376–77. See also the article by Gros i Pujol, where he mentions the oldest churches dedicated to St. Michael: in Cuixa (930), Barcelona (940), Vic (948), Girona (993) and Urgell (1033). M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'Le culte des trois Archanges et de la Trinité à l'abbaye de St-Michel de Cuxa', *Le Moyen Âge dans les Pyrénées catalanes: art, culture et société*, ed. M. Zimmermann. Études Roussillonaises 21 (Carnet, 2005), pp. 93–98, esp. pp. 94–95.

Therefore, the relics could have probably arrived in other churches from the Cuixà monastery. The Cuixà monastery was, in its turn, involved in the interaction with the Abbey San Michele de Chiusa, one of the possible routes for the transfer of the Archangel's cult⁶⁰⁸. The Abbey San Michele della Chiusa was an important monastery on the route of multiple pilgrimages to Rome as well as to Monte Gargano. The oratory dedicated to St. Michael had existed since the end of the tenth century, according to a chronicle written a century later⁶⁰⁹. At the very end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century, this Abbey was known for active contacts with the monastic congregation in Cuixà and welcomed many of Catalan monks and pilgrims⁶¹⁰.

Furthermore, according to the investigation by J.-F. Cabestany i Fort and M. T. Matas i Blanxart, a series of castle chapels were attested throughout the tenth/eleventh centuries in Central Catalonia (in particular in the Anoia, Alt Camp and Alt i Baix Penedès comarcas). The data confirms that the majority of them were dedicated to St. Michael, given the common warrior situation in these lands⁶¹¹. Referring to the biblical texts⁶¹², the authors underline that such characteristics of St. Michael as holy protector and warrior were attributed to the male nobility⁶¹³. Although briefly mentioning the creation of the Monte Gargano sanctuary, the authors do not connect this cult with the reinforcement of warrior dimension of the Archangel in Catalonia.

The devotion of the political elite to the cult of the Archangel passed in its turn to the North Spanish region. The close connection between the royal family and St. Michael as its patron was obviously the case in Navarra. Several bas-reliefs from the tenth-century church San Miguel de Villatuerta represent Christ on the Cross, Archangel Michael, and the scene with the personage on a horse holding the bishop's staff, the man praying and clerics in front of the altar, one of them holding the cross. This relief might correspond to the text of the Visigoth ritual *Ordo quam rex cum exercitu ad prelium egreditur* describing the king leaving for the battle⁶¹⁴. According to P. Henriët, any interpretation of this scene places the

608See M. Pagès, 'Les pintures murals romàniques de Sant Miquel de Cruïlles', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 147–77, pp. 153–55.

609*Chronica Monasterii Sancti Michaelis Clusini*, eds. G. Schwartz, E. Abegg. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 30 (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 959–79. See also a more recent edition in *La Sacra di San Michele*, ed. G. Beltrutto. Le grandi abbazie del Piemonte 3 (Cuneo, 1984), pp. 2–22

610C. Lauranson-Rosaz. 'De la Chiusa a Cuixa. La Romania de l'an mil sous le signe de l'archange Michel et de saint Pierre', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 32 (2001), 89–100, p. 98.

611See the data which J.-F. Cabestany i Fort explored: from overall of 78 castle chapels only 28 chapels are preserved, and from these 20 were dedicated to St. Michael or 71,24%. See J.-F. Cabestany i Fort, M. T. Matas i Blanxart, 'Advocació de Sant Miquel a les capelles de la Marca del Gaià i del Penedès (S. X–XI)', *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 10 (1997), 141–150, p. 148 and n. 27.

612See the references to the angel of God in the Old (Ex. 14:19; Dan. 10:13) and the New Testament (Acts 5:19 and Acts 12:7; Apoc. 12:7).

613J.-F. Cabestany i Fort, M. T. Matas i Blanxart, 'Advocació de Sant Miquel', pp. 149–50.

614P. Henriët, 'Protector et defensor', pp. 125–26, n. 70. See also J. Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz, 'Creación de imágenes al servicio de la monarquía', in *Signos de identidad para Navarra*, ed. Á. Martín Duque (Pamplona, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 187–202, pp. 195–97. Nowadays these reliefs are housed in the Museo de Navarra in Pamplona.

Archangel, represented nearby, into a warrior context, all the more so since the text of this Visigoth ritual mentioned the divine angel accompanying the king⁶¹⁵.

This warrior characteristic of the Archangel plays an important role in the Gargano narrative, where St. Michael helps his people in the battle against the pagans⁶¹⁶. This episode provides two possible interpretations. According to the first, the Apulian people (from Siponto and Benevent) won the battle with the pagan Neapolitans thanks to the help of the Archangel. The second might be a symbolic interpretation of the conflict between Lombard and Byzantine power in southern Italy, in particular due to the battle between Lombards and Byzantines in 650, which the Byzantines lost⁶¹⁷. The increasing accents on the protective and warrior dimension of the Archangel probably relied not only on the biblical traditional past, but also on the dissemination of the Garganic narrative in the Catalan region. At least, the Gargano legend might have reinforced these characteristics of the Archangel, so necessary for and appealing directly to the martial society of the tenth and eleventh century.

Another evidence of the Garganic influence in the Catalan lands might be the creation of the Benedictine priory Sant Miquel del Fai (Barcelona) in 997 by Gombau de Besora⁶¹⁸. Placed at the top of the hill, this priory—later a monastery—was from the very beginning dedicated to the Archangel. C. Cubitt in her study on Anglo-Saxon saints argues for the significance of lay devotion comparing to the clerical cult, highlighting the strong topographical element which suggested that these cults were rooted in the local landscape⁶¹⁹. Given the particular role of the Monte Gargano in the diffusion of the sanctuaries in honour of St. Michael, which were located high on the mountain paths⁶²⁰, Sant Miquel del Fai may have been a trace of Garganic Archangel tradition.

The diocese of Vic was among the earliest to absorb the Monte Gargano legend. The church in honour of St. Michael was erected there under the Bishop Guidamir (948–956).⁶²¹ Performing the pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, the archdeacon Sunifred from the Cathedral chapter of Vic died on his way there in 1014⁶²². Then, according to the act of consecration on April 21 in 1043, Oliba, bishop of Vic, placed in the church of St. Michael in Osona the relics

615Ibid., p. 126. *Liber ordinum en usage dans l'Église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. M. Férotin (Rome 1996), p. 150, l. 7–8: 'Sit Deus in itinere vestro, et angelus eius comitetur vobiscum'.

616Apparitio, 3.

617N. Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*', p. 364–89.

618Gombau de Besora was close to the counts of Barcelona, who granted him the land, where he built the priory dedicated to the Archangel. See *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, p. 249. He left many donations to this monastery, according to his bequest in 1040. See *ibid.*, pp. 246–48.

619C. Cubitt, 'Sites and sanctity: revisiting the cult of murdered and martyred Anglo-Saxon royal saints', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 53–83, 57.

620L. Shwartz noticed that the association of St. Michael with the elevated places was an exclusively western characteristic of his cult. See L. Shwartz, 'Gargano comes to Rome', p. 466 and n. 50.

621Act n°71, see *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, I, pp. 173–74.

622R. Ordeig i Mata, *Guibert de Lieja i Joan de Barcelona*, pp. 63–64.

of saints⁶²³. It is not clear whether the relics of the Archangel were included among them or not. Nevertheless, these three testimonies show the growing importance of the St. Michael's cult in the Vic diocese and the engagement of the ecclesiastical authorities in its diffusion.

Finally, two more testimonies demonstrate the progressive integration of St. Michael's cult into popular devotion and thus underline the reception of the Gargano legend in Catalonia. Both are linked to the particular situation in the Iberian Peninsula, with the border coexistence of the Christians and the Muslims, which brought them to frequent warrior acts. The first testimony is mentioned in the *Miracula sancti Benedicti* written by Andrew of Fleury around 1043. Andrew describes the battle of Torà in 1006, where the Christians defeated the Muslim Cordoba caliphate. It is remarkable that four Catalan counts took part in this battle, and one of them, Bernardus, refers several times to the Archangel as protector and *defensor*⁶²⁴. Furthermore, E. Moreu-Rey remarks that St. Michael became the protector of the Catalan noblemen and was perceived as a patron providing the Catalan knights with the divine support they asked for at the moment of battle⁶²⁵. The famous legend of Escornalbou described the victory of the Christian armies, which conquered the last Muslim castle on May 8 in 1162 in the miraculous presence of the Archangel Michael⁶²⁶. This latter testimony is thus another proof of an evident correlation between the Gargano legend, the warrior dimension of the Archangel and the feast of May 8, a real liturgical implementation of the Gargano cult in Catalan lands by the twelfth century.

Therefore, the central medieval period saw multiple testimonies concerning the dedications of the Catalan castle chapels in honour of St. Michael, the increasing preferences of local political elites for the Archangel as their holy patron and references to St. Michael as a protector who might grant a victory. All this evidence demonstrates that the important combatant function of St. Michael which constituted an inherent part of the Gargano legend was recognised in the Catalan region during the Central Middle Ages.

3) *Eschatological Dimension of St. Michael: The Archangel as Intercessor*

The eschatological dimension of the Archangel does not derive from the Gargano legend. Nevertheless, it is worth demonstrating some examples of this function of the Archangel, for it took a major and significant part in the Catalan iconographical and documentary evidence in the Central Middle Ages.

623'Ad quam veniens predictus pontifex sub invocatione nominis Christi eam consecravit et preciosa ibi sanctorum pignora recondidit'. Act n°174, see *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)* II (1997), p. 124.

624Andrew of Fleury, *Miracula S. Benedicti* IV 10, in *Les miracles de Saint Benît écrits par Adreval, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte Marie moines de Fleury*, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858), pp. 181–91, p. 189. I am grateful to Matthias M. Tischler for this reference on the impact of Andrew from Fleury in the Catalan region.

625E. Moreu-Rey, 'La dévotion à saint Michel dans les pays catalans', p. 383.

626E. Toda, *Història d'Escornalbou* (Reus, 1984) [1926], p. 44; E. Moreu-Rey, p. 383.

From the eleventh century onwards, the Archangels had been one of the favourite themes in Catalan iconography. It particularly concerned the symbolical images of archangels-advocates as well as archangels in the Apocalyptic context⁶²⁷. The first theme might be also linked to the protective and defensive function of the Archangel, although its first connotation would be the salvation of the soul. The second refers to the eschatological dimension. M. Durliat names St. Michael the angel intercessor and the angel of the Judgment⁶²⁸. The coexistence of these two Archangel's functions is explicitly manifested in Catalan iconography from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.

Three of the earliest mural paintings from the church apses in the Pyrenees manifest the function of the Archangel-advocate: Santa Maria d'Àneu, Sant Pere de Burgal (both from the late-eleventh/early-twelfth century) and Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran (c. 1100). The paintings in the apse represent Christ (El Burgal) or the Virgin (Àneu and Cap l'Aran) within the mandorla. The figures of two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel, stay on the left and on the right of Christ or respectively of the Virgin in Majesty. Both Archangels are depicted with standards and the inscriptions '*peticius*' and '*postulacius*'⁶²⁹. The Archangels are not only represented in the Byzantine tradition of the Theophany as the guardians waiting for the return of the Christ, but also guide the humans towards him and present the *petitio* and *postulatio* as their advocates⁶³⁰. Thus, the two functions of the Archangel Michael, in the terms of the intercession beyond God and of the eschatology, are closely connected in the Catalan iconography.

Similar iconographic representations of St. Michael in the apse of the church as protector and intercessor for the people were depicted in three more churches of the twelfth century. The partially preserved image of the Archangel was painted in the triumphal arc of the old chapel Sant Miquel in the Marmellar castle⁶³¹. In the vault of the apse in Sant Pau Esterri de Cardos (1124–1150)⁶³² and in the apse of Sant Miquel d'Engolasters (c. 1160)⁶³³ St.

627M. Durliat, 'L'iconographie d'abside en Catalogne', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 5 (1974), pp. 99–116.

628M. Durliat, 'Théophanies-visions avec participation de prophètes dans la peinture romane catalane et toulousaine', in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 118/4 (1974), 536–64, p. 547.

629The image of the church apse of Santa Maria d'Àneu can be consulted on the Web page of the MNAC: <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-de-santa-maria-daneu/mestre-de-pedret/015874-000>. The image from Burgal can be reconstructed following the same type of the composition. It is also available on the site of the MNAC: <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/pintures-del-burgal/mestre-de-pedret/113138-cjt>. The representation of the apse of Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran is on the Website of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/472381>, all accessed 22 August 2020.

630M. Durliat, 'Théophanies-visions avec participation de prophètes dans la peinture romane catalane et toulousaine', p. 543. See also A. Wunderwald, *Die Katalanische Wandmalerei in der Diözese Urgell, 11.–12. Jahrhundert* (Korb, 2010), p. 143.

631<http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-de-marmellar/anonim-catalunya/071998-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

632<http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-desterri-de-cardos/anonim-catalunya/015970-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

633<http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/absis-dengolasters/mestre-de-santa-coloma-dandorra/015972-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

Michael is depicted on the left and St. Gabriel on the right of the Christ. In the first representation the Archangel also holds the standard. This depiction of the Archangels with standards might reveal an Italian influence on Catalan art⁶³⁴. In all these compositions, the archangels apparently act as the guardians and intercessors before God⁶³⁵.

A singular image of St. Michael, not with a standard but with a cross, was depicted in the apse of the church Sant Tomàs de Fluvià, province of Girona⁶³⁶. The church is dated to the end of the eleventh century, but the composition was probably decorated later, even though the forms are archaized⁶³⁷. Apart from the absence of the standard, the composition reproduced the parallel presence of two Archangels and added the cherubs on both sides.

M. Castiñeiras mentions that the Archangels played an important role in the sacred topography of the Catalan monasteries, as in the case of the Ripoll altar, consecrated to St. Michael and St. Raphael, the rotunda with three Archangels in Cuixà and the altars of St. Michael in the monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes and in the Vic cathedral⁶³⁸. The particular attention in the Osona diocese to the cult of St. Michael can be followed by other acts of consecration of churches. In 1061, one from the church of St. Martí de Brull mentions that the altar was dedicated to St. Michael: '*Hec tibi beate Christi confessor Martine presul pie tue ecclesie confirmo ut te intercedente et sancto Johane santoque Mikaele, quorum altaria intra tue ecclesie sunt sanctuaria...*'⁶³⁹. According to the acts, multiple altars in honour of St. Michael were also consecrated in small parochial churches⁶⁴⁰.

The documentary evidence also reveals St. Michael's function of intercessor. One act among others on the dedication of Santa Maria d'Arles in 1046 contains the final formula appealing for the intercession of the Virgin, St. Michael, St. Peter and all saints: '*Si cui vero ex illis infra prelibatum terminum mors advenerit, intercessu gloriose Virginis et sancti archangeli Michaelis santique Petri apostolorum principis et omnium sanctorum...*'⁶⁴¹. The reference to the Archangel following immediately the Virgin at the end of the act bears witness to his significant place as holy patron in the Catalan region.

4) *Eschatological Dimension of St. Michael: Archangel Weighing Souls*

Another iconographical representation of St. Michael in an eschatological dimension, developed from the twelfth century onwards, is St. Michael weighing souls, which also

634E.g. the paintings in the tribune of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome. See M. Castiñeiras, 'Mural Paintings', pp. 63–66. See also J. Bosquet, 'Le theme des "archanges à l'étendard" de la Catalogne à l'Italie et à Byzance', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 5 (1974), 7–27.

635See the interpretation in Y. Cattin and P. Faure, *Die Engel und ihr Bild* (Regensburg, 2000), p. 98.

636The image can be consulted on the Web page: http://www.terresdegirona.cat/alt_emporda_st_tomas_fluvia.htm, accessed 22 August 2020.

637F. Español, J. Yarza, *El Romànic Català* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 236–39.

638See M. Castiñeiras, 'Mural Paintings', pp. 67–68.

639Act n° 209. See *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, II, pp. 191–92.

640See acts n° 129, 174, 260 and 350 in *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, II–III.

641See act n° 179 in *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, II, p. 133.

reveals the theme of the Last Judgment. These depictions are important to analyse in the funerary context, which accompanied the cult of St. Michael in medieval Catalonia. F. Español thus connects the church buildings having a funerary function with their dedications to the Archangel Michael. Among the most famous she named the churches in the episcopal complex in Vic, in the cathedrals of Barcelona (though in the thirteenth century) and Girona, frescoes from the church in Sant Pau de Casserres with the only entirely extant Catalan cycle with funerary context⁶⁴².

In the Iberian Peninsula, the first image of the Archangel weighing souls was found in the *Beatus* from Silos and is dated to the beginning of the twelfth century⁶⁴³. At the same time (around 1123), in the church Santa Maria de Taüll in Catalonia the mural painting on the western wall represented the Last Judgement, with St. Michael holding the scales and weighing souls at the bottom of the scene⁶⁴⁴. Apparently, it might be the first image of St. Michael in the scene of the Last Judgement conserved in the Catalan region⁶⁴⁵.

This theme has become widespread in the Gothic period, from the thirteenth century onwards. Three other representations of the Archangel weighing souls are depicted on the altar frontals from the thirteenth century. One, from the Ripoll valley, is preserved in the Episcopal Museum of Vic and another was decorated in the church Sant Miquel de Soriguerola in Cerdanya⁶⁴⁶. These two images are represented in a more traditional manner with the devil from the other side of the scales, while in Santa Maria de Taüll the Archangel is depicted only in the presence of a saint on his right and of a soul flying to his scales, on the left.

The third one is the Altar Frontal of the Archangels, which is also the only example of the Gargano scene in Catalonia⁶⁴⁷. The Altar was decorated between 1225 and 1250 and contains four scenes. The first scene depicts two other Archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, transporting the souls to heaven. Three others depict St. Michael struggling with a dragon, weighing souls in the devil's presence and performing the miracle with an arrow and a bull, from the Monte Gargano legend. This last scene is named '*Inventio sancti Michaeli*'. The title coincides with the name of the feast on May 8 in honour of the Archangel in the liturgical tradition, already implemented in Catalonia by the twelfth century. In the image, on the red background, a man is represented with an arrow in his eye, observed by a bull in the right upper corner. The miracle is thus happening before the eyes of the spectator. A particular feature of the Gargano iconography is therefore the absence of the Archangel himself on the

642F. Español, 'Culte et iconographie de l'architecture dédiés à Saint-Michel en Catalogne', 180–82.

643P. Henriot, '*Protector et defensor*', p. 130.

644<http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/judici-final-de-santa-maria-de-taull/mestre-del-judici-final/015836-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

645F. Español, J. Yarza, *El Romànic Català*, p. 215.

646See respectively the Website of the Museu episcopal of Vic <https://www.museuepiscopalvic.com/fr/colleccions/roman/parements-lateraux-dautel-mev-9694-9695> and that of the MNAC: <http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/taula-de-sant-miquel/mestre-de-soriguerola/003901-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

647<http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/frontal-daltar-dels-arcangels/mestre-de-sant-pau-de-casserres/003913-000>, accessed 22 August 2020.

image. According to the Gargano legend, later St. Michael explained this miracle to a bishop, in a dream. The iconography though confines itself to displaying only the culmination part of the miracle, Garganus struck by his own arrow. This scene is also the only one in the altar to contain the inscription with the Archangel's name without depicting him. This Altar is thus a unique and curious example of the reception of the Gargano cult in Catalonia.

Thus, the four episodes on the altar (the Gargano legend, the fight of St. Michael with the dragon, the Archangel weighing souls and Gabriel and Raphael in their psychopomp mission) embed the unity of all functions of three Archangels together. G. Otranto argues that there was no function of psychopomp in the Garganic tradition: Michael had been perceived as the angel of living, not of the dead, and thus was physically very 'present' in his apparitions in the text⁶⁴⁸. To develop this idea, the Gargano legend contradicts the funerary aspects of St. Michael's cult. This confirms the hypothesis of the difference between the traces of the Gargano cult and the previous more traditional beliefs on the Archangel. M. Castiñeiras suggests that the Gargano scene is depicted here as the origin of the St. Michael's cult whereas the others manifest Archangels' power⁶⁴⁹. The Altar, hence, combines different functions of St. Michael in a curious way, unifying in the same space the Gargano legend with other, eschatological and more traditional functions of the Archangel.

Thus, the healer and warrior dimensions of St. Michael developed in the Gargano legend found their place in the devotion to the Archangel in Catalonia of the eleventh/twelfth centuries. The iconography, however, was more concentrated on the function of the Archangel as intercessor, the theme that dominates the mural paintings of the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. The new, eschatological dimension of St. Michael, not absolutely linked with the Gargano legend, however, became widespread from the twelfth century on. Healer of illnesses, defender during the battle, intercessor before God – out of these 'physical' characteristics of the Archangel his spiritual help comes forward. Healing bodies, protecting lands, granting victory – in the Catalan visual religious world the Archangel cares about the soul instead.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to show the expansion of the Archangel Michael's cult in the Catalan region in the post-Carolingian period and to follow the influence of the Gargano legend on the development of St. Michael's cult in Catalonia. It has explored several sources to demonstrate the expansion of the cult: the martyrologies and other liturgical books; the copies of the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*; the iconographical material represented by the mural and panel paintings and some documentary material, in particular, the acts of church dedications. Through the analysis of these sources it is evident

648G. Otranto, 'Genesi, carattere e diffusione del culto Micaelico de Gargano', pp. 63–64.

649M. Castiñeiras, 'Panel Painting', pp. 89–135, p. 132.

that the legend of Monte Gargano had an important impact on Catalan religious life in the Central Middle Ages.

In comparison with other regions in the Iberian Peninsula to the West of the Catalan counties, the Gargano legend appears more frequently in the Catalan liturgical manuscripts from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. It induced, firstly, a wave of pilgrimages with donations to the Apulian sanctuary and privileges from the Italian religious authorities. Secondly, it encouraged the construction of new chapels, churches and monasteries in honour of the Archangel (with some even selecting him as their new holy patron) in the Catalan region as well as the development of his iconography in various symbolic dimensions. Thirdly, it contributed to the addition of the new feast for the Archangel on May 8 in the liturgical books of Catalan cathedral chapters, parochial churches and monasteries introducing his cult in all layers of the religious life.

A crucial role in this process of the Catalan adoption of the Gargano legend was played by the diffusion of the *Apparitio*. This text, circulating in various European regions, was also known in Catalonia. Moreover, five preserved fragments let us reconstruct three archetypes of this text, which existed from the middle of the tenth century and circulated in the Catalan region in the Central Middle Ages. This affirms the extensive manuscript network, most probably between the Catalan and Italian medieval *scriptoria*, suggesting that these archetypes may have been brought from different Italian centres through the exchanges of political and religious institutions, from Monte Cassino, Roman abbeys or San Michele della Chiusa. The possible arrival of the Gargano cult might have been via these monasteries to Sant Miquel de Cuixà (mid-tenth century), then to Santa Maria de Ripoll at the end of the tenth century, and finally to the Vic Cathedral chapter during the first half of the eleventh century. The veneration to the Archangel was already taking place in Vic in the tenth century when the funerary church was built under Bishop Guiadamir (948–956). However, the manuscript data on the second feast of the Archangel and the clear connection to the Gargano cult becomes more visible in the eleventh century.

All these factors bear witness to the active reception of the Gargano legend in Catalonia, which accented the healer and warrior dimensions of St. Michael in particular. The cult blended well with the Catalan political and martial situation, due to the frontier zone and frequent conflicts in the Catalan counties. The analysis of liturgical and hagiographical manuscripts demonstrates the network of religious communities and shows the progressive development of two different nominations for both Michael's feast days, in May and in September. Together with the specified prayers for the mass on the May feast day, it shows the intensity of implementation of the Gargano legend into the religious life of Catalonia, from the late tenth to the twelfth century.

Different testimonies from liturgical books and documents, as well as iconographical and hagiographical sources demonstrate that the developing Archangel's cult in Catalonia had several features specific to that on Monte Gargano. An explicit and final absorption of the Gargano tradition can probably be seen in the Altar Frontal of the Archangels of the mid-thirteenth century, which at first divided all the functions of St. Michael and attributed a special place to the Gargano legend or, more precisely, *Inventio sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*.

By pointing to the various manifestation of the Gargano cult in different fields of Catalan religious life in the post-Carolingian period, this study is not limited to the history of its reception in each local Catalan county. Indeed, the diversity of the observed material allows us to suppose that further investigations could provide insight into the different levels, methods and impacts of the reception of the Monte Gargano legend in every diocese. They would also help us to further specify the local ways in which the Gargano cult was diffused in Catalonia. The crucial role of several centres, such as Cuixá, Ripoll, Vic and Sant Cugat in the veneration of the Gargano cult of St. Michael, may act as signposts for future investigations on a more local scale. Furthermore, in broader terms, this methodology also carries further potential to shed light on other regions of medieval Europe in the transitional climate of the post-Carolingian period.

Chapter Three. St. Alexius and St. Gerald of Aurillac – a New Universal Model of Sainthood in Post-Carolingian Catalonia

Formed in opposition to Roman institutional power, the Early Christian church needed its ‘heroes’. The first heroes venerated by the Early Church were the martyrs persecuted and killed because of their Christian faith⁶⁵⁰. This new category of saints appeared right after 312, when the Emperor Constantine announced his complete rejection of persecutions of the Christians. The martyrs, victorious through their passions, were following the example of Christ by emulating his sacrifice⁶⁵¹. The following centuries thus witnessed the preservation of the martyrs in the church and popular memory⁶⁵². After the Emperor Constantine announced his complete rejection of persecutions of the Christians saints also came to be defined by what they achieved in life. Thus another category of saints emerged, the confessors. As opposed to martyrs, rather than being persecuted, confessors carried out the ascetic style of life while proclaiming their faith by words and by acts⁶⁵³. The first ascetics, monks and hermits of the Egyptian desert, were committed to extreme forms of religious life: chastity, poverty, solitude, sleeplessness, as well as deprivation of food and drink. They may not have been tortured and executed by hostile pagan authorities, but their life was ‘a daily martyrdom’⁶⁵⁴.

Both martyrs and confessors continued to be venerated throughout the Middle Ages and medieval hagiography offers us rich collections of numerous *vitae sanctorum*. As P. Geary mentions, these texts were not composed to inform their readers about the saint’s personality or individuality, but rather to show how the saint exhibited the universal characteristics of sanctity⁶⁵⁵. However, the way in which sanctity was perceived and understood changed depending on the historical period, its socio-political and cultural environment. Post-Carolingian Europe marked a blossoming of new forms and rediscovered local and universal cults of saints. Religious communities were involved in the process of creating the imagined past, seeking to increase the status of their heavenly patrons and establish their social and spiritual significance⁶⁵⁶.

650P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 5–6. See also A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles de Moyen Âge d’après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981), p. 15.

651See the article by A. Louth, ‘Holiness and Sanctity in the Early Church’, in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. P. Clarke. *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011), pp. 1–18.

652W. H. C. Frend, ‘Martyrdom in East and West: The Saga of St. George of Nubia and England’, in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood. *Studies in Church History* 30 (Glasgow, 1993), pp. 47–56, p. 47.

653*Les Saints et l’histoire. Sources hagiographiques du haut Moyen Âge*, ed. A. Wagner (Bréal, 2004), pp. 8–9.

654R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 17.

655P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), p. 10.

656P. Geary, ‘Monastic Memory and the Mutation of the Year Thousand’, in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts. Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in honor of Lester K. Little*, eds. S. Farmer, B. H. Rosenwein (London, 2000), pp. 19–36, p. 26.

The tenth and eleventh centuries thus brought a new comprehension of sanctity that had deep roots from Late Antiquity. P. Brown explored the concept of the ‘holy man’ as a phenomenon of the religious life in the Late Western and Eastern Roman Empire of the fifth and sixth centuries⁶⁵⁷. We can further recognise that the saint living outside the religious community, but still acting as a mediator between people and God, apparently seemed to be a suitable pattern for later medieval models of sanctity. In his article on hagiographic models in the Middle Ages, P. Courbet argues that during the tenth century a lay sanctity (*sainteté laïque*) emerged that extolled the virtues of an active life, which could be fulfilled not only at the monastery, but also in the secular world⁶⁵⁸. Numerous debates on the nature of the profane holiness have been conducted since 1970s. A. Vauchez summarises the previous scholarship, criticising in particular J.-Cl. Poulin, who proclaimed that the tenth-century hagiography, and namely the *Vita Geraldi*, marked the change from the holiness acquired outside of the world to the holiness by the world (*par le monde*), which means the sanctification of the lay state by exercising the seigneurial authority⁶⁵⁹. On the contrary, A. Vauchez expresses doubts about the decisive change attributed by Poulin to the *Vita Geraldi* at so early stage and argues for simply the holiness lived in the world⁶⁶⁰. Lay sanctity unified the inner piety hiding deep in the heart with the exterior secular style of everyday life. Such a combination created a new type of saint, a pious layman, of whom St. Gerald of Aurillac is the model *par excellence*, and another famous example is St. Alexius, a ‘man of God’. Both of these figures represent the ideal saint in the world of the tenth century. P. Henriët argues for a limited diffusion of lay sanctity, because the church’s principal concern was with clerical and the monastic sanctity, while the religious aspirations of the laity were not a primary objective⁶⁶¹. However, this Chapter shows how it is precisely in Catalonia, with its particular ‘collusion of political and religious power’⁶⁶², that this lay sanctity might have found its reception and devotion.

In this chapter I examine the development of two universal cults, those of St. Alexius and St. Gerald, which were formed in particular institutions during the tenth century and then spread in numerous geographical directions. These two cults have many characteristics in common: the time period in which they were conceived, the major elements in the outlines of their deeds, and the relevant societal and political ideas that formed lessons destined for the

657Definition coined in the famous article of P. Brown, ‘The Rise and Function of a Holy Man in Late Antiquity’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1961), 80–101, p. 82.

658P. Corbet, ‘Les modèles hagiographiques de l’an mil’, in *Hommes et sociétés dans l’Europe de l’An Mil*, eds. P. Bonnassie, P. Toubert (Toulouse, 2004), pp. 379–87.

659J.-Cl. Poulin, *L’idéal de sainteté dans l’Aquitaine carolingienne d’après les sources hagiographiques (750–950)* (Québec, 1975), pp. 81–98.

660On the change of the ‘sainteté hors du monde à la sainteté par le monde’, as well as ‘sainteté vécue dans le monde’ see A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles de Moyen Âge* (Rome, 1988), pp. 410–12 and note 362.

661P. Henriët, ‘Sainteté’, *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, eds. C. Gauvard, A. de Libera, M. Zink (Paris, 2002), pp. 1272–75, p. 1274.

662J. Dufour, ‘Les rouleaux et encycliques mortuaires de Catalogne (1008–1102)’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 20 (1977), 13–48, p. 16. A. Mundó, ‘Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l’Est des Pyrénées du X^e au XII^e siècle’, p. 238.

readers of both *vitae*. However, these two cults have never been studied together in detail and there are several questions that their comparison will help to answer. What does the dissemination of these two cults reveal about contemporary political and religious aims? What changes in the practice of religious devotion did they witness? On the one hand, the analysis of post-Carolingian realities will reveal the intellectual world that brought the cults into existence. On the other, the chosen geographical area of the Catalan counties and their close neighbouring regions will allow us to examine the absorption of both cults in the microhistorical context.

My comparative analysis between these saints and their cults is built upon the exploration of several factors: the liturgical testimonies of their feasts; the meta-narrative of their sanctity; and the religious and social context. First, the Catalan copyists constantly added the feasts of these saints into the monastic and secular martyrologies from the end of the tenth century onwards. The references to their feasts then appeared in other liturgical sources. This first factor thus concerns the spreading liturgical veneration that the cults of both saints received in Catalonia during the eleventh century. Moreover, the Catalan archives and libraries still conserve evidence for the diffusion of hagiographic lives of both St. Alexius and St. Gerald in post-Carolingian Catalonia. Second, the examination of *topoi*, the meta-narrative insertions and the structural elements via the narratological methods helps us to reveal the pivotal ideas which circulated in contemporary intellectual religious circles. Third, the analysis of the crucial changes in medieval Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Peace of God movement, aristocratic mentalities, the increasing spirit of the sacralised struggle and the ideas of the reformed monks will shed light on the context in which the cults of Alexius and Gerald have been shaped and disseminated. Taken together, these three facets demonstrate the significance of the cults of Alexius and Gerald and how they became entrenched in Catalonia.

I. The Hagiographical and Liturgical Presence of the Saints in Catalonia

1. St. Alexius and St. Gerald: the Origins of Their Hagiography

One can follow the dissemination of any cult through several possible testimonies: the additions of liturgical feasts in calendars and martyrologies, the creation of the mass and other offices for special occasions on particular days in the liturgical year, compilations of hagiographic accounts dedicated to a feast or a saint, and the circulation of saints' relics. The first section of this Chapter is thus dedicated to the hagiographic tradition of both cults, the compilation of their *vitae* and their dissemination in the Catalan region. This overview helps us to better understand the historical circumstances in which the texts were shaped and the political and religious contexts that were necessary, and particularly favourable, for their widespread dissemination.

1) Vita Alexii and Its Manuscript Tradition

While one among many saints cults with Eastern origins that arrived in Western Europe, the cult of St. Alexius gained a notorious popularity in the medieval Occident and had become a symbolical saint for Rome by the tenth/eleventh centuries. Before his life was

translated to Latin, it existed in multiple Syriac and Greek versions. However, Rome was mentioned in some of these accounts well before St. Alexius became a saint of the city of Rome and a second patron of the monastery of St. Boniface on the Aventin. Nevertheless, the latest *Vita Alexii* known in the tenth-century version from Rome, which takes its roots in the older late antique and early medieval texts, replaces the main accents of the narration and makes Rome the more significant place, thus changing the substance according to the principles of the réécriture⁶⁶³. In this section I will trace the origins of the cult of Alexius and highlight the different shapes the story takes in various versions to contextualise the story and the factors that make its revival in Catalonia significant.

The cult of St. Alexius originated in the East, and the earliest hagiographic accounts were compiled in Syriac. The first Syriac text (BHO 36–40) is considered to be written around 450–475, and indicates Constantinople as the place of birth of the saint and Edessa as the place of his death⁶⁶⁴. The second part of a later Syriac text (BHO 41), produced in the ninth century, refers geographically to Rome, where the saint spent the last years of his life. Both these Syriac prototypes had their similarities and deviations from the Latin version. Yet at the end of the nineteenth century Duchesne demonstrated how Syriac and later Greek texts (BHG 51–56) formed the major elements of the St. Alexis story⁶⁶⁵. Later Stebbins also mentioned the influence of the earliest Syriac legend dated to the fifth century on one Mar Riscia, who had a similar life itinerary as St. Alexius, thus reinforcing Duchesne’s argument that the legend of St. Alexius was possibly founded on the combination of Syriac and Greek prototypes, such as the Vita of John Calybite and a Greek hymn from the beginning of the ninth century, the Alexius canon⁶⁶⁶.

The first Latin versions of the *Vita de sancti Alexii* appeared in Western Europe in two principal areas: Navarrese and Castilian monasteries (namely San Millán de la Cogolla, Santo Domingo de Silos and San Pedro de Cardeña) in the early tenth and Rome in the late tenth centuries⁶⁶⁷. The oldest occidental Latin version is considered to be the Spanish *Vita Alexii* (BHL 289) called ‘Spanish’ because it came down in a Spanish manuscript tradition, as it is attested in four manuscripts with Castilian and Navarrese provenance (San Pedro de Cardeña,

⁶⁶³ The réécriture suggests the modifications of the sense (‘le signifié’) and the form (‘le signifiant’), but for the historical analysis developed in my thesis I rather focus on the modifications of the substance/sense.

⁶⁶⁴ *La vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. M. Perugi (Genève, 2000), p. 11.

⁶⁶⁵ L. Duchesne, ‘Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Âge, VII: Les légendes chrétiennes de l’Aventin’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 10 (1890), 225–50, pp. 236–39.

⁶⁶⁶ L. J. Engels, ‘The West European Alexius Legend with an appendix presenting the medieval latin corpus in his context (*Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi I*)’, in *The Invention of Saintliness*, ed. A. B. Mulder-Bakker. Routledge studies in medieval religion and culture 2 (London, 2002), pp. 93–144, p. 95. See C. E. Stebbins, ‘Les origines de la légende de St. Alexis’, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 51/3 (1973), 497–507, pp. 503–04.

⁶⁶⁷ C. Vincent, ‘Fortunes médiévales du culte de saint Alexis’, in *Mélanges d’École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines, Fidéicommiss. Procédés juridiques et pratiques sociales (Italie–Europe, Bas Moyen Âge – XVIII^e siècle) – Saint Alexis à l’époque moderne* 124/2 (2012), 629–42; <https://mefrim.revues.org/849>, accessed 17th August 2020.

Santo Domingo de Silos, San Millán de la Cogolla)⁶⁶⁸. Another hagiographic version is called the Roman *Vita Alexii* (BHL 286), which is considered to have been compiled at the monastery of St. Boniface of Tarse in Rome in the last quarter of the tenth century⁶⁶⁹. According to L. Engels, the recent standpoint in the scholarship is that hagiographic accounts on St. Alexius might have come from the East by different roads and circulated in the Iberian Peninsula earlier and in a different form than they became known in Rome⁶⁷⁰. Other later Latin versions of the *Vita sancti Alexii* (BHL 287 and 290) also have Italian origins and were probably written in the early eleventh century in Monte Cassino⁶⁷¹.

In the Roman *Vita*, St. Alexius (350–402/408), ‘*vir Dei*’ (man of God)⁶⁷², was born and grew up in Rome in a rich family⁶⁷³. He left his wife immediately after their marriage and escaped from his house. Wandering in other lands as a beggar, he stayed for seventeen years in Edessa, at the portal of the sanctuary of the Virgin. One day, when he was divinely revealed thanks to his virtues and the citizens wanted to venerate him, he escaped once again. Finally he came back home to his father Euphemitus, disguised as a pilgrim, and asked for a place to live. He stayed under the stairs of his father’s palace and lived there for other seventeen years without being recognised. Following God’s will, he started writing his autobiography. Finally, one day, while Pope Innocent I (401–417) was celebrating the mass, the divine voice entered the sanctuary. The voice indicated that a holy man would soon die in Rome and directed the congregation to the house of the senator Euphemitus. The day when St. Alexius died, he was found by the Pope, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius and the people of Rome. He was identified thanks to the parchment containing his autobiography and his body was put in the Basilica St. Boniface for seven days⁶⁷⁴. St. Alexius thus follows the model of a rich yet pious layman who refused his earthly privileges and renounced the world living as beggar and dedicating himself to God.

668 London, British Library, Add. 25600, ff. 253va–258va (10th c.); Madrid Real Academia de Historia, Cód. 13, ff. 250va–253vb (10th c.); Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2178, ff. 204ra–297ra (11th c.); Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 2444, ff. 79v–84r (12th c.). All of them are compared in a critical edition by Ulrich Mölk. See U. Mölk, ‘Die älteste lateinische Alexiusvita (9./10. Jahrhundert). Kritische Text und Kommentar’, *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 27 (1976), 293–315. On the Spanish version see also L. Vázquez de Parga, ‘¿La más antigua redacción latina de la leyenda de San Alejo?’, *Revista de bibliografía nacional* 2/3 (1941), 245–58. For the comparative edition of the Spanish Life and the Greek text see M. Perugi, *Saint Alexis, genèse de sa légende et de la Vie française: révision et nouvelles propositions, accompagnées d’une nouvelle édition de la Vie* (Genève, 2014), pp. 100–23.

669 L. J. Engels, ‘*Alexiana Medii Aevi III*: The Relationship between the Prose Vitae BHL 286, 287 and 290’, *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998), 373–441, p. 374.

670 L. J. Engels, ‘The West European Alexius Legend (*Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi I*)’, in *The Invention of Saintliness* (2002), pp. 94 and 99.

671 M. Perugi, *Saint Alexis, genèse de sa légende et de la Vie française*, p. 124. See also the critics of this work by Henriët: P. Henriët, ‘Remarques sur le dossier hagiographique de saint Alexis’, *Romania* 136 (2018), 180–95.

672 A common name applied to some saints that appears, however, only in the Latin and not in the Spanish version of the *Vita Alexii*. See *La vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. M. Perugi (Genève, 2000), p. 16.

673 The Spanish and Roman versions of *Vita sancti Alexii* have different names in the hagiographic accounts on St. Alexius.

674 AASS Julii Mensis IV, 251–253 (*Acta Sanctorum ex latinis et graecis*, ed. J. Carnandet (Paris, 1868)). See the recent critical edition of Spanish and Roman lives in L. J. Engels, ‘*Alexiana Medii Aevi III*’, pp. 414–41.

The scholarship is largely in agreement that it was Sergios, exiled bishop from Damascus, who arrived in Rome in 977 bringing with him the legend of, and veneration to, St. Alexius⁶⁷⁵. Sergios received the church of St. Boniface on the Aventine from pope Benedict VII and created there a monastery that would later receive the name San Alessio. The second Abbot of the monastery, Leo, erected a church dedicated to St. Alexius in 986⁶⁷⁶. Since then, and due to the particular devotion of the Abbot Leo to St. Alexius, the saint became a second patron of the city⁶⁷⁷.

Some scholars suggest that Rome, being anxious about losing control, used the cult of a relatively peripheral saint in order to revivify the spiritual force of the city of popes. For instance, K. Werner argued that ‘in a Roman monastery, destined to the *propagatio fidei*, the legend of St. Alexius became a text of Roman and papal propaganda that made from the saint a Roman, born in Rome, dead in Rome, buried in Rome in such a way that his relics were always Roman and from Saint-Boniface’⁶⁷⁸. From 993 on, by its supreme authority the Western Church reserved the right to decide who can be declared as saint⁶⁷⁹. With the proclamation of Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg as a saint occurred the first (and apparently still exceptional) example of the pontifical canonisation. This was one of the first steps that led to the exclusive papal prerogative of canonisation under Pope Innocent III (1198–1216)⁶⁸⁰. Although the papacy as an institution was not yet powerful enough to insist upon them, these changes in the ecclesiastical law influenced a new set up in the liturgical field, and informed the implementation of canonised saints into the liturgical books. In these circumstances, the proclamation of a new saint by the papal authority might have had a double objective: the creations of a new pantheon of proper Roman saints to be diffused beyond the borders of Rome; and the confirmation of Roman authority in the canonisation process.

In spite of this importance of St. Alexius in medieval Rome, the exact arrival of his cult in Roman churches remains a complex question. The earliest study of St. Alexius by Duchesne showed that there was no saint of this name in the Western liturgical books before the tenth century⁶⁸¹. This remains true with regards to the extant liturgical and hagiographical sources. However, a recent investigation of archaeological evidence from the Basilica Santa Sabina demonstrates that the cult of St. Alexius might have been known in Rome already at

675See on this L. Duchesne, ‘Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Âge, VII: Les légendes chrétiennes de l’Aventin’, pp. 234–35; K. F. Werner, ‘La Légende de Saint Alexis: un document sur la religion de la haute noblesse vers l’an mil?’, *Francia* 45 (1999), 227–42, pp. 229–33; L. J. Engels, ‘The West European Alexius Legend (*Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi I*)’, pp. 98–99.

676K. F. Werner, ‘La Légende de Saint Alexis’, p. 229.

677B. Hamilton reconstructs the subtle politics of Abbot Leo with Otto II to successfully establish the cult of St. Alexius in the Aventine monastery. B. Hamilton, ‘The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome’, in id., *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)* (London, 1979) [1965], pp. 265–310, esp. pp. 269–71.

678Ibid. p. 231.

679A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, p. 25.

680U.-R. Blumenthal, ‘The Papacy, 1024–1122’, in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV (c. 1024–c. 1198)*, eds. D. Luscombe, J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 8–37, p. 13.

681L. Duchesne, ‘Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Âge’, pp. 234–50.

the end of the ninth/beginning of the tenth century⁶⁸². This epigraphical testimony shows a Roman noble couple, Theophylaktus and Theodora, connecting themselves to an existing cult of St. Alexius already in the first half of the tenth century by reworking the hagiographical material of a saint, so loved by the Roman elites who were apparently seeking an individual, possibly even experimental, approach to a religious existence not completely secluded from the world⁶⁸³. This evidence can significantly change the research perspective on the origins and veneration of St. Alexius's cult in Rome, at least in demonstrating that it was probably not Sergius who brought this cult to Rome. Furthermore, on the one hand, it might point to a less important role of the papacy in the implementation of this saint, and on the other stresses even more the bond with the elites and their interest in St. Alexius's cult. Having said that we should not deny the role of ecclesiastical authorities at the turn of the millennium in expanding and promoting St. Alexius's feast. Rather, papal involvement was very likely and could have easily combined with elite interests to further the saint's cult.

Therefore, Roman elites and the churches of Rome knew the cult of St. Alexius over the course of the tenth century and, while the growing veneration to St. Alexius continued in Rome, it also spread to other parts of Western Europe from the turn of the first millennium. The extant hagiographic copies of the Roman life are dated to the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh centuries and the text on St. Alexius performing miracles was compiled around 1012⁶⁸⁴. The legend of St. Alexius was depicted in the eleventh century in the inferior basilica of San Clemente al Laterano in Rome (Figure 17)⁶⁸⁵. Moreover, the eleventh century saw his increasing veneration in popular French aristocratic circles with the first vernacular version of his *Vita* in Old French in a form of a poetic chant (*La Chanson de saint Alexis*) created around 1040⁶⁸⁶. U. Mölk suggested that in France the Latin cult of St. Alexius was propagated in a purely literary manner for he was not aware of any testimony with regards to the saints' relics there, in contrast to Rome, Monte Cassino and possibly Prague⁶⁸⁷. It is

682See more on these findings and their role in R. Santangeli Valenzani, 'L'iscrizione di Teodora da Santa Sabina. Una nuova ipotesi di interpretazione', in *Gia to philo mas. Scritti in ricordo di Gaetano Messineo*, eds. E. Mangani, A. Pellegrino. Memorabilia 3 (Monte Compatri, 2016), pp. 345–54.

683 See W. Zöllner, 'Seculum obscurum – der epigraphische Befund (ca. 890–1000)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 99 (2019), 79–114, esp. pp. 108–10.

684 *Miracula sancti Bonifatii et Alexii* (BHL 299 and 300) were written around 1012. *Miracula S. Alexii*, c. 3, ed. G. H. Pertz, *NGHL Scriptorum* 4 (Hannover, 1841), 619–20. P. E. Schramm et al., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechszehnten Jahrhundert*, MGH Schriften 13 (3 pts, Stuttgart, 1954–6), vol. 2, pp. 578–9. See also L. Roach, 'Emperor Otto III and the End of Time', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (2013), 75–102, p. 78, n. 13.

685The dominating presence of the Pope on the fresco is obvious because of his central position. See H. Toubert, 'Rome et Mont-Cassin: nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976), 1–33. On the diffusion of his cult in Rome see also S. Nanni, 'Sant' Alessio e Roma', *Saint-Alexis à l'Époque moderne. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 124/2 (2012), 607–610; <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrim.916>, accessed 17th August 2020.

686L. J. Engels, 'The West European Alexius Legend (*Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi I*)', in *The Invention of Saintliness* (2002), pp. 100–05. U. Mölk, 'La Chanson de saint Alexis et le culte du saint en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', p. 353.

687U. Mölk, 'La Chanson de saint Alexis et le culte du saint en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', p. 353.

known that in 1023 Pope Benedict VIII (1012–1024) shared the relics of St. Alexius with the monastery of Monte Cassino⁶⁸⁸. F. Peruggi confirms that the library of Monte Cassino conserved not only the *Vita* of Alexius but also his miracles and sermons by Adalbert of Prague and Peter Damien⁶⁸⁹. These evidences thus demonstrate, first, that the saint's cult spread in various ways over the course of the eleventh century: via hagiographic texts and their adopted new forms in vernacular language as well as via transmission of the saint's relics. Second, they show that Roman religious institutions seemingly played a crucial role in the dissemination of this cult to other regions of the Medieval West.

2) *Vita Geraldi and the Centres of His Veneration*

The tenth-century *Vita Geraldi* provides another significant hagiography for understanding religious sensibilities in Catalonia during the Central Middle Ages, but one that differs from that of Alexius. St. Gerald (855–909) was born in a noble family in Aurillac⁶⁹⁰. His *Vita* recounts that while being sick during his childhood he could not receive a good physical education and therefore was engaged more in reading literature and religious texts. He was thus prepared to continue his life path as a cleric in the likely case that he could not accomplish his tasks of a nobleman. Later, however, he recovered from his ailments and was able to attend military training. After the death of his parents he received the title of a count and became a pious and faithful governor. He did many pilgrimages to Rome, performed miracles and brought relics to the newly founded St.-Peter abbey (later named after him Saint-Géraud d'Aurillac). St. Gerald was distinguished by his chastity, knowledge of Scripture, his care of the poor, his humility and patience⁶⁹¹.

The manuscript heritage dedicated to St. Gerald is impressive. Cluniac congregations paid much attention to his cult and produced several versions of his *Vita* in the tenth century, the first one compiled by Odo, the second abbot of Cluny (927–942). In addition to these *Vitae* other hagiographic accounts were written, namely the *Sermo de festivitate* and a book of

688Leo Marsicanus, *Chronicus monasterii Cassinensi*, 3, 29. PL 173, col. 753–754. See also *Chronicon Casinense* (until III 33), ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH SS 34 (Hannover, 1980).

689M. Perugi, *Saint Alexis, Genèse de sa légende et de la vie française*, p. 27. See on the place of Adalbert in intellectual circles in Rome and in particular in San Alessio in Part 2 of this Chapter 'Both *Vitae* in the Context of the Ecclesiastical World at the Turn of the First Millennium'.

690For the text and its contextualisation see *St. Odo of Cluny. Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo*, transl. and ed. G. Sitwell (London/New York, 1958). Recently A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen made an important contribution on the hagiographic dossier of St. Gerald. See her article A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac (Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule, IV)', *Francia*, 22/1 (1995), 173–206. And later ead. *Odon de Cluny. Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis. Édition critique, traduction française, introduction et commentaires* (Bruxelles, 2009), with the critical edition on the pp. 49–66. The later state of art on St. Gerald see in A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Hagiographie d'Aquitaine (750-1130)', in *Hagiographies VI*, ed. M. Gouillet (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 521–704.

691See A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny*, pp. 49–66.

St. Gerald's miracles⁶⁹². A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen reconstructs the composition of all hagiographic accounts in order to create a 'dossier' on St. Gerald⁶⁹³. Exploring the manuscripts with the first Life of St. Gerald written by Odo of Cluny in 930s, the so-called *Vita prolixior prima*, she suggests that the surviving hagiographic testimonies be divided into four groups according to the accompanying texts⁶⁹⁴. The first group comprises the manuscripts which contain only the *Vita sancti Geraldi*; the second contains the *Vita* and the *Sermo de festiuitate*; the third unifies the *Vita*, the *Sermo* and two miracles; and the fourth adds to this collection the *Liber vitae et miraculorum*⁶⁹⁵. All these texts were compiled over the course of the tenth century, the last one is the most recent, seemingly written by a monk of Aurillac after 972⁶⁹⁶.

This intensive input of the tenth-century hagiographic texts on St. Gerald mainly concerned the Cluny institution and its network connections. The Life of St. Gerald spread in three main versions⁶⁹⁷. The first one, the *Vita Prolixior Prima* (BHL 3411), composed by Odo of Cluny between 930 and 942 in the Aquitanian context, is very informative and provides us with multiple details on life in Aquitania in the ninth/tenth centuries⁶⁹⁸. Next, the *Vita Prolixior Secunda* was created before 972, probably also by Odo and in the monastery of Cluny. It is less eloquent when contrasting bad clerics with good laymen but stresses the lay features of St. Gerald⁶⁹⁹. Finally, the third, known as the *Vita brevior* (BHL 3412–3414), was also copied before 972 in a shortened form by a monk from Cluny who was aware of both previous versions. It reconstructs the main episodes of the first version with an even greater

692Ibid., pp. 6–10.

693A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac', 173–206. Her approach follows the French hagiographic tradition on the compilation of the dossiers of saints which originated in the 1980s and has continued to develop. See F. Dolbeau, M. Heinzelmann, J.-Cl. Poulin, 'Les sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil (SHG). Inventaire, examen critique, datation (avec Annexe)', *Francia* 15 (1987), 701–31.

694 A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac', pp. 182 and 186.

695Ibid., p. 183.

696Ibid., pp. 180, 186, 196, 201 and 203.

697I follow here the traditional scholarship which states that the first long *Vita Geraldi* was written by Odo of Cluny and the short version later by an unknown monk. However, recently M. Kuefler has contested other scholars arguing that Odo compiled the short version, whereas the longer one was composed by the early-eleventh-century writer Ademar of Chabannes. He explains his theory through the comparative analysis of the content of both lives, their approach to the realities of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the references to the hagiographic copies of the *Vita Geraldi* in other sources. See M. Kuefler, 'Les histoires de Géraud d'Aurillac', in *Sur les pas de Géraud d'Aurillac en France et en Espagne*, ed. P. Moulier (Saint-Flour, 2010), pp. 21–40. His opinion remains, however, singular. See S. Fray contesting him through the intertextual relations between the *Vita prolixior prima* and other contemporary texts of Bernard d'Angers, Helgaud de Fleury et Dudon de Saint-Quentin. S. Fray, *L'aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d'Olt et de Dordogne (X^e–XI^e siècles)*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Université Paris-Sorbonne I, 2011), pp. 256–58. In his new book Kuefler takes the previous critics into account but reiterates his position. M. Kuefler, *The Making and Unmaking of a Saint: Hagiography and Memory in the Cult of Gerald of Aurillac* (Philadelphia, 2014), esp. pp. 19–43. The discussion is an interesting one though I lean towards the scholarly consensus. Nevertheless, this attribution has little influence on my conclusions for it remains a significant text for my exploration of religious society at the turn of the first millenium and through the eleventh century.

698A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac', p. 186.

699Ibid., p. 196.

emphasis on the ideal of monastic sanctity⁷⁰⁰. Each of these texts thus presented a slightly different version, especially concerning the aspects consecrated to laity or the sanctity of St. Gerald. According to A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, it was the second version, being less submerged in contextual historical circumstances and less interested in developing the reconciliation of the terms *potentia* and *sanctitas*, which received more feedback from the audience and was used most often as text of reference throughout the eleventh century⁷⁰¹.

P. Facciotto nuances the provenance of three hagiographic accounts on St. Gerald. Through an analysis of the literal verbal constructions in different texts with Limousin provenance, he argues that if the *Vita Prolixior Secunda* was written in Cluny, the *Vita brevior* was probably a product of Limoges. Exploring the dedications and other liturgical data, he suggested that religious institutions in Tulle, Limoges, Aurillac, Tours and Poitiers all likely housed a copy of the *Vita Prolixior Prima*⁷⁰². Facciotto also notices the absence of any original extant copy from Cluny. His findings thus highlight the paradox of the dissemination of this version of the *Vita*: while achieving significance in numerous centres strongly associated with the Cluniac movement, it surprisingly left no traces in Cluny itself.

The scholarship has also examined Odo's *Vita sancti Gerald* in the context of the social changes at the period of disintegration of Carolingian royal power, through the theory of three Orders and as a text shaping the image of the *miles Christi*, a knight who becomes saint in the circumstances preceding the Crusades⁷⁰³. D. Baker suggests that we should see in Gerald, who is described as a highly successful feudal lord, a rare contemporary picture of the pious layman who remained a man of the world⁷⁰⁴. Twenty years later S. Airlie contests this perception, calling Gerald a misfit of a secular aristocrat, but stresses the attempt to apply the ideals of the Carolingian reform movement to the aristocracy⁷⁰⁵. J. Nelson developed this thesis by arguing that Gerald was a layman who was unable to live comfortably with the two fundamentals of the *res publica terrena*: marriage and the use of arms. She argues that Odo wanted to underscore the distinction between two ways of life, the profane and the holy⁷⁰⁶. All these reflections thus put the *Vita Gerald* into the orbit of the constructing and reshaping the relations between the nobility and the church in post-Carolingian society.

700Ibid., pp. 201–02.

701A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'L'évolution de l'image de Géraud d'Aurillac (†909), seigneur laïque et saint, au fil de ses trois Vitae', in "In principio erat verbum". *Mélanges offerts en hommage à Paul Tombeur par des anciens étudiants à l'occasion de son éméritat*, ed. B.-M. Tock (Turhnout, 2005), pp. 45–92, p. 92.

702P. Facciotto, 'Moments et lieux de la tradition manuscrite', in *Guerriers et moines. Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. M. Lauwers (Paris, 2002), pp. 217–33, pp. 227–28.

703C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977) [Stuttgart, 1935], esp. pp. 87–89; J. Schneider, 'Aspect de la société dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'après la *Vita Gerald Auriliacensis*', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 117 (1973), 8–19.

704D. Baker, 'Vir Dei: Secular Sanctity in the Early Tenth Century', in *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. G. J. Cuming, D. Baker. *Studies in Church History* 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 41–53, p. 50.

705S. Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992), 372–95, p. 395.

706J. L. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, c. 900', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. M. Hadley (London/ New York, 1999), pp. 121–42, p.124.

This rapidly-spreading textual tradition of the *vitae sanctorum* in different versions, together with the miracles that St. Alexius and St. Geraldus performed, the sermon for St. Gerald and homily for St. Alexius, all bear witness to the popularity of both cults and to the speed at which their liturgical devotion developed. Herewith, both saints represent an ideal model of a layman who, through his behaviour, becomes close to a monk, especially through his eremitism. Both Alexius and Geraldus are referred to as ‘men of God’⁷⁰⁷. Technically speaking, the *Vita Geraldi* was even more audacious than the *Vita Alexii* for it proclaims the sanctity of a rich powerful layman, who for a long time kept carrying out his secular responsibilities, albeit emphasising how he was inspired by, and desired to join, the monastic life. This challenging feature of the *Vita Geraldi* compared to the *Vita Alexii* might be explained by the nature of its compilation. Carolingian authors regularly wrote about ideal models of behaviour for secular leaders, which of course included piety and religious devotion. However, a ruler who was too religiously minded could be problematic and thus authors developed the trope of the ruler who desired to accept the monastic habit but was convinced to stay in the world and fulfil his duties as a ruler⁷⁰⁸. Odo, shaping the text in the 930s in the atmosphere of the post-Carolingian literature tradition, also adopted this trope to describe Gerald. By contrast, the Roman *Vita Alexii*, compiled at the end of the tenth century, was based within a different literary atmosphere being modeled on existing Eastern early medieval proto-versions, which may explain the difference in tone and the lack of interest in Alexius’ noble duties. However, when explored in terms of the *réécriture*, this text definitively underscores several elements that were particularly important for copyists in eleventh-century society. This chapter aims to explore the accents of sanctity, piety and the contemporary various political and social connotations, how they are perceived and presented, within these two *vitae* about pious noble figures.

2. Both Saints in Catalonia

1) St. Alexius in Catalonia

The analysis of the extant Catalan liturgical and hagiographic testimonies sheds light on the dissemination of the cults of both saints. A number of liturgical manuscripts from the

⁷⁰⁷If for St. Alexius this name is quite common, for St. Gerald it is applied more rarely. The early eleventh-century legendary, however, uses it. See the exterior margin of the legendary from Saint-Martial de Limoges (11th c., beginning), Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5301, fol. 221r.

⁷⁰⁸Bede demonstrates how King Siegbert was so devoted to the monastic ideals that he refused to behave in a battle like a real warrior, and was killed. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Liber III, cap. XVIII, eds. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 266–68. P. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford, 2011) p. 38. See also the example from another tenth/eleventh-century account by Dudo of St. Quentin (960s–1020s). In his *Historia Normannorum* (994/996–1015) he describes how Duke William Longsword of Normandy wanted to abdicate and to become a monk but was convinced by the Norman bishops to remain as ruler of Normandy. Dudo dean of St. Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. Jules Lair (Caen, 1865), p. 201. See T. Chadwick, ‘Normanitas’ Revisited, pp. 49–57 and p. 75.

Catalan region survive from the eleventh century onwards, which point to the increasing veneration of St. Alexius. These testimonies are largely to be found in martyrologies and calendars, however, I have found no evidence of the proper of mass for the feast of St. Alexius from the Central Middle Ages in Catalonia. A single hagiographic text of the *Vita Alexii*, preserved in the miscellaneous volume from the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, is therefore of particular interest.

Liturgical References

Table 20 below shows the references to St. Alexius's feast on July 17 in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions in the tenth to the twelfth centuries (T – in the main text, M – in the margin).

Table 20 – St. Alexius. References from Calendars and Martyrologies

N	Date	Genre/ place in the text	Place	Testimony
1	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Eodem die Rome natalis sanctissime ac beatissime Alexi confessoris</i> ⁷⁰⁹
2	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die Romae depositio beati Alexii confessoris</i> ⁷¹⁰
3	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die in urbe Roma sancti Alexi confessoris</i> ⁷¹¹
4	11 th c., end	Martyrology from Sant Cugat del Vallès (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Eodem die Rome sancti Alexii confessoris</i> ⁷¹²
5	1125–1130	Missel from St. Ruf (T)	Abbey of St. Ruf ⁷¹³	<i>Alexii confessoris</i> ⁷¹⁴
6	12 th c.	Martyrology from Vic (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die in urbe Roma sancti Alexi confessoris</i> ⁷¹⁵

709Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 68v.

710Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 A (VicM₁), fol. 75v.

711Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 B (VicM₂), fol. 60v.

712Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (StCugM), fol. 68v.

713This manuscript was apparently copied at the Cathedral chapter of Avignon for the Abbey Saint-Ruf and was brought to Tortosa after 1150 by Bishop Gaufred through the network of Augustinian canons. See M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El missal de Sant Ruf. Tortosa, Arx. Cap. Ms. 11', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 9 (1999), 199–308, pp. 202–03 and 210.

714Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 11, fol. 7r.

7	12 th c.	Breviary from Girona (T)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Alexii confessoris</i> ⁷¹⁶
8	1219–1221	<i>Liber de consuetudinibus</i> (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Alexii confessoris</i> ⁷¹⁷
9	13 th c.	Legendary (T)	Monastery of Santes Creus	<i>Alexii confessoris et laici</i> ⁷¹⁸

This table demonstrates a set of very curious data. First of all, this feast did not receive widespread veneration in the Catalan nor Aquitanian regions. At least 15 of the liturgical books from both regions exclude any details about the liturgical celebration of this feast⁷¹⁹. At the same time the tradition of commemorating this saint on July 17 was definitely entrenched into the religious life of several religious communities even without becoming a major celebration. According to the data from Table 20, the feast arrived in the provinces of Barcelona, Osona and Girona, in the monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès, Cathedral chapters of Vic and Girona respectively. Certainly, in quantitative terms this data is less impressive than in the case with other feasts analysed in this thesis, but it still shows the rhythm of the cult's implementation.

Second, it can be stated that the feast's dissemination in Catalonia came from different networks. This table contains two sources which belong to non-Benedictine religious institutions. The first one is a twelfth-century missal from the Abbey of St. Ruf which developed connections with Catalan institutions via reform movements at the very end of the eleventh century⁷²⁰. The second is a thirteenth-century legendary from the Cistercian monastery of Santes Creus founded in 1169⁷²¹. This data goes in hand with the dissemination of St. Alexius's cult in Western Europe since the eleventh century mentioned above. It also demonstrates that the celebration of his cult arrived in the Catalan region via different routes, the earliest one was, however, through the Benedictine communities. Moreover, the established Benedictine communities might have influenced the new non-Benedictine foundations and transferred this feast to them. If the feast was added in the margins of liturgical books throughout the eleventh century, it nevertheless started being placed at the

715Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 54v.

716Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 108r.

717Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 46, fol. 152r. Here the feast is, however, replaced for July 16, one day earlier than its usual celebration.

718Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, Ms. 71, fol. 178r.

719Among them the majority are from both Aquitania and Septimania. For a comparison see Table 21 with the manuscript evidence of St. Gerald's cult.

720U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)* (Paris, 1992/1996), vol. 1, pp. 107–224.

721See more in A. Virgili, 'El monestir de Santes Creus i Tortosa (segles XII–XIII)', *La Resclosa* 6 (2002), 35–45.

main text in the manuscripts from Vic, Girona and Sant Cugat from the end of the same century onwards. Furthermore, the Sant Cugat martyrology is the earliest book to have the reference of St. Alexius's feast in the main text, which might point to this monastery as one among the first institutions in spreading the celebration of this new saint to the Catalan region.

Finally, the nomination of this feast seems to be standard: '*Alexii confessoris*', with the '*natalis*' from Girona and '*depositio*' from Vic (Figures 18 and 19). Both indicate the day of the saint's death. Alexius's status of confessor is repeated in every reference, the latest reference from Santes Creus even adds that he was a layman – this characteristic is significant in his *Vita*. Five manuscripts from nine underscore that this feast happened in Rome, a common practice for medieval commemoration often pointing to a place and a date of historical event or martyrdom to be remembered.

When considering different religious networks that brought the feast of St. Alexius to the Catalan region, it is important not to forget the existence of the Spanish *Vita* in the Iberian Peninsula. We might expect to see the feast of St. Alexius in Mozarab liturgical calendars of the tenth/eleventh centuries. However, having compared several of these calendars, I did not find any reference to St. Alexius on July 17⁷²². As mentioned above, Rome was another hotbed of interest and played a crucial role in the dissemination of St. Alexius's cult. Italian religious institutions were among the first to add the new feast in their calendars. For instance, the eleventh-century calendars and martyrologies from Monte Cassino mention the feast of St. Alexius as '*Sancti Alexii confessoris*'⁷²³. In Chapter Two I have already referred to these liturgical books with regards to the second feast of the Archangel Michael thus explaining the connections between Catalan religious institutions and the Abbey of Monte Cassino. The cult of St. Alexius is thus another example of Italian influence and active Italo-Catalan networks over the course of the eleventh century. It thus seems most probable that Italian centres had the greatest impact upon the arrival of St. Alexius's cult in Catalonia.

Hagiographic Evidence

Further important evidence for the arrival and dissemination of St. Alexius' cult in Catalonia in the Central Middle Ages can be found in the hagiographic sources. The single extant Catalan version of the *Vita sancti Alexi confessoris* from the Central Middle Ages was

⁷²²Calendars from San Martín de Abelda, San Millán de la Cogolla, Santo Domingo de Silos, and from Leon. See *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. M. Férotin (Paris, 1904), esp. pp. 449–97; and the later revision by J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, 'Calendarios hispanicos anteriores al siglo XIII.II', *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 339–80; J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, 'Calendarios hispanicos anteriores al siglo XII', *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 119–46; J. Janini, 'El calendario de Huesca del siglo XII', *Hispania Sacra* 29 (1976), 429–39.

⁷²³Biblioteca de Monte Cassino, Ms. 127, Ms. 179, Ms. 230; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms. 364, fol. 12r; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4958, fol. 48v; Urb. lat. 585, fol. 17r. The sacramentary with the shelf-mark Borg. lat. 211 is damaged on the folio with several feast days of July (fol. 8r). See also the Beneventan missal from Canosa mentioning St. Alexius in the same way: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W6, fol. 6r (11th century, second half). See S. Rehle, *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6)* (Regensburg, 1972), p. 40.

copied in the late eleventh/early twelfth century at the Monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès⁷²⁴. This *Vita* belongs to the Roman version BHL 286 which is by far the most influential prose *Vita* among all others hagiographic versions dedicated to St. Alexius⁷²⁵. Written in Rome in 985–990, it was transmitted in more than one hundred manuscripts all over Europe; later it entered the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus da Voragine and became even more widespread in Western, Central and Eastern France⁷²⁶. Until now no Spanish version of the *Vita Alexii* (BHL 289) has been identified in the Catalan archives and libraries. The unique evidence of the Roman *Vita* is thus another argument in favour of Italian influence on Catalan religious institutions and the dissemination of feasts.

The manuscript from Sant Cugat with the *Vita sancti Alexi* contains various miscellaneous texts: first, the treatise *Diadema monachorum* of Smaragdus from Saint Mihiel, then prayers to the Virgin followed by two hagiographic lives (*Vita sancti Alexii confessoris* and *Vita sanctorum Victorini et Severini martires*, BHL 7662) followed finally by the Eucharistic miracles. That these texts coexist within the same manuscript indicates its monastic focus, but hardly points to its active liturgical use. It is possible that, alongside the *Diadema monachorum*, a crucial but common text for monastic communities, the insertion of these two hagiographic lives bears witness to the potential interest towards these cults at the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès. The *Vita sanctorum Victorini et Severini martyrum* corresponds completely to the text from Ado's martyrology on September 5, which suggests that this was the most widespread version. The martyrology from Sant Cugat, dated to the end of the eleventh century, has exactly the same long *auctarium* for the feast of Victorinus and Severinus⁷²⁷. Furthermore, all three saints belong to the category of confessors, not martyrs⁷²⁸. Victorinus and Severinus were bishops and Alexius was a rich layman, but all three were aiming to conduct the life of hermit. Taken together with the accentuation within the *Diadema monachorum* on the conversion, contemplation of God and renouncement from the world⁷²⁹, this common for the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world idea of retiring from active earthly life thus resonates in this miscellaneous volume. It might point to the growing interest at the Sant Cugat religious community in eremitic models, which was a mouthpiece for religious thought in the eleventh century, as I discuss in the third section of this Chapter.

724Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 90, ff. 126v–133r (11th/12th cc.).

725L.J. Engels, 'The West European Alexius Legend (*Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi, I*)', in *The Invention of Saintliness*, p. 127.

726The earliest versions of BHL 286 are attested in the manuscripts from the end of the 10th century from southern Italy (Napoli, Bib. Naz., Cod. XV. AA. 12, ff. 124r–125v) and later spread to other regions. See L.J. Engels, 'The West European Alexius Legend', pp. 125–28. From the 11th c. it can be seen in the Abbey of Fleury (Orléans, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 342, pp. 59–68), and in the Abbey of Saint-Pierre de Montiéramey in Champagne (Paris, BnF Ms. lat. 5572, ff. 47r–51r), see U. Mölk, 'La Chanson de saint Alexis', p. 348.

727Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (StCugM), ff. 93v–94v. See also *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 299–300.

728See also the categorisation of saints by K. L. Woodward, *Making Saints. How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York, 1996), p. 55.

729See J. Bovendeert, 'Royal or monastic identity? Smaragdus' *Via regia* and *Diadema monachorum* reconsidered', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel and P. Shaw (Vienna, 2006), pp. 239–51.

The *Vita Alexi* in the Sant Cugat manuscript provides us with a reference to the feast day of the saint celebrated on July 17. This reference is placed on the top of the folio: ‘XVI KL. Augusti natalis sancti Alexi confessoris’ (Figure 20). The feast day corresponds to all found evidences from martyrologies and calendars in the Catalan region (Table 20). As mentioned above, this Catalan version belongs to the Roman Life of St. Alexius. It is tempting to suggest that the compilation of this text was based on a Roman copy and there is evidence to suggest contemporary connections between Roman and Catalan institutions. Two main factors may explain the arrival of such a copy of the *Vita Alexii* from Rome to the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès. On the one hand, the text might have been transmitted due to the renewal of the monastic library after the destructive raid of Al-Mansur in 985, perhaps when the Catalan authorities journeyed to Rome. On the other, Pope Sylvester II (999–1003) might have played an important role in this perspective due to his connections to Catalonia⁷³⁰.

The first factor was a result of a disaster for the church when, in July 985, Al-Mansur sacked Barcelona and destroyed the monasteries of Sant Cugat del Vallès and Sant Pere de les Puelles⁷³¹. The Sant Cugat monastery and its library were burned and Abbot Joan (974–985) and several monks were killed⁷³². After this destructive raid Sant Cugat needed to restore its spiritual and material possessions, namely to re-establish the ecclesiastical community and to acquire new liturgical books for the mass and the office. The destruction of Al-Mansur’s invasion provoked a significant period of expansion at Sant Cugat monastery after 985⁷³³.

The new Abbot Odo (986–1010) played an important role in this renewal, undertaking two significant journeys. He first travelled to the court of Lothair of France (956–986) where he received the privileges from the king confirming the property and the rights of the monastery⁷³⁴. Then, in 1002, he travelled to Rome and returned with the bull of Pope Sylvester confirming the monastery’s previous possessions, the free election of the abbot and the direct dependency on the papacy⁷³⁵. The contemporary documents also testify to a number

730See P. Riché, *Gerbert d’Aurillac. Le pape de l’an mil* (Paris, 2006), repr. [1987], pp. 21–34.

731P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle. Croissance et mutations d’une société* (Toulouse, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 343–44.

732G. Feliu Montfort, ‘Al-Mansur, Barcelona i Sant Cugat’, *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 3 (1982), 45–54.

733X. Bou i Palmes, *El Monestir de Sant Cugat en segle X, La formacio del domini vallesà* (Sant Cugat del Vallès, 1988), pp. 73–4.

734See the act edition in R. d’Abadal, *Catalunya carolíngia II. Els diplomes carolingis a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1926–1950), pp. 194–200, esp. 198–200. See more on this in J. M. Salrach, ‘Formació, organització i defensa del domini de Sant Cugat en els segles X–XII’, *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 13 (1992), 127–73, pp. 139–40; I. Lorés Otzet, ‘La promoció artística de abades-obispos en monasterios románicos de Cataluña: algunas notas a propósito de Sant Cugat del Vallès y de Sant Miquel de Cuixà’, in *Monjes y obispos en la España del románico: entre la connivencia y el conflicto* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2013), pp. 151–67, p. 152.

735See J. Rius i Serra, *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1945–1947), vol. 2, doc. 382. P. Vivo i Gili, *El Monestir de Sant Cugat a partir dels monjos i enllà: dades per a la historia* (Barcelona, 2006), p. 37. See also *La Butlla de Silvestre II al Monestir de Sant Cugat. Commemoració del Mil·lenari (1002–2002)* (Sant Cugat del Vallès, 2002).

of donations in favour of the Sant Cugat monastery from the nobility of the region⁷³⁶. Therefore, Odo's politics was to deliberately target key figures to establish a new kind of relationship between the monastery and the noble laity and to reform the network of monastic possessions in the area around the monastery, aiming to shape a real centre of power⁷³⁷.

The second factor concerns Pope Sylvester II (999–1003) who had particular connections to the Catalan region where he spent his youth after, under the name of Gerbert, he arrived from the monastery of Aurillac to Vic. In 967 Count Borrell II of Barcelona (945–993) received permission from the Abbot for Gerbert to continue his education in Catalonia. He stayed there under the supervision of Bishop of Vic Ató (957–971) and also spent time at the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll⁷³⁸. In 970 he accompanied Count Borrell and Bishop Ató to Rome, who were seeking for the restoration of the Catalan archbishopric in Tarragona. Pope John XIII (965–972) admired young Gerbert and sent him then to the court of the Emperor Otto I (962–973)⁷³⁹.

Being invested in Vic and Ripoll libraries and texts, Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester, might have continued to enjoy a personal connection with Catalonia and sent books and relics to his old schools. Thus, in 1002 Sylvester II granted a bull to the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès. This bull might have arrived in Catalonia accompanied, as was a common medieval practice, with other books or gifts of exchange. For instance, observing the possible influence of the Byzantine models on the representation of lions in the Catalan mural paintings, M. Pagès suggests that the sample of the imperial Byzantine silk might have arrived in Catalonia by Pope Sylvester II⁷⁴⁰. Generally in the tenth and early-eleventh centuries the texts discussing the administration and organisation of the church make little reference to the pope and the popes rarely intervened other than when asked to do so⁷⁴¹. However, there were already notably close connections between Catalan counts and Roman authorities in the tenth century, when counts were seeking for papal protection for monasteries and churches held by members of their comital families in Catalonia⁷⁴². Bearing in mind the multiple privileges

736See the bequests of Mel and Guillem who embarked upon a pilgrimage to Rome for the remissions of sins in 1002 and then left their property to the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès. See in *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, ed. J. Rius i Serra, vol. 2, doc. 377; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, CSC fol. 75v, n° 301. See also J. Ruiz i Culell, 'L'estratègia de l'abat Odo de Sant Cugat en l'adquisició dels propietats a partir d'un testament', *Gausac* 6 (1995), 43–48; *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segles IX–X*, ed. E. Junyent i Subirà (Vic, 1980), doc. 621. A. Bach i Riu, 'Pelegrins als grans santuaris medievals', *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* 48 (2001–2002), 547–62, p. 553.

737J. Ruiz i Culell, 'El monestir de Sant Cugat durant l'abadiat d'Odo (985–1010): la resposta a la nova estructuració comtal', *Medievalia* 12 (1995), 41–50.

738See R. Ordeig i Mata, *Ato de Vic. Mestre de Gerbert d'Orlhac (Papa Silvestre II)* (Vic, 2010). P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 1987), pp. 23–9.

739P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 1987), pp. 32–3.

740M. Pagès i Paretas, 'Les pintures murals romàniques de Sant Miquel de Cruïlles', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 147–77, p. 160.

741R. McKitterick, 'The Church', in *New Cambridge Medieval History III (c. 900–c. 1024)*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 130–62, p. 137.

742See J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia. Politics, Culture and Identity in an Imperial Province, 778–987* (Cambridge, 2019), p. 264.

granted by the papacy to different Catalan religious institutions, it is certainly possible that the Catalan abbots and bishops returned home bringing, along with the papal bulls, other gifts such as liturgical garment, books and relics.

Another important network might have also played a role in the arrival of the *Vita sancti Alexi* at the monastery of Sant Cugat. The relationships between the Abbey of Fleury and several Catalan institutions (in particular Ripoll, Vic and Montserrat) were actively maintained through the mutual exchange of books and texts as well as via the monks' travels in both directions during the tenth and eleventh centuries⁷⁴³. The Abbey of Fleury housed a copy of the Roman version (BHL 286) of the *Vita Alexii*, although not finished, which was copied in the Abbey around the turn of the first millennium⁷⁴⁴. This text thus might have arrived in Fleury immediately after it had been compiled in Rome. For instance, K. F. Werner points to the correspondence between Leo, the second abbot of the monastery of San Alessio in Rome, and Abbot Abbo of Fleury (988–1004) in the late 980s–990s, which demonstrates at least one clear Roman connection with Fleury⁷⁴⁵. The comparison of the two Roman versions of St. Alexius's Life extant in manuscripts from Fleury and Sant Cugat shows that they are mainly identical except for some slight variations (e.g. the replacement of some words, such as '*canos capitis sui*' and '*capillos capitis sui*', or the variations of the orthography – '*philosophie*' and '*filosophie*'⁷⁴⁶). This might either point to the possible arrival of the cult of St. Alexius to Catalonia through the Fleury network or, and more probably, directly from Rome.

The Roman origin for the Catalan *Vita Alexii* as well as the liturgical testimonies of his veneration in Monte Cassino demonstrates the Italian influence of the devotion to this saint in the Catalan counties. In the course of the Middle Ages St. Alexius became even more popular in Catalonia. His *Vita* continued to be copied, and the Archives of Vic have a later fragment from a fourteenth-century passionary with the *Vita sancti Alexii* (BHL 286)⁷⁴⁷. In the Late

743J. Vezin, 'Les manuscrits témoins des relations entre Fleury et Saint-Martial de Limoges, IX–XI siècles', in *Abbon, un abbé de l'an mil*, eds. A. Dufour and G. Labory. Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 6 (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 405–14, p. 405. The manuscript from Fleury (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 2858, ff. 66v–69v) contains the letters of different monks from Fleury to Abbot Oliba in 1020s. See also entry 32 in the catalogue described by Charlotte Denoël in *Oliba episcopus. Millenari d'Oliba, bisbe de Vic. Exposició al Museu Episcopal de Vic del 27 octubre de 2018 al 10 de febrer de 2019*, ed. M. Sureda i Jubany (Vic, 2018), pp. 136–37. On this manuscript see also R. Ordeig i Mata, 'El quadern de Joan de Barcelona, monjo de Ripoll i de Fleury, abat de Santa Cecília de Montserrat (París, BnF, lat. 2858, f. 64-71v)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 24 (2016), 33–78.

744Orléans, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 342 (olim 290), pp. 59–68. The *Vita* is incomplete due to the loss of some folios, prior to the recent foliation. The text stops therefore at the episode when the parents of Alexius get to know that the beggar having lived at their house for seventeen years is their son. See the critical edition of the text by L. Engels (hereinafter *Alexiana III*): L. J. Engels, '*Alexiana Medii Aevi III: The Relationship between the Prose Vitae BHL 286, 287 and 290*', pp. 414–41; the Fleury version stops on the paragraph 69, p. 433.

745K. F. Werner, 'La Légende de Saint Alexis: un document sur la religion de la haute noblesse vers l'an mil?', p. 234.

746P. 68 and fol. 131r; p. 61 and fol. 127r (from Fleury Ms. 342 and Sant Cugat Ms. 90 respectively).

747Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. X/21.

Middle Ages St. Alexius became the object of Catalan popular devotion, leaving traces of his importance in multiple *goigs*⁷⁴⁸, statues and chapels⁷⁴⁹.

To sum up, a limited number of liturgical testimonies concerning the feast of St. Alexius in the Central Middle Ages shows a slow implementation of his cult in Catalan lands. Given the particular historical circumstances of the Sant Cugat del Vallès monastery at the turn of the first millennium, and the unique contemporary extant copy of his *Vita*, it is thus probable that the Sant Cugat monastery became the first and/or the most influential hotbed of the veneration of St. Alexius in Catalonia in the post-Carolingian period. Curiously, there is no surviving testimony of his relics in Catalonia, nor even in Sant Cugat, in the eleventh/twelfth centuries. It is then probable that a copy of the *Vita sancti Alexi*, considered the second patron of Rome at that time, might have been sent to Catalonia from Rome in an effort for the symbolical and strategic reinforcement of the bounds between Roman institutions, the papacy and the monastery of Sant Cugat.

2) *St. Gerald in Catalonia*

Liturgical References

The references of St. Gerald in the liturgical manuscripts from Catalan and Aquitanian regions are much more frequent than those of St. Alexius. All of the martyrologies from the third quarter of the tenth century on include his feast on October 13. Table 21 shows the references to St. Gerald on October 13 in Catalan and the southern French regions from the tenth to the twelfth centuries (T – in the main text, M – in the margin).

Table 21 – St. Gerald. References from Calendars and Martyrologies

N	Date	Genre/place in the text	Place	Formula
1	960–980	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Eodem die beati Gerald</i> ⁷⁵⁰
2	993–1010	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die transitus Sancti Gerald</i> <i>confessoris</i> ⁷⁵¹

748Goigs (in Spanish gozos) are devotional paraliturgical songs dedicated to Christ, the Virgin and different saints, diffused from the 14th century on. See J. Balsach Grau, ‘Les goigs en Cataluña’, *Revista de Folklore* 81 (1987), 81–6. G. Ballús i Casòliva, A. Ezquerro Esteban, ‘Els goigs: una forma musical catalana culta i popular’, *Revista d’Etnologia de Catalunya* 34 (2009), 143–45.

749The fresco on St. Alexius by Ferrer Bassa (14th c.) in the chapel of St. Michael of the Pedralbes monastery, the baroque sculpture ‘Sant Aleix jacent’ by Lluís Bonifàs Massó (1769) in the church of St. John the Baptist in the province of Tarragona, goigs from Reus (<https://bd.centreelectura.cat/items/show/14999> accessed 16th August 2020).

750Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 110v.

3	10 th c., end/11 th c., beginning	Calendar in <i>miscellanea</i> (T)	Monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll	<i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵²
4	11 th c., first quarter	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Abbey Saint-Martial de Limoges	<i>Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵³
5	11 th c., first half	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Limousin	<i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵⁴
6	1061	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die transitus Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵⁵
7	1046–1055	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Carcassonne ⁷⁵⁶	<i>Festivitas sancti Geraldi</i> ⁷⁵⁷
8	before 1076	Martyrology (T)	Monastery Santa Maria de Serrateix	<i>Item eodem die sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵⁸
9	11 th c., end	Martyrology (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Eodem die transitus Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁵⁹
10	12 th century, beginning	Martyrology (T)	Priory of Cassan	<i>Eodem die [...] depositio sancti Geraldi confessoris qui licet in laicali habitu Christiane religionis viriliter inherens, quem ad modum deo carus extiterit per miracula monstratum est quia vivens gessit et multipliciis post mortem operatur</i> ⁷⁶⁰
11	12 th c., first half ⁷⁶¹	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Parochial church of Sant Iscle	<i>Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁶²

751Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 A (VicM₁), fol. 122r.

752Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 59, fol. 199v.

753Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 6v.

754Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 5r.

755Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128 B (VicM₂), fol. 101v.

756Curiously there are no references to St. Gerald in the two calendars, placed now in the same volume.

757Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256, fol. 116v.

758København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794 (SerratM), fol. 147v.

759Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (StCugM), fol. 112r.

760Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (CassM), fol. 194v.

761On the provenance and the dating of the manuscript see M. Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari gironí de Sant Iscle d'Empordà', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 11 (2003), 57–118, pp. 62–3, and also the note 504 in Chapter Two.

762Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. Mús. 420, fol. 39r.

			d'Empordà	
12	12 th c., second quarter	Calendar from <i>miscellanea</i> (T)	Parochial church in Gironès ⁷⁶³	<i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris Christi</i> ⁷⁶⁴
13	12 th c.	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Eodem die transitus Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁶⁵
14	12 th c.	Calendar from breviary (T)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Geiraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁶⁶
15	before 1133	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Cathedral chapter of Urgell for the parochial church Sant Romà de les Bons ⁷⁶⁷	<i>Geraldi</i> ⁷⁶⁸
16	12 th c., beginning	Calendar from missal (T)	Cathedral of Albi	<i>Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁶⁹
17	12 th c., fourth quarter	Calendar from missal (T)	Abbey of Santa Maria d'Arles-sur-Tech	<i>Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁷⁰
18	12 th /13 th cc.	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁷¹
19	1219–1221	Calendar from <i>Liber de consuetudinibus</i> (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Geraldi confessoris</i> ⁷⁷²

This Table 21 demonstrates the high frequency of references to the feast of St. Gerald in all religious communities in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions, including regular and

763On the provenance and the dating of the calendar in this manuscript see F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'Un singular calendari provinent d'un sacramentari gironí de Castelló d'Empúries', in *Miscellània en honor de Josep M. Marquès*, ed. N. Figueras i Pep Vila (Montserrat, 2010), pp. 39–53, p. 41.

764Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10401, fol. 7v.

765Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 89r.

766Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 110r.

767See the note 456 on this manuscript in Chapter Two with the dating suggested by F. X. Altés i Aguiló in id., 'El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra)', pp. 52–54.

768Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 1.

769Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 5v.

770Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 13v.

771Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 9r.

772Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 46, fol. 153v.

secular communities, and both centres of dioceses and parochial churches, this feast and this cult were entrenched at all levels of religious institutions. The nominations generally refer only to the name of the saint or the traditional term of his death and birth in rejoining Christ (*'natalis'*). The identification of St. Gerald as *'confessor'* is consistently followed in almost all sources, as is the case with St. Alexius. Occasionally the term *'transitus'* is used instead of *'natalis'* in Vic and Sant Cugat, although in later sources from Sant Cugat this term disappears (Figures 21 and 22). Another exceptional source is the martyrology from Cassan, which suddenly inserts a much bigger *auctarium* than all other martyrologies. This addition particularly stresses the lay status of St. Gerald through his clothes but emphasises how powerfully close he was to the Christian religion, as well as the miracles that the saint performed during his life as well as after his death. On the one hand, it might point to the circulation of St. Gerald's *Vitae*, which was very eloquent on the matter of miracles. On the other hand, his cult was already so widespread that his deeds might have been known in the oral tradition too. Moreover, this *auctarium* uses the term *'depositio'*, which may refer to the burial of the saint and again stands out from all other references. At any rate the popularity of St. Gerald's cult is impressive but hardly unexpected for the place of his veneration, the monastery of Aurillac in Aquitania, which took an active part in the Catalan and Aquitanian network of religious institutions.

Table 22 allows us to follow the development of the liturgy of the feast day commemorating St. Gerald, demonstrating the *formulae* for the proper of the mass.

Table 22 – St. Gerald. Proper of the Mass

Manuscript	Feast day (October 13)
1) Sacramentary from Saint-Martial de Limoges (11 th beginning) ⁷⁷³	<i>Natale Sancti Geraldii</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue nullum tempus relinquis beato Geraldo supplicante precamur ut qui hunc nostris diebus tibi placuisse per signa testaris. Honorem quem illi in tuo nomine supplices exhibemus nobis in bonum cooperari digneris. (CO 2107)⁷⁷⁴</i> Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum in tui sacri corporis misterio contineri voluisti concede propicius ut hoc munus quod in beati Geraldii memoriam recolentes offerimus ipso intercedente nobis proficere sentiamus. (CO 1946)⁷⁷⁵</i> Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere satiati misericors Deus gratias agimus et precamur: ut qui nova beneficia per beatum Geraldum te</i>

⁷⁷³Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 82r.

⁷⁷⁴*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (further CCSL) 160 B (Turnhout, 1993), p. 178.

⁷⁷⁵*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 B (Turnhout, 1993), p. 114.

	<i>operari gaudemus ipso supplicante per hoc celesti munus ad pietatis opera renovemur. (CO 525)</i> ⁷⁷⁶
2) Sacramentary from the abbey of Gellone (11 th c., first quarter) ⁷⁷⁷	<i>Sancti Geraldi</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107) Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946) Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere faciat misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)
3) Sacramentary from Limousin (11 th c., first half) ⁷⁷⁸	<i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107) Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946) Pref. <i>Eterne Deus. Qui prophetice promissionis memor populo tuo benefacere non desinens opus quod operatus cum patribus nostris. Nunc quoque beatum Geraldum per signa glorificans iterare dignaris. Unde precamur ut ipso intercedente concedas quo eius conversatio et signa que ad laudem tui nominis per ipsum geris omnibus nobis proficiant ad religionis augmentum. (CP 1183)</i> ⁷⁷⁹ Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere faciat misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)
4) Sacramentary from the monastery of Ripoll (1040) ⁷⁸⁰	<i>Sancti Geraldi</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107) Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946) Pref. <i>Eterne Deus. Qui prophetice promissionis memor populo tuo</i> (CP 1183) Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere faciat misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)
5) Sacramentary from Figeac (11 th c., third quarter) ⁷⁸¹	<i>Vigilia sancti Geraldi</i> (October 12) Coll. <i>Concede nobis quis Domine alacribus animus beati confessoris tui Geraldi sollempnia celebrare cuius diversis decorata virtutibus tibi vita complacuit. (CO 702)</i> ⁷⁸² Scr. <i>Oblata confessoris tui Geraldi honore sint tibi Domini nostra grata libamina et nostrarum apud te supplicationum effectum obtineant. (CO 3573)</i> ⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁶*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 269.

⁷⁷⁷Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 18, fol. 138rv.

⁷⁷⁸Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, ff. 84vb–85rb.

⁷⁷⁹*Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 365. See *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 D (Turnhout, 1980). The editors of the CP, however, suggest that this feast refers to Gerald of Brogne and not to Gerald of Aurillac. See *op. cit.*, pp. 581–82.

⁷⁸⁰Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, fol. 149rv.

⁷⁸¹Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 2293, ff. 130v–131r.

⁷⁸²*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 340–41.

⁷⁸³*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 D (Turnhout, 1994), p. 261.

	<p><i>Ad compl. Quos celestibus Domine recreas alimentis interveniente beato confessore tuo Geraldo ab universis tuere periculis</i> (CO 4942)⁷⁸⁴</p> <p><i>Natalis sancti Geraldi</i></p> <p><i>Coll. Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107)</p> <p><i>Scr. Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946)</p> <p><i>Pref. Eterne Deus. Qui prophetice promissionis memor populo tuo</i> (CP 1183)</p> <p><i>Ad compl. Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)</p> <p><i>Alia. Deus qui in fine seculorum antiqui temporis opus iterare dignaris beato Geraldo supplicante precamur ut hunc tibi placuisse per signa demonstrans cunctis eum colentibus placari digneris.</i></p>
6) Collectary-ordinary from the monastery of Lagrasse (11 th c., fourth quarter) ⁷⁸⁵	<p><i>Sancti Geraldi</i></p> <p><i>Coll. Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107)</p>
7) Sacramentary from the Cathedral of Albi (12 th c., beginning) ⁷⁸⁶	<p><i>Sancti Geraldi confessoris.</i></p> <p><i>Coll. Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107)</p> <p><i>Scr. Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946)</p> <p><i>Ad compl. Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)</p>
8) Sacramentary from the Cathedral of Albi (12 th c., beginning) ⁷⁸⁷	<p><i>Transitus sancti Geraldi</i></p> <p><i>Coll. Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107)</p> <p><i>Scr. Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946)</p> <p><i>Ad compl. Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)</p>
9) Sacramentary from the Collegiate church Sant Feliu de Girona (12 th c., first half) ⁷⁸⁸	<p><i>Natale Sancti Geraldi confessoris</i></p> <p><i>Coll. Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107)</p> <p><i>Scr. Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946)</p> <p><i>Ad compl. Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)</p>

⁷⁸⁴*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 F (Turnhout, 1995), p. 315.

⁷⁸⁵Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, fol. 76v.

⁷⁸⁶Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 108v.

⁷⁸⁷Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 6, fol. 122rv.

⁷⁸⁸Girona, Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46, fol. 99rv. For the dating see M. Sureda i Jubany, M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari de Sant Feliu de Girona', pp. 88–9.

10) Sacramentary from Vilabertran (12 th c., third quarter) ⁷⁸⁹	<i>In natale Sancti Geraldii</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107) Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946) Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)
11) Missal from the Abbey Arles-sur-Tech (12 th c.) ⁷⁹⁰	<i>Sancti Geraldii confessoris</i> Coll. <i>Deus qui sine testimonio bonitatis tue</i> (CO 2107) Scr. <i>Deus qui omne bonum</i> (CO 1946) Ad compl. <i>Celesti munere faciati misericors Deus</i> (CO 525)

These sacramentaries with the proper of the mass from Catalan and southern French regions demonstrate how well established these texts were, especially considering their uniformity and wide circulation throughout these regions from the tenth century on. The sacramentary from the Cathedral chapter of Vic (1038)⁷⁹¹ has a lacuna for exactly this part of the liturgical year, that is why it is not present in Table 22, although the probability that it included this feast is high. The only one exception from this list is the sacramentary from Figeac, which provides us with an optional post-communion prayer along with the mass for the vigil. The prayers for the vigil day in this manuscript were apparently originally conceived for St. Benedict⁷⁹². Their use, along with the replacement of Benedict's name with Gerald's, may point to a tendency within the liturgy to increase the possible commemoration of Gerald and to underscore the solemnity of his feast. However, this tradition does not seem to be implemented in the Catalan region in the eleventh nor in the twelfth centuries. Moreover, in Table 22 there is again one reference to the '*transitus*' of St. Gerald. This term might be used in correspondence to one of the hagiographic texts compiled for St. Gerald together with his *Vita*. For instance, one early eleventh-century legendary from Saint-Martial de Limoges with several texts dedicated to St. Gerald contains among his *Vita Geraldii* and *Miracula* the *Transitus*⁷⁹³. Thus, the chosen name '*transitus*' for the feast could possibly be being used as one among several terms indicating St. Gerald's feast. The liturgical data from Table 21 and Table 22 thus confirms the active implementation of St. Gerald's feast in the region, demonstrating at the same time the stable uniformity for the choice of prayers.

789Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1102, fol. 156rv.

790Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 109rv.

791Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 66.

792 See the aforementioned references to the *Corpus orationum* on the day of the vigil in Figeac, where every prayer has the name 'Benedict'. *Corpus orationum*, CCSL 160, p. 340; CO CCSL 160 D, p. 261; CO 160 F, p. 315.

793'*Incipit transitus domini Geraldii. Quoniam signorum virtutibus*', see BnF, Ms. lat. 5301, ff. 227v–231r. On the dossier of St. Gerald in this manuscript see A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac', p. 198.

Hagiographic evidence

Finally, an important testimony for the dissemination of the saint's cult are hagiographic accounts. As it was shown above, St. Gerald's *Vita* spread in three versions and was particularly promoted by the Cluniac movement. The variety of terms for the feast day of St. Gerald in the liturgical sources also points to a possible choice of these terms according to the disseminated hagiographic texts. However, surprisingly there is no extant hagiographic copy from Catalan religious institutions of the *Vita Geraldi* that can be dated earlier than the end of the twelfth century. To some extent, as M. Gros i Pujol points out, it might be due to the common destiny of Catalan passionaries or lectionaries for the sanctoral from the same period, conserved only in fragments⁷⁹⁴.

In his recent article, J. Alturo i Perucho points to a fragment from Vic that, as he argues, has a paragraph that is completely copied from the *Vita Geraldi*⁷⁹⁵. Alturo i Perucho dates this fragment to the period when Guillem de Balsareny was bishop of Vic (1042–1076) and states that this is a compilation of various famous texts of that time designed to create a sermon for St. Galdric⁷⁹⁶. The paragraph reproducing the text from the *Vita Geraldi* is not big enough to let us define exactly which version of the *Vita* was used for the compilation of the sermon. Nevertheless, this discovery points to the very probable existence of a hagiographic account on St. Gerald in the diocese of Vic in the middle of the eleventh century. According to Alturo i Perucho, there are multiple ways the *Vita Geraldi* might have arrived in Catalonia and, more precisely, Vic, but the earliest and the most reliable path might have been through the networks with the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà⁷⁹⁷. Moreover, by this time the monastery of Cuixà had already housed the relics of St. Gerald, at least according to the letter of the monk Garsias compiled between 1043 and 1046⁷⁹⁸. The thirteenth-century breviary from Cuixà, which unfortunately does not survive today, contained a copy of the *Vita Geraldi*, presumably the *Vita brevior* (BHL 3412), according to the saved incipit of the text⁷⁹⁹. The

794See more on this in M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'Fragments de passioner i de leccionari del santoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 97–145.

795See the edition by A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny. Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis*, pp. 258 and 260, and J. Alturo i Perucho, 'Sobre el sermó per a la festa de Sant Galdric, atribuït al bisbe Oliba, i els altres textos transmesos pel fragment de còdex XIII-6 de l'Arxiu Episcopal de Vic de mitjan segle XI', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 22 (2014), 19–52, p. 33.

796J. Alturo i Perucho, 'Sobre el sermó per a la festa de Sant Galdric', p. 32.

797He also mentions the circulation of texts later through Cluniac networks in other regions in the Iberian Peninsula, the lectionary from Sahagún (Madrid, Real Academia de la Història, Cód. 9, ff. 188r–189r, 1164–1182) and a breviary (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Ms. H.III.11, ff. 216v–217v, 12th c.). Both possibly belong to St. Gerald's *Vita prolixior prima* (BHL 3411). See J. Alturo i Perucho, 'Sobre el sermó per a la festa de Sant Galdric', pp. 40–41.

798'Sunt reliquiae beati Geraldi in habitu christianae religionis multiplicia operati'. See *Garsii monachi Cuxasensis epistola ad Olivam episcopum Ausonensem. De initiis monasterii Cuxasensis et de sacris reliquiis in eo custoditis*, PL 141 col. 1443–1456, col. 1450. See a recent edition in *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. E. Junyent i Subirà (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 369–86, p. 377.

799See P. Pujol i Tubau, 'El breviari de Cuixà', *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 6 (1920–1922), 329–41, p. 337.

presence of this copy, originally compiled in Cluny, at the monastery of Cuixà, goes some way to support Alturo's hypothesis of the Cluniac role in the dissemination of this text in Catalonia, but does not confirm it in a definitive way⁸⁰⁰.

The single extant copy of the *Vita prolixior prima* (BHL 3411) is housed in the Library of Tarazona and is dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century⁸⁰¹. This volume contains a homiliary and a legendary, embedded with the saints of Hispanic, Catalan and Aquitanian origin. Referring to its sanctoral, V. Saxer assumes that this liturgical manuscript was compiled for one of the churches on the river Ebre⁸⁰². D. Yates notices that some notes in this volume may point to the compilation of this manuscript was copied in Barcelona⁸⁰³. It is possible to assume that the earliest copy existed in the region too but there are not enough extant testimonies to prove it.

Finally, two other texts belong to Vic and Santa Maria de Serrateix communities. The fragment from Vic was produced in the middle of the thirteenth century and seemingly belongs to the *scriptorium* of the Cathedral chapter of Vic⁸⁰⁴. The *bifolium* contains on its recto part the passion of St. Dionisius, St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherius (on October 9) and on its verso part the incipit from the *Vita Geraldi* for October 13: 'Geraldus igitur Equitanie provincie oriundus'. This incipit (the only one conserved part) allows to assume that the fragment represents another hagiographic version of the *Vita brevior* (BHL 3412). Another two versions of the *Vita brevior* (BHL 3412) belong respectively to the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena, which dates to the end of the twelfth century, and to the monastery of Santa Maria de Serrateix, which is dated to the thirteenth century⁸⁰⁵.

Therefore, only these few testimonies demonstrate the possible dissemination of various versions of the *Vita sancti Geraldi* in Catalan counties. Moreover, they also show that they spread in both monastic and canonical institutions and were used as readings (*lectiones*). Nevertheless, drawing on the aforementioned testimonies, the *Vita brevior* apparently had a larger area of dissemination. The absence of any copy of the *Vita prolixior secunda* seems very curious. Might this be connected to slightly different accents on the *Vita prolixior secunda*, which was apparently not so popular in the Catalan region? A limited number of extant sources do not allow me to take this hypothesis too far. It is crucial to remember that,

800See J. Alturo i Perucho, 'Sobre el sermó per a la festa de Sant Galdric', pp. 40–41 and esp. n. 68.

801Tarazona, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 89. See V. Saxer, 'Manuscrits liturgiques, calendriers, et litanies des saints, du XII^e au XVI^e siècle, conservés à la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Tarazona', *Hispania Sacra* 23 (1970), 335–402.

802V. Saxer, 'Manuscrits liturgiques', p. 364.

803He also dates this manuscript to the fourteenth century, but does not focus much on this. See D. Yates, 'The Cathedral Library of Tarazona. Its Medieval Manuscripts and Benefactors', *The Journal of Library History* (1974–1987) 17/3 (1982), 268–77, p. 269.

804Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. XXIV/6. See on this fragment M. Gros i Pujol, 'Fragments de passiones i de leccionari del santoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII', pp. 130–31.

805Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0016, ff. 91v–92v and Solsona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 33 (olim 3), fol. 92rv. Altes i Aguiló doubts this manuscript can be dated to the beginning of the 13th century, due to the choice of the feasts and their posterior additions. See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'El leccionari i collectari santoral de Santa Maria de Serrateix (Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà)', *Miscellania litúrgica catalana* 10 (2001), 211–93, p. 214.

comparing to the numerous data from calendars, martyrologies and sacramentaries which highlight a very early implementation of St. Gerald's cult in the Catalan region, it is highly possible that the contemporary to these liturgical sources hagiographic copies simply did not survive or have not yet been discovered in the archives.

The liturgical and hagiographic data explored here points to at least two possible ways in which the cult was transmitted in the Catalan region: first, through the active, local veneration of St. Gerald and strong networks between Benedictine monasteries, second, through the Cluniac congregation. A. Mundó argued that the influence of Cluny in the Catalan regions was never strong and direct, and in the second half of the eleventh century it was expressed more by Moissac⁸⁰⁶. Having joined the Cluniac congregation, the monastery of Moissac, affiliated the abbey of Arles-sur-Tech in 1078, thus also contributing to the exchange of relics and texts⁸⁰⁷. K. Stöber in her recent article discusses five affiliated priories that Cluny organised during the eleventh century in the Catalan region and shows how two of them, Camprodon and Casserres, illustrate the Cluniac involvement in the religious, economic and political life of their respective localities⁸⁰⁸. It is hard to determine whether the dissemination of the hagiographic texts was due only to the Cluniac network or rather to the contacts within the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne that existed in the region even earlier. For instance, when Count Ramon Ponç of Toulouse (924–950) and his wife Garsenda of Narbonne founded the monastery of Sant Ponç de Tomeres in 936, at the ceremony assisted the Benedictine monks from the monastery of St. Gerald of Aurillac⁸⁰⁹. In the eleventh century Abbot Frotard of Sant Ponç took part in the councils of Toulouse and Girona in 1068, and developed close connections with St. Martin de Lez (Languedoc), Sant Cugat and Sant Pere de Rodes⁸¹⁰. Moreover, the liturgical references rather point to the earlier arrival of St. Gerald's cult than the Cluniac affiliation activity started, although for the dissemination of the *Vita Geraldi* there are no early testimonies. The maintenance of these solid relations between Aquitanian and Catalan religious institutions⁸¹¹ may explain the method of transmission for these cults, relics and texts.

806A. Mundó, 'Cluny, Moissac et les mouvements monastiques à l'Est des Pyrénées', *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 75/64 (1963), 551–73.

807See more in F. Peloux, 'Les relations entre l'abbaye clunisienne Saint-Pierre de Moissac et son prieuré d'Arles-sur-Tech d'après les chartes et les livres liturgiques (1078–1316): échanges, enrichissements et résistances', in *Actes du colloque 'L'abbaye Sainte-Marie, Arles-sur-Tech. Redécouverte d'un monastère', 15–16 novembre 2013*, ed. G. Maillet (forthcoming).

808K. Stöber, 'Cluny in Catalonia', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9/2 (2017), 241–60.

809See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'Les *Homelieae capitulares* del monestir de Sant Ponç de Tomeres i l'homiliari de l'ofici catalanonarbonès', *Miscellania litúrgica catalana* 11 (2003), 131–57, p. 131. In this homiliary there was obviously the reading for the feast of St. Gerald ('*Vigilate ergo*', Mt. 24, 42), see *op. cit.*, p. 156.

810G. Maillet, 'Capiteles de claustro de Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, cat. 39/40', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)* (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 284–87, p. 284.

811To name but a few, Bishop Foulques of Barcelona gave the church of Tagamanent to Conques Abbey to establish the priory, see on this P. Deschamps, 'Les relations de Conques avec la Catalogne et l'Espagne', in *Miscellania Puig i Cadafalch. Recull d'estudis d'arqueologia, d'història de l'art et d'història* (Barcelona, 1947–1951), vol. 1, pp. 15–24, esp. p. 17. Multiple acts of church consecration demonstrate the contacts between abbots and bishops. See, for example, the act on the consecration of the church of Sant Sepulcre de Paiera

Thus the liturgical and hagiographic data demonstrates the integration of both cults of St. Alexius and St. Gerald in the religious life of various communities, although the cult of St. Gerald was definitely more popular and received a wider veneration. Drawing upon the extant testimonies, it can be stated that the transmission of St. Alexius's cult might be due to the contacts with Roman religious institutions, or even with the papacy at the beginning of the eleventh century. The cult of St. Gerald was certainly propelled by Cluniac religious network to northern Catalonia but might have arrived even earlier via local communication between Catalan and Aquitanian religious communities. The manuscript evidence thus underscores once again the close connections and textual transmissions between Italian and Catalan institutions during the eleventh century and shows the high receptivity of Catalan communities in absorbing new feasts and their subsequent entrenchment in liturgical life. The simultaneous implementation of both cults in various liturgical sources, however, illustrates not only how religious networks functioned but also the potential interests of the religious elites in terms of the particular features that both cults share.

II. Shaping the Sanctity in the *Vitae*

The lives of saints share commonalities simply by belonging to the same genre, a genre which aimed to provide examples of moral behaviour to contemporary audiences that would lead them to salvation. This section analyses the two cults of Alexius and Gerald as exemplars making use of a narratological approach which helps us to define several characteristics of these saints that might have been particularly emphasised at the turn of the first millennium.

Discussing several models of hagiography in the tenth/eleventh centuries, Corbet proposes that we should think of the hagiography of St. Gerald in terms of a model of a noble saint's life and that of St. Alexius as a more demanding and disruptive model for Western aristocratic circles⁸¹². Without going into a more detailed debate on the formula/model of saint⁸¹³, I explore here their lives by identifying several common patterns that demonstrate

(Garrotxa) in 1085, which occurred in the presence of Bishop Berenguer Guifré of Girona, the bishops of Carcassonne, Maguelone, Barcelona, Elna and Albi, the archbishop of Narbonne and the abbot of Lagrasse. See M. L. Ramos i Martínez, 'Sant Sepulcre de Paiera', in *Catalunya romànica* 4. La Garrotxa (Barcelona, 1990), p. 231; J. M. Salrach i Marès, 'Memoria, poder i devoció: donacions catalanes a la Grassa (segles IX–XII)', in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Ph. Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), pp. 103–17.

812P. Corbet, 'Les modèles hagiographiques de l'an mil', in *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'An Mil*, ed. P. Bonnassie, P. Toubert (Toulouse, 2004), pp. 379–87, pp. 386 and 387 respectively.

813On this topic see e.g. the typology of sanctity suggested by Vauchez, although he analyses texts from the thirteenth century on. See A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1988), pp. 329–449; A. Vauchez, 'La sainteté du laïc dans l'Occident médiéval: naissance et évolution d'un modèle hagiographique (XII^e–début XIII^e siècle)', in *Sainteté et martyre dans les religions du livre*, ed. J. Marx (Bruxelles, 1989), pp. 57–66. See also the 'categorising the saints' with the criteria of social and statistical analysis started by Weinstein and Bell, and later applied by R. Bartlett. Bartlett also provides us with a typology of saints according to medieval testimonies on this distinction. See more in D. Weinstein, R. M. Bell, *Saints and society: the two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 1–17, and in particular on the saints' 'typicality', p. 6. R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*

how these texts shape the perception of sanctity in tenth and eleventh-century Europe. Taking into consideration that both of these cults spread simultaneously in Western Europe from the tenth century on and contributed to the implementation of the type of layman becoming a saint, I analyse these two lives through narratological patterns to find essential structural keystones in the text that point to several features that define sanctity. Thus these features are the main components of the meta-narrative of sanctity and, while they are a part of a constructed meta-narrative, they also bring new ideas to it. This process is clearly reflected in both the *Vita Alexii* and *Vita Geraldi* and this approach thus helps us to contextualise the idea of sanctity in the texts.

There are different ways to think of the meta-narrative, and the theories are far from being exhaustive. For example, from a more textual and philological perspective, G. Prince defined the meta-narrative as self-referential aspects of narrative (addressed to the reader) or as meta-narrative signs (the statements that tell us about the words and not the world)⁸¹⁴. In the same outline goes the concept of meta-narrative as narrator's reflections on the act of narration⁸¹⁵. In terms of philosophy of history the meta-narrative or Grand Narrative is a privileged comprehensive account of world affairs, contemporary and historical, various historical events and social and cultural phenomena, and as such it was criticised by J.-F. Lyotard in his fundamental work on the Postmodernism Condition⁸¹⁶. More specifically, the term Grand Narrative receives particular meanings when applied to specific fields. So for social sciences the meta-narrative consists of little narratives that are social products produced by people within the context of specific social, historical and cultural locations, which function as interpretive devices for people to represent themselves both to themselves and others⁸¹⁷. Or, for example, in medieval terms, metanarrative might be seen in hagiography as a tool leading through Christian history from Creation to the City of God, which represents an

(Princeton, 2013), pp. 150–221. On various models of saints see J.-Ch. Picard, 'Le modèle épiscopal dans deux vies du X^e siècle: S. Innocentius de Tortona et S. Prosper de Reggio Emilia', in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècles)*. Actes du colloque de Rome, 27–29 octobre 1988, ed. J.-Y. Tilliette (Rome, 1991), pp. 371–84. A. Barbero, 'Santi laici e guerrieri. Le trasformazioni di un modello nell'agiografia altomedievale', in *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento. Contrasti, intersezioni, complementarità*, ed. G. Barone, M. Caffiero, F. Scorza (Barcellona/Turin, 1994), pp. 125–40.

814G. Prince, *Narratology: the form and functioning of narrative* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 115–27.

815B. Neumann, A. Nünning, 'Metanarration and Metafiction', in *Handbook of narratology*, eds. P. Hühn, J. Pier, W. Schmid, J. Schönert (Berlin, 2009), pp. 204–11.

816J.-F. Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris, 1979). Lyotard criticises the concept of the Grand narrative at the postmodernism time, exploring 'a decline of the unifying and legitimating power of the grand narratives of speculation and emancipation'. See J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, transl. G. Bennington, B. Massumi. Theory and history of Literature 10 (Minneapolis, 1984), pp. 37–8. On Grand Narratives in cultural history and philosophy of history also see J. Randall Groves, 'Canon and Grand Narrative in the philosophy of history', *Journal of East-West Thought* 2/1 (2012), 39–52; R. J. Ferguson, 'Great Traditions and Grand Narratives', *Culture Mandala: Bulletin of the Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies* 10/2 (2013), 15–40.

817S. Lawler, 'Narrative in Social Research', in *Qualitative research in action*, ed. T. May (London, 2002), pp. 242–58.

anagogical approach⁸¹⁸. All these theories show a variety of possible approaches to the idea of meta-narrative with regards to the sources, time period and the subject matter.

Aiming to explore the shaping of religious sensibilities at the turn of the first millennium, I suggest that we can outline the meta-narrative of sanctity by analysing two *vitae sanctorum*, of St. Gerald and St. Alexius, in order to see which perception of sanctity (and thus which features/values) were crucial for contemporary medieval society. I understand the term meta-narrative as consisting of three major components: 1) *topoi* (the narrative units), 2) meta-narrative insertions (expressed by the narrator), and 3) structural elements (defined through narratological patterns). This triple schema will allow us to explore the idea of sanctity through structural changes and the role of structural elements in texts, thus providing us with a clearer picture of crucial patterns of sanctity in the tenth/eleventh-century Occident.

1. *Topoi in the Vitae*

C. Hahn argues that the *topoi* are non-original narrative units ranging from an adjectival phrase to a story sequence (*topoi* consisting of multiple episodes)⁸¹⁹. The lives of saints all contain numerous expected themes that demonstrate common patternd in the model of sainthood. As R. Bartlett mentions regarding the saintly models, the characteristics the saints had in common were more significant than the elements that gave them an individual identity⁸²⁰. For instance, he demonstrates the most typical chronological scheme of organising the narrative in hagiographical lives: the birth and childhood (with an emphasis on the noble origin of the saint, both in literal and metaphorical senses, and the premonitory dream); the supportive or obstructive families of saints (themes of marriage and sexual relations is particularly stressed there); and the death-bed scenes (with the following miracles on the tomb and the saint's burial)⁸²¹. The narratives of St. Alexius and St. Gerald's lives are expected to contain the same episodes. For instance, N. Durling notices how, in the vernacular version of the *Vita Alexii*, Alexius' *Life* closely follows the fixed biographical framework of the so-called 'hagiographic paradigm': birth, youth, moment of saintly self-awareness, renunciation of the world, life of saintly self-denial, death, and 'rebirth' (posthumous miracles)⁸²². Far from being original from this perspective, the life of Gerald has the same paradigm. It is still crucial to keep in mind four common *topoi* in both *vitae* for they reflect the important for the medieval mind patterns of sanctity: 1) the noble origin of both saints; 2) their saintly predestination; 3) their *modus vivendi* (particularly their chastity and asceticism); and 4) their

⁸¹⁸ C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (London, 2001), p. 35.

⁸¹⁹C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp. 41–2. For the definition of *topoi* she refers to E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1963) [Bern 1948], pp. 79–105.

⁸²⁰R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, p. 520.

⁸²¹Ibid., pp. 523–35.

⁸²²N. V. Durling, 'Life of St. Alexius', in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, ed. T. Head (New York, 2001), pp. 317–40, p. 318.

miracles and witnesses who attested them (this *topos* later became a crucial criterion for their subsequent canonisation⁸²³).

The first *topos* on the saint's social status concerns their noble aristocratic origin and thus places them on the top of the medieval societal hierarchy. Alexius is the son of Euphemianus, a rich Roman nobleman⁸²⁴, while Gerald comes from a noble family known among the Gauls and is considered to be a son of Count of Aurillac⁸²⁵. Moreover, both saints are their parents' only offspring, which means that their parents treat them as their successors and see them as continuing familial duties. The ideal audience⁸²⁶, however, will expect a twist in the narration when the main character will finally choose the path of the saint, breaking from parental and societal hopes.

The second *topos* concerning saintly predestination also comes at the very beginning of the text and singles out how both future saints were marked with the signs of divine mercy. Both saints' parents had not succeeded in conceiving a child previously. The parents of Alexius prayed to God and he granted them their son⁸²⁷. Gerald's parents lived in chastity, but then his father had a dream to fulfil his conjugal duties for the birth of a son. This dream was followed by another with an image of a big tree grown up from his toe⁸²⁸. The tree as a metaphor for the future generation may be traced back to the Bible about the Jess Tree, although raising up from his head: 'There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch from his roots shall bear fruit' (*Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet*, Is. 11:1). The promise of a great destiny for the child who is not yet born (in the case of St. Gerald) points to his singularity in comparison to other people in the narrative but across narratives this trope is very common⁸²⁹.

The third *topos* concerns the virtuous qualities of both saints, namely their chastity and asceticism. Both Alexius and Gerald remained abstinent from marriage and the characteristic

823See more in A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, pp. 551–614.

824'Vir magnus et nobilis Euphemianus nomine, dives valde et primus in palatio imperatoris'. *Vita Alexii* (BHL 286) (hereinafter 286) I, 1, see the comparative edition by L. J. Engels, 'Alexiana Medii Aevi III: The Relationship between the Prose Vitae BHL 286, 287 and 290', *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998), 373–441 (hereinafter Alexiana III), p. 414.

825'Carne obilitate tam excellenter illustris ut inter Gallicanas familias eius prosapia tam rebus quam probitate morum generosior videretur'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 1, see the edition by A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny. Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis. Édition critique, traduction française, introduction et commentaires* (Bruxelles, 2009) (hereinafter Odon de Cluny), p. 136.

826See the definition of the 'audience' according to P. Rabinowitz, where the audience can hypothetically be ideal for the author or the narrator, which means that they have the assumptions about their readers' beliefs and knowledge to understand the narration in the way the author/narrator shapes it. P. Rabinowitz, 'Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences', *Critical Enquiry* 4/1 (1977), 121–41, p. 126.

827'Quorum Deus [...] recordatus operum ipsorum exaudivit eo et concessit eis filium'. 286 II, 9; Alexiana III, p. 415.

828'Ut de pollice pedis eius dextri quedam virgule nasceretur que paulatim in magnam arborem succrescebat'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 2; Odon de Cluny, p. 136.

829It might be applied in the case of ancient epic heroes or the characters of folklore and fairy tales also predestined to their glorious future. See for example the concept of hero from the psychoanalytical perspective in O. Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero: A Psychological Interpretation of Mythology*, transl. F. Robbins, S. E. Jelliffe (New York, 1952) [1909], p. 12–61.

of chastity is stressed many times throughout the *vitae*. To cite the most eloquent example with St. Alexius, his first wedding night he entered the bedroom to share with his bride the teaching of Christ⁸³⁰. St. Gerald, in his turn, at the beginning charmed by a young girl, thanks to God's intervention, felt later repulsion⁸³¹. His will and divine power thus protect both saints from carnal desires. Their humility vis-à-vis God maintained them during all their lifetime and helped to overcome obstacles. Furthermore, both practised asceticism, St. Alexius, while conducting the life of beggar in Edessa, clothed himself in cheap clothing and sat among the poorest nearby the church of St. Mary⁸³². The goal of St. Alexius was to reject the richness and the comfort of the lay life, for he was persuaded by the Gospel to refuse earthly possessions to have treasure in heaven (Mt. 19:21–23). St. Gerald, in his turn, was so pious that he wore particular moderate clothing⁸³³ and performed prayers that lasted for hours. He went to the oratory every night and tried to stay there as long as possible⁸³⁴. To this pious and quasi-monastic behaviour, *postquam cultui divine servituti ex toto se cohesit*, Odo consecrated the second book of the *Vita Geraldi*⁸³⁵.

Finally, the miracles performed by these two saints, are also a necessary *topos* for the *vitae sanctorum*, in particular the miraculous healing, which was one of the most important facets of the Christian cult of the saints⁸³⁶. Y. Friedman classifies medieval miracles according to three categories: functional, polemical and miracles of personal deliverance, placing the miraculous healing in the first group as necessary miracles for the absence of an alternative remedy⁸³⁷. Gerald, we are told, performed healing miracles during his lifetime (while people were heading to the saint, as 'God deigned to honour St. Gerald with the gift of healing'⁸³⁸) and also carried them out *post mortem*. The power of healing miracles is so influential that in one episode a man who recovered his vision exclaims '*o sancte Geralde*'⁸³⁹ thus automatically identifying Gerald with a saint. This recognition of sanctity by the locals

830'*Coepit nobilissimus iuvenis et in Christo sapientissimus instruere sponsam suam et plura ei sacramenta disserere*'. 286 II, 14; Alexiana III, p. 416.

831'*Geraldum vero iam divina gratia respexerat; cui tam deformis eadem puella mox visa est ut non crederet illam esse quam viderat*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 9; Odon de Cluny, p. 148. Later the narrator compares chastity of the saint to the purity of the angels ('*castitas enim sola est que imitatur angelicam puritatem*'). *Vita Geraldi* II, 34; Odon de Cluny, p. 242.

832'*Quo perveniens omnia, quae secum tulerat, pauperibus erogavit, et induens se vestimenta vilissima coepit sedere cum ceteris pauperibus ad atrium sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*'. 286 III, 17; Alexiana III, p. 418.

833'*Ita dumtaxat contextis ut nec affectatam pompam redolerent, nec plebeia rusticitate notarentur*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 16; Odon de Cluny, p. 162.

834'*Nocturno tempore cunctos in oratorio diucius prevenire solebat; quo expleto, solus remanere consueverat*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 16; Odon de Cluny, p. 218.

835'*Vita Geraldi* I, 42; Odon de Cluny, p. 194.

836R. Bartlett, *Why Can Dead Do Such Great Things*, p. 16.

837Y. Friedman, 'Miracle, Meaning and Narrative in the Latin East', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. K. M. Cooper, J. Gregory. Studies in Church History 41 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 123–34, p. 124.

838'*Ut autem divina dignatio coram hominibus eum glorificaret, qui Deum in exequendis mandatis eius coram discipulis glorificabat [...] hunc famulum suum per quandam curationis gratiam glorificare dignatus est*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 10; Odon de Cluny, p. 210.

839'*Vita Geraldi* II, 24; Odon de Cluny, p. 230.

was an essential step for the definition of sainthood for *vox populi* was *vox Dei* well before the official ratification or rejection of a potential saint by the church⁸⁴⁰. St. Alexius did not really perform any miracles himself but, when he stayed in Edessa, the miraculous divine voice spoke to the sacristan in the church revealing to him the holiness of a ‘man of God’, St. Alexius⁸⁴¹. Further, the *Vita Alexii* stresses the pleasant fragrance of the tomb of St. Alexius in the church of St. Boniface on the Aventine⁸⁴². In a similar way, a plot of grass appeared in front of St. Gerald’s crypt several times. Word spread that this plot signified the virtue of Gerald and it served as a good example of helping those who are barren of good works⁸⁴³. According to the aforementioned scheme by Friedman, both these miracles belong to the polemical category as they prove the theological supremacy and reinforce the authenticity of the holy place⁸⁴⁴. There were other miraculous events that occurred to St. Gerald and to his companions, mainly on his way to Rome. G. Barone, however, argues that in the mainstream of the hagiography of the tenth century, for Odo the miracles of Gerald were much less important than his function to witness the human possibilities to live according to the divine law⁸⁴⁵.

The *post mortem* miracles of both saints are witnessed by numerous people. The gradual structuration of the canonising process implemented new norms which had to be executed. Thus, one of the conditions for declaring a person a saint was the need to bring with or to mention the witnesses who could testify the miracles⁸⁴⁶. That feature is clearly expressed in the *Vita Geraldi*. Odo points out numerous single cases where people encountered the help of the saint (especially thanks to his gift of healing) as well as through pilgrimages to his tomb. The *Vita Alexii*, although containing less examples, follows the same pattern. The holiness of St. Alexius was revealed to the sacristan in Edessa, and after he died his holy body was discovered by lay and ecclesiastical authorities in the presence of the crowd. Since this moment he was always surrounded by people, so everything could have been then immediately witnessed due to the presence of the crowd.

⁸⁴⁰ See on this A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, pp. 15–24.

⁸⁴¹ This ‘apparition’ to the sacristan as well as a miracle with the surrender of scroll that the dead Alexius held in his hands have been analysed by B. Crostini with narratological methods, though on the sample of Greek texts dating back to the 11th c. B. Crostini, ‘Mapping Miracles in Byzantine Hagiography: the Development of the Legend of St. Alexios’, in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, pp. 77–87.

⁸⁴² ‘*De ipso quoque monumento ita suavissimus odor flagravat, ut omnibus esset aromatibus plenum*’. 286 XI, 89; *Alexiana* III, p. 440.

⁸⁴³ ‘*Credebant [...] quod rota viridis famam beati Geraldi viriditate virtutis plenata fortasse figuraverit [...] Qui ariditate bonorum operum steriles sunt [...] illos exemplo suo quasi fecundet*’. *Vita Geraldi* IV, 5; Odon de Cluny, p. 268.

⁸⁴⁴ Y. Friedman, ‘Miracle, Meaning and Narrative’, p. 125.

⁸⁴⁵ G. Barone, ‘Une hagiographie sans miracles. Observations en marge de quelques Vies du X^e siècle’, in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècles)*, pp. 435–46, p. 438.

⁸⁴⁶ See A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, pp. 39–67. For the more recent studies see *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes. Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. C. Krötzl, S. Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout, 2018) esp. G. Klaniczay, ‘The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes’, pp. 43–73 and C. Krötzl, ‘“*Miracula post mortem*”. On Function, Content and Typological Changes’, pp. 157–75.

These four *topoi* shape a standard hagiographical text. Still crucial in terms of defining the medieval idea of sanctity, they seem to leave us with a very broad idea of sanctity at the turn of the first millennium. However, some more specific suggestions can be made. Among the widespread traditional features of the saint, or at least of some categories of saints, such as humility, chastity, asceticism, and love of God, some new elements might point to several tendencies of the tenth and eleventh centuries, stressing the particular interest or even the needs of the audience. For instance, the noble birth, common for all medieval hagiographies⁸⁴⁷, appeals to the image of a merciful nobility who perform good deeds for the church and the people. On the one hand, the use of this *topos* in the two analysed *Vitae* might carry out a particular ethical tension for stressing the need of a protective role of the elite towards the church and the people, crucial for society in the tenth/eleventh centuries. On the other hand, the noble origin functions as the secular world that both saints aimed to leave for the ascetic life and, as such, creates the antipode to the desire of pious life. This binary model emphasises the dichotomy of conducting the self according to earthly matters and then according to those of heaven, and at the same time implies the reinforcement of a new kind of ascetic monasticism, which was actively developing in the tenth century in Italy⁸⁴⁸. Therefore, even considering the most general role of the *topoi* in the medieval texts, we still may analyse some of them through the contextual lens which helps us to better understand the horizon of expectations for the specific medieval audience at the turn of the first millennium. The religious and secular elites that made up the audience for both *vitae*, thus absorbed the promotion of the pious secular life, virtuous deeds, care and protection of the people and the Church, which were the crucial messages of the Peace and Truce of God movement.

2. *Meta-Narrative Insertions in the Vita Geraldi*

The second part of my overview is dedicated to the voice of the narrator in shaping the sanctity, which mainly concerns the meta-narrative insertions in the *Vita Geraldi*, because the voice of the narrator is particularly clear and eloquent⁸⁴⁹. The *Vita prolixior prima* consists of four books with a preface: the first two books cover the life of Gerald from his birth recounting his glorious deeds up to him acquiring fame through performing miracles, the third (*Transitus*) is dedicated to his last days and death and the fourth to Gerald's miracles *post mortem*. Before analysing the meta-narrative insertions, it is, however, important to clarify the

847See P. Golinelli, 'Velut Alter Alexius: The Saint Alexis Model in the Medieval Hagiography', in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints and Crusades*, eds. K. Salonen, S. Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam, 2016), pp. 141–52, p. 143.

848See in particular the articles by Sansterre: J.-M. Sansterre, 'Otton III et les saints ascètes de son temps', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 43/2 (1989), 377–412; J.-M. Sansterre, 'Le monachisme byzantin à Rome', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo*, Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 24, Spoleto, 3–9 aprile 1986 (Spoleto, 1988), 2 vol., pp. 701–46.

849For the analysed meta-narrative insertions I refer to the version called the *Vita prolixior prima* written by Odo of Cluny, according to the edition by A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny. Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis*, pp. 130–278.

major narratological ideas and how they are used within medieval narratives in order to better realise the impact of these insertions.

The well-known narratological distinction between the ‘reality statement’ and the ‘fictional narrative’⁸⁵⁰ cannot be applied to the medieval narrative, in particular to hagiography, which is not necessarily fiction nor fact⁸⁵¹. The hagiographical narrative is created to reflect the grace of a saint, to highlight his virtuous nature. The reality of medieval hagiographic stories is meant as spiritual and rhetoric verity and the operation of truth lies at the very heart of the hagiographic narrative effect⁸⁵². Realist elements in the *vitae sanctorum* thus emerge in the realities of the story background and circumstances, and they receive support from the audience’s projection of themselves into a recognisable social environment. Therefore, the medieval hagiographic narrative was aimed at a noble audience—in the case of St. Alexius and St. Gerald, a tenth-century religious and secular elite—and shaped by the audience’s horizon of expectations.

To use Rabinowitz’s concept, there are four types of audience: the actual (or the so-called ‘flesh-and-blood’ audience), the authorial audience (an intended audience for the author), the narrative audience (an imaginary audience for the narrator), and the ideal narrative audience⁸⁵³. It is particularly interesting to think about this theory in historical frames, because we can ascertain to an extent how the actual (flesh-and-blood) audience took the text into consideration. For instance, the diffusion of saints’ lives and the liturgical pieces attesting to the increasing religious veneration of saints Alexius and Geraldus, bears witness to the successful narrative effort targeted at the actual audience if under this actual audience we understand, at least, clerics and monks.

The likely actual audience of the *Vita Alexii* and *Vita Geraldi* was primarily the ecclesiastical one, although it is reasonable to suggest that this text had some impact on the aristocracy⁸⁵⁴. The texts were compiled in the monastic circles at the monasteries of Cluny, St. Martial de Limoges, Aurillac, and St. Boniface. From there the veneration of both saints spread through other Benedictine monasteries and cathedral chapters in Italy (in the case of St. Alexius), Aquitania and Septimania (in the case of St. Gerald) and Catalonia (both). The dissemination and practical use of these hagiographic accounts, lives and miracles, which were divided in lectiones for reading, might point to their possible use in sermons, thus transferring the ideas within them to the larger public and also to pilgrims visiting the centres of veneration of particular saints. We also know that the tradition of engaging the laity in

850See more on this in K. Hamburger, *The Logic of Literature*, transl. M. J. Rose (Bloomington, 1973) [1957/1968], esp. pp. 110–16.

851C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp. 29–30.

852Ibid., p. 32.

853P. Rabinowitz, ‘Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences’, *Critical Enquiry* 4/1 (1977), 121–41, pp. 126–27 and 134.

854See on this a detailed overview and study in the PhD thesis on hagiography and the noblemen in S. Fray, *L’aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d’Olt et de Dordogne (X^e–XI^e siècles)*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Université Paris-Sorbonne 1, 2011), esp. Chapter 6 ‘Discours hagiographique et audience laïque’, pp. 528–94.

religious ceremonies on important feast days was particularly significant under the Carolingians. Including the laity in the liturgical life of the community for Easter allowed the monks to instruct them in basic catechetical matters through words, gestures, and art⁸⁵⁵.

Understanding the role of the audience and its engagement with the hagiographical text is essential to understanding the text itself and wider religious thought. Studies on vernacular English literature demonstrate that the audience's response is anticipated and effectively channelled through the narrative structure⁸⁵⁶. The medieval narrative being shaped in connection to the expectations of the audience, thus allows us to think in terms of the meta-narrative defining what sanctity meant both for the author and for his audience.

The meta-narrative insertions imply the voice of the narrator that is distinctive in the text. Sometimes it is easy to confuse the terms 'author' and 'narrator', especially since the author of the *Life of St. Gerald*, Odo of Cluny, is well-known. At any rate, in my analysis I prefer the term 'narrator' to the 'author' for it allows us to think of the plot, the main character and the narrator in the same categories, whereas the author creates an exterior view on the narrative. As E. von Contzen notes, narrators in medieval narrative texts considerably influence the narration through their comments, interruptions, digressions, and additional explanations⁸⁵⁷ or, in other words, through meta-narrative insertions. These meta-narrative insertions abound in the *Vita Geraldi* but I will focus on two key examples which are the most peculiar in their shaping of the sanctity. These two insertions single out the following characteristics of sanctity: first, the correlation between body and spirit in favour of the spirit as supported by divine power; second, the crucial combination of both relics and virtue. These two elements are essential in shaping the holiness of St. Gerald, as is demonstrated by the narrator.

A curious emphasis on the correspondence between body and spirit, and the correlation between both, is frequently underlined in the narrative of the *Vita Geraldi*. In the third book the narrator describes how Gerald is getting older and declares that this is a way with the saints, for the divine power would have been less strong in them if the bodily power had not grown weaker⁸⁵⁸. The narrator thus understands the phenomenon of sanctity as a direct impact of divine power on the human body: the stronger the divine power, the weaker the body. The same sentiment is expressed in another way: while Gerald's soul is fed with virtues, his body

⁸⁵⁵ Angilbert, *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, ed. Kassius Hallinger. *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum I* (Siegberg, 1963) pp. 294–96. O.M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, pp. 257–58.

⁸⁵⁶ See Harbus mentioning the same effects in A. Harbus, *The Life of the Mind in Old English Poetry*. *Costerus New Series 143* (Amsterdam/New York, 2002), pp. 139–41. See more in terms of narratology of Old English literature in E. von Contzen, 'Why Medieval Literature Does Not Need the Concept of Social Minds: Exemplarity and Collective Experience', *Narrative 23/2* (2015), 140–53.

⁸⁵⁷ E. von Contzen, 'Why We Need a Medieval Narratology. A Manifesto', *Diegesis 3/2* (2014), accessed 16th August 2020, available at <https://www.diegesis.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/diegesis/article/view/170/237>.

⁸⁵⁸ 'Iam vero spiritalis virtus que pleniter in eo succreverat corporeas vires poene trucidaverat; quippe cum iste mos sanctorum sit, quia virtus divina minus in eis valida fuisset, si corporeum robur non extenuasset'. *Vita Geraldi III*; Odon de Cluny, p. 244.

loses its power⁸⁵⁹. The divine inspiration or, in other words, the extraordinary capacities of Gerald which make him a saint, weakens his human nature. The temporary being of saint a human on earth thus confirms his intermediate role to transmit divine will to humanity but only for a limited amount of time, for the saint cannot function in the long term. This divine power becomes somewhat poisonous to a weak human body, not capable of containing it. This idea certainly stresses the singular place of Jesus Christ, who as God's Son is the only one able to unify both human and divine natures in his human body in contemporary religious thought.

The second influential meta-narrative insertion continues these thoughts on body and spirit highlighting the harmonious combination of holy relics and the virtue that both allow the healing miracles performed by Gerald⁸⁶⁰. Their virtues are important characteristics for shaping the confessors' sanctity and it is thanks to his virtue that the saint is able to perform miracles. The relics (material substance), and the virtue (the spiritual) brought together represent the concept of sanctity in action. At the same time the narrator demonstrates his knowledge of his audience: he states that some people assess the glory of saints from the signs he performed, and without the miracles the sanctity would have seemed less to them⁸⁶¹. This message can be understood in three possible ways depending on the type of audience. First, it can be perceived as constatement of fact for the narrator and the narrative audience. Within the narration, in terms of narrator and narrative audience, the *opinio communis* is that a saint without miracles cannot be a saint; the role of the narrator of a saint's life is thus to convince people to see it in a more profound way. Second, this message sounds like Odo the author is reproaching believers who are not strong enough, and functions thus as a warning to his intended audience. Third, the message has the potential to appeal to all possible audiences, which comprises the real one, and again implies the combination of material and spiritual, this time turned around: the material (relics) comes after death, whereas the spiritual (virtue) is important during the saint's life; the permanent binary construction of body and spirit is thus somewhat reversed.

Therefore, these two meta-narrative insertions demonstrate Odo's ideas on the correlation between the material and the spiritual and thus help us to understand the nature of sainthood which implies that a saint's body, weak during his life time, becomes more influential for producing miracles after his death. A similar correlation between the material and spiritual effects of sainthood is demonstrated in the *Vita Alexii*. In general, the voice of the narrator in the *Vita Alexii* is less obvious, but a few references to his sanctity do appear in the narrative. For instance, one on the binary material/spiritual nature of sainthood concerns

859'*Cum ergo his et huiusmodi virtutibus anima saginaretur, corporis efficaciam amittebat*'. *Vita Geraldi III*; Odon de Cluny, p. 244.

860'*Id credimus quod ita per sancta pignora sanitatem beneficia tribuuntur, ut virtus quoque beati Geraldi cooperatrix non negetur*'. *Vita Geraldi IV*, 9; Odon de Cluny, p. 272.

861'*Hoc itaque de miraculis eius sufficiat: que et satisfaciant eis qui gloriam cuiuslibet sancti non ex quantitate bonorum operum sed ex numerositate metiuntur signorum; apud quos forte sanctitas eius vilior haberetur, si de miraculis que vivens gesserit nichil audissent*'. *Vita Geraldi II*, 34; Odon de Cluny, p. 240.

the way Alexius' dead body operates over others: his holiness emanates and passes through the emperors holding his holy corpse⁸⁶². At this moment it becomes almost material, and to this extent it corresponds with Gerald in terms of the increasing material dimension of sanctity after the saint's death because of his physical relics.

Moreover, the narrator also stresses that as God performed miracles through man in older times, it is not surprising that He does it now⁸⁶³. A contemporary saint for the narrator is thus an intermediary for God, and God works through him/by him in the same way He did thousands years ago, thus making regular analogical comparisons with biblical personalities particularly apt. The frequent references to kings and prophets from the Old Testament demonstrate the exemplary holy people who fulfilled the divine will. So St. Gerald is compared to David and Abraham, who also took up arms against adversaries, when the cause of justice demanded it, or to Ezechias and Josias, who were pious and had a just life according to the apostolic precept⁸⁶⁴. Such comparisons to these authorities are common throughout the text and underscore Gerald's similarities to the glorious personalities from the biblical past reaffirming his true sanctity. Certainly, there are more ideas promoted by the narrator, such as a reference to the well-known topos on temptations with the seduction of a young girl⁸⁶⁵ or, with a devil, for as Gerald fears, his miracles are rather a possible devil's deceit than a gift granted from heaven⁸⁶⁶, or that to be a saint implies having the spirit of prophecy that almost guarantees sanctity⁸⁶⁷. These are, however, common for various *vitae sanctorum* in general.

The analysis of the meta-narrative insertions and the voice of the narrator can help us to think more in-depth on the possible dimensions of medieval sanctity. The dialogue of narrators with their audience as well as their knowledge of the audience's beliefs and expectations allows us to speculate about the ideas propagated by clerics and monks through their texts to medieval audience, but also about the ideas this audience had already in mind and their perception of notions on religion and belief. Three meta-narrative insertions analysed here are crucial, first, in their narratological function of a dialogue with the audience through the text, and, second, thanks to their meaning of a binary combination of saint's nature. This idea on the degree of correlation between material and spiritual, their mutual

862'*Imperatores [...] coeperunt per se cum pontifice lectum portare, quatenus et ipsi sanctificarentur ab eodem corpore sancto*'. 286 XI, 85; Alexiana III, p. 439.

863'*Si ergo Deus qui cum patribus mirabilia fecit et iam nostribus temporibus, ad resuscitandum conculcate religionis efectum, per hominem qui sicut in diebus Noe iustus repertus est signa dignatur operari, incredibile non debet videri*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 42; Odon de Cluny, p. 194.

864'*Nonnulli namque patrum iusticie tamen causa exigente viriliter in aduersariis arma corripiebant, ut Abraham qui pro eruendo nepote ingentem hostium multitudinem fudit, et rex David qui etiam contra filium legiones direxit*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 8; Odon de Cluny, p. 146. And '*Si ergo Deus qui cum patribus mirabilia fecit et iam nostribus temporibus, ad resuscitandum conculcate religionis efectum, per hominem qui sicut in diebus Noe iustus repertus est signa dignatur operari, incredibile non debet videri*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 42; Odon de Cluny, p. 194.

865'*Noverimus autem quia non est inconsuetam sanctis temptari*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 9; Odon de Cluny, p. 150.

866'*Geraldus vero suspirans flebat atque dicens quia timeret quod diabolica fraus potius esset que sub hac occasione se decipere vellet*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 13; Odon de Cluny, p. 214.

867'*Nam si fortasse prophetie spiritum habuisset, nullus eum, ut puto, sanctum esse negaret*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 34; Odon de Cluny, p. 240.

influence and effective agency only through constant interaction sheds light on the re-evaluation of the human side of sanctity, and potentially creates parallels to the changing perception of Christ, whose humanity is increasingly stressed from the turn of the first millennium in religious thought.

3. *New Structural Patterns and Contemporary Society*

Finally, both *vitae* have several new structural patterns in common that not only define the plot, but also bear witness to crucial ideas and notions for tenth/eleventh-century society. The classical narrative progression of plot, such as introduction-complication-resolution, or beginning-middle-end or situation-transformation-situation, is not applicable to the structure of the medieval hagiographic narrative⁸⁶⁸. Even if the narrative progression might be present in each specific story (for instance, every miracle or episode happening to St. Geraldus), it is not applicable to the work as a whole. Medieval hagiographic narrative is rather formed on three key aspects of structure: the reiteration, which is based on the *imitatio Christi*, and the saint's repetition of key events from Christ's life; circulation, of similar tropes or ideas in various hagiographic accounts; and on repetition within the plot, which becomes the most genuine form of authentication for the medieval mind because repeated frameworks in the *Vita* show divine perfection⁸⁶⁹. Thus, without having the textual climax in the development of the narrative, the hagiography is all focused on the shaping of sanctity. This effect can be achieved through the common *topoi*, the meta-narrative insertions, and several structural elements that may be driven by the contemporary context. Among these latter ones there are four patterns common for both the *Vita Geraldi* and *Vita Alexii*: 1) itineraries and role of Rome; 2) miraculous image; 3) accent on compunction; and 4) otherness of saints through God's will and God as an actor of narration.

The first element is closely bound with the notion of space, a concept which, in hagiographical narratives, was connected with people's everyday experience: sacred spaces in terms of various churches or biblical sites were visited by local congregations and pilgrims physically, but could be experienced or re-experienced by an audience reading or listening to hagiographic accounts⁸⁷⁰. This again underscores the possible engagement of the audience in the medieval hagiographic narrative, and stresses how easily the borders between the narrative and real life could be crossed. The ideal experience of a hagiographic narrative provides the audience with an opportunity to self-identify as a part of a religious group sharing the same religious space. A crucial element in these two lives concerns the itineraries both saints

868See J. Phelan, 'Rhetoric/ ethics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. D. Herman (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 203–16. See also R. Scholes, 'Afterthoughts on Narrative. Language, Narrative and Anti-Narrative', *Critical Inquiry* 7/1 (1980), 204–12.

869C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, p. 41.

870A common idea with regards to the medieval hagiography, see e.g. E. von Contzen, 'Why Do We Need a Medieval Narratology? A Manifesto', <https://www.diegesis.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/diegesis/article/view/170/237>, accessed 16th August 2020.

perform. Their itineraries stress the notion of pilgrimage and demonstrate a wide-ranging network of the holy centres of power. For instance, Alexius's journey to Edessa implicitly involves a pilgrimage, as this site is described in the *Vita* as well-known for its sacred image of Christ⁸⁷¹. Moreover, St. Alexius undertakes the whole journey to Edessa, stays there for seventeen years and then comes back to Rome where he continues his beggar style of life for seventeen years more. The circularity of this journey informs and emulates the cyclical narrative pattern within the plot of this hagiographic text⁸⁷². These itineraries are particularly important in the context of tenth/eleventh-century society for they project political and religious ideas onto the religious space. The case of St. Gerald is slightly different, but his travels to Rome, and the constant accent on the importance of pilgrimages there, also shed light on Rome as a symbolical centre of religious power⁸⁷³. Constant references to these places, where two holy men spent their days, involve the audience and encourage them to contemplate the Christian *mappa mundi*, imbued with religious sites, simultaneously inspiring one to visit and revisit them.

Furthermore, the itineraries develop the idea of Christendom as a whole (enclosing clergy and laity) as well as the rhetoric of a universal Church, which was becoming crucial to contemporary society. St. Alexius becomes not only a new saint and a patron of Rome, he acquires universal status almost immediately. According to the Roman version of the *Vita Alexii*, two emperors of the Eastern and the Western Roman Empire, Arcadius (395–408) and Honorius (395–423), as well as Pope Innocent I (401–417) all assist the time at discovery of Alexius's body, its transmission to the basilica and its funeral. Two pillars of power, the secular and the religious, thus constitute the approval of Alexius's sanctity with their significant authority at the same time strengthening the universality of Christendom, with an explicit accent on its Western part headed by Rome. Moreover, both Alexius' and Gerald's activities also complete the picture of society: Alexius spent his earthly days among common people, pilgrims and beggars, and Gerald was always in contact with his servants, his troops and the army, the peasantry and, of course, monks. Both *vitae* present an ideal picture of the entirety of Christian society with which the two saints interact as intercessors. They behave as bridges between all of the people and the supernatural.

Two centres are underlined in the *vitae*: Rome and Edessa. Rome implies the centre of the Western Christianity, the city of popes, although not so powerful at the turn of the first millennium, while Edessa is identified as a place possessing the miraculous image of Christ. This Christological theme is of high relevance for tenth/eleventh-century society, involved in

871'...Edissam, Syriae civitatem, ubi sine humano opere imago domini nostri Iesu Christi in syndone habebatur'. 286 III, 16; Alexiana III, p. 418.

872See on the possible use of these patterns in medieval texts in E. von Contzen, 'Why Do We Need a Medieval Narratology? A Manifesto', <https://www.diegesis.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/diegesis/article/view/170/237>, accessed 16th August 2020.

873'Consuetudinem sibi fecerat ut Romam frequentibus adiret. [...] Vir iste, cum esset spiritualis, illa duo mundi luminaria – Petrum scilicet et Paulum – spiritaliter ambiebat spectare'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 17; Odon de Cluny, p. 220.

the exchange of relics, pilgrimages to shrines and increasing veneration of religious images⁸⁷⁴. From this perspective, the miraculous image in the *Vita Alexii* is a second structural element which shapes sanctity in the new Christian universe as a beacon of the divine will. In the *Vita Alexii*, the miraculous images of Christ and the Virgin become powerful objects of the narration that define the development of the plot. First, the acheiropoieton Icon of Christ (*Mandyliion*⁸⁷⁵) indicates the final goal of Alexius's journey from Rome to Syria; second, the Icon of Mary reveals the real personality of Alexius disguised as an unknown beggar and thus makes him leave Edessa to continue his beggar lifestyle in Rome. Miraculous images thus embrace Alexius's itinerary and are the principal motors of his travels. Curiously, the pattern of a miraculous image is present only in the Roman version of the *Vita Alexii* and not in the Spanish. First, the Spanish *Vita* mentions the city Herea in Laodocia and not Edessa⁸⁷⁶, and second, at the church of St. Mary, Alexius heard the voice of the Virgin and of God but none of the miraculous images play a role in the text⁸⁷⁷. The Roman *Vita* thus seemingly illustrates a new tendency, which was becoming more relevant at the turn of the first millennium: the increasing role of miraculous images in Western religious thought.

The third structural element organising the effects of these two *vitae* concerns the compunction. Medieval hagiography pursued edification goals⁸⁷⁸, inspired people for the imitation and had a compunctive effect on the audience. Thinking in terms of *imitatio*, we assume that medieval hagiographic narrative encouraged the audience to experience the same journey and feelings as the characters. For instance, when the audience learn about the death of the saint, they are upset and shed tears of compunction. A common outline of the monastic texts throughout the eleventh century, according to P. Nagy, are the tears that bring one to conversion and can thus be identified as divine mercy.⁸⁷⁹ The narrative—and probably the authorial audience as well—might have wanted to experience the same to achieve the conversion through compunction.

The scholarship states that the true subject of the saints' life is Christ (through *imitatio Christi*)⁸⁸⁰. The narrative thus reinforces the connection to the life of Christ and the Church.

874Further discussions on this tendency can be found in Chapter Four.

875The Mandyliion was believed to have been sent by Christ to King Abgar of Edessa, was hidden in the city gate there, and finally was taken to Constantinople after a Byzantine siege of Edessa in 944 where it became a precious relic of the imperial chapel. G. A. Peers, 'Masks, Marriage and the Byzantine Mandyliion: Classical Inversions in the Tenth Century. *Narratio de translatione Constantinopolim imaginis Edessenae*', *Intermedialités* 8 (2006), 13–30, p. 14.

876BHL 289, 6. U. Mölk, 'Die älteste lateinische Alexiusvita (9./10.Jahrhundert). Kritischer Text und Kommentar', p. 305.

877BHL 289, 9–10. U. Mölk, 'Die älteste lateinische Alexiusvita', p. 306.

878See C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp. 34–8. H. Delehaye originally attributed edification goals to hagiography, which has been much referred to since. See H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints. An Introduction to Hagiography*, transl. V. M. Crawford (London/New York, 1907), [1905] p. 68.

879P. Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (V^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 2000), pp. 171–205, esp. pp. 190–95 and 200–05. On the compunction displayed through floods of tears in the *Vita beati Romualdi* by Peter Damian see also D. Boquet, P. Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 115–16.

880C. Hahn, 'Picturing the text: Narrative in the Life of the saints', *Art History* 13/1 (1990), 1–33, pp. 6–7.

However, the implicit reference to Christ is not the only sign of the active presence of God; for instance, in both *vitae sanctorum* the divine will defines the narration and goes beyond it. The sudden love for God from the beginning of their lives distinguishes both saints (Alexius and Geraldus) from other people. This otherness makes the saints closer to God, projecting to the audience their parallels with Christ. Following the precepts of their noble families in their youth, at a crucial moment both, however, feel a strong love for God in their hearts. The realisation of each of their feelings, however, differs. Captured by this desire, Gerald nevertheless accepts his worldly duties after his parents had died, and remains chaste at home trying to perform the activities of a pious and fair governor. The narrator singles out how Gerald escapes the spiritual death while meditating over the Holy Scripture⁸⁸¹. Alexius, dissatisfied with his earthly duties, succeeds in escaping from the house of his parents and leaves for a long journey to the Asian coast⁸⁸². The desire to dedicate the earthly life to God, common for both characters, enters into the concept of willing service, fundamental to medieval literature and institutions⁸⁸³. Their decision, at first glance, seems to be the first conscious action of both characters in the *vitae*, however, from the perspective of the narration it could be rather considered as the divine intervention and God guides them on their path. As the narrator suggests in the *Vita Geraldii*, ‘the divine dispensation, which glorifies holy men, sometimes makes them known against their will’⁸⁸⁴. It is particularly important in the *Vita Alexii*, where the divine voice not only reveals the holiness of Alexius but also becomes a crucial turning point in the plot. Since God, through the miraculous image, declares that St. Alexius is a man of God in Edessa⁸⁸⁵, Alexius decides to escape again, avoiding the human glory (*humanam fugiens gloriam*⁸⁸⁶), leaving Edessa. However, again because of divine will, he accidentally finds himself back in Rome when his ship is brought by the sea winds to the Italian coast (which is reminiscent of God’s nautical interventions in the Bible, such as with Jonah, Jnh 1:3–4). The accents on his sanctity are thus much less stressed throughout the text and would be somewhat at odds with the idea of constant oversight of God and his defining role in the narration.

The omnipresence of God is obvious not only for the narrative audience, but also for the authorial audience, that is why the emotional engagement is far higher, and the desire of imitating the character is more understandable, because it crosses the borders of narration and

881‘*Sed dum ab alto contemplationis quasi ruere per terrenam occupationem videretur [...] ita ad amorem divinum vel Scripture meditationem recurrere interne mortis ruinam evadebat*’. *Vita Geraldii* I, 6; Odon de Cluny p. 142.

882‘*Acceptit de substantia sua et discessit ad mare ascendensque navem Deo prosperante pervenit Laodiciam, et inde iter arripiens abiit Edissam*’. 286 III, 16; *Alexiana* III, p. 418.

883E. B. Vitz, *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology. Subjects and Objects of Desire* (New York, 1989), p. 134.

884‘*Sed eadem res pluribus paulatim innotuit quoniam divina dispensatio, que sanctos quosque glorificat, eos etiam contra suum velle nonnumquam manifestat*’. *Vita Geraldii* II, 30; Odon de Cluny p. 236.

885‘*Postea vero volens Deus revelare causam ipsius, imago, quae in honore sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae ibidem erat, paramonario ecclesiae dixit: Fac introire hominem Dei, quia dignus est regno caelorum*’. 286 IV, 26; *Alexiana* III, p. 421.

886 286 V, 331; *Alexiana* III, p. 422.

is addressed even to the real audience. Moreover, if we apply Genette's focalisation model⁸⁸⁷, the focalisation in both *vitae* is a zero focalisation (narrator is omniscient compared to the character). But if one takes God as an actor in the narrative, this zero transforms into the external focalisation (where the narrator observes but is limited to the role of witness). Narratively, God is again separated from the saint, God acts on his own, and it is He who defines the plot and the action (see the praise of Daniel to God, Dn 2:20–23). Therefore, God is omnipresent in both *vitae* through organising the plot structure, and thus can be perceived as an organising structural element in the narration.

These four elements common for both the *Vita Alexii* and the *Vita Geraldi* unify not only these two hagiographic accounts, but also refer to the crucial tendencies of religious ideals at the turn of the first millennium. The itineraries shape the pilgrimage routes and the networks between symbolical religious centres, particularly centred around Rome. The miraculous image defines the space and the plot, its role as a tool of God confirms the effects of the agency of images, controversial since the eighth-century iconoclastic debates on the role of the sacred images. The edificative goals of hagiography are here particularly highlighted through the compunctive effects, which stress a turn in medieval sensibilities towards the more affective spirituality of the eleventh/twelfth centuries. Finally, the overwhelming presence of God pushes the boundaries of the narrative and becomes a binding kernel between fiction and reality in the medieval mind.

Thus, through applying narratological patterns, such as *topoi*, meta-narrative insertions and structural elements which define the plot, it is possible to analyse how the hagiographies compiled in the course of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century shaped the idea of sanctity. The common elements explored here demonstrate the expected typical features of the saint at that time as well as the phenomena that accompanied them. The *topoi* and meta-narrative insertions contextualise the hagiographic narrative and help us to distinguish between the elements in common with other medieval hagiographies, and the new ones that are of particular relevance for the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Furthermore, several structural elements (such as the itineraries performed by saints, the role of Rome, the pattern of miraculous image, the compunctive effect on the audience experiencing the same feelings as some characters and thus contributing to the 'real' conversion) also point to the relevant ideas in the modifying concept of sanctity. Brought together, it singles out that, notwithstanding some rigid features of the medieval hagiographic narrative, hagiographical texts participated in and contributed to a very active and mobile shaping of the meta-narrative of sanctity during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Therefore, the analysed elements in both texts help us to reveal the semantic field of the notion 'saint' and 'sanctity' as presented to the medieval audience. In addition to the

⁸⁸⁷According to G. Genette, there are three types of the focalisation: internal (narrator is limited by the knowledge of the character), external (narrator observes everything from the exterior but is limited to the role of witness) and zero (the narrator is outside and knows everything about the narration). See G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method*, transl. J. E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY, 1983), pp. 189–94. [*Figures III. Discours du récit*, 1972]

common patterns some particular elements, relevant for the examined period, come to light. It is debatable whether several *topoi* or the understanding of sainthood in these two lives highlight only their similarities or belong to a broader hagiographic production. My aim is not so much to analyse the common tendencies in medieval society according to a spectrum of various *vitae sanctorum* at the turn of the first millennium, but rather to observe the common structure in two accounts of the saints, whose cults arrived and were implemented simultaneously in the Catalan region. Nevertheless, the overview of the common elements between the two accounts presented in this section allows us to think of the peculiar needs and expectations of religious and secular elites in Italian, Aquitanian and Catalan religious institutions. The active promotion of Rome in both *vitae*, the growing role of pilgrimages to sacred spaces, the role of miraculous images, the accents placed on pious and generous behaviour rather than on heroic deeds, and the emphasis on the whole of Christendom, shed light on the broad and significant political and ecclesiastical changes in the central Medieval West. This analysis thus may be a useful tool in applying the comparative narratological approach to a broader range of medieval hagiographic texts to reveal major tendencies in tenth/eleventh-century hagiography.

III. The Realities of Post-Carolingian Society in the *Vitae*

1. *Both Vitae in the Context of the Ecclesiastical World at the Turn of the First Millennium*

Medieval religious life up to the eve of the Gregorian reforms was mainly grounded in Carolingian church legislation and regulations. In 816–817 Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane developed a series of monastic reforms, which were then officially confirmed in several decrees issued at the synods of Aachen⁸⁸⁸. The Carolingian liturgical and ecclesiastical reforms continued the Frankish tendency to separate the regular clergy from the secular⁸⁸⁹; Carolingian regulations implementing the Benedictine Rule in monasteries and the Rule of Aachen canons (*Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*) in chapters spread all over the Carolingian Empire. However, these regulations could not always be implemented in practice and real life in religious communities started to differ from the ideals of religious life. These religious institutions passed through various stages and were particularly vulnerable during the decades of turmoil throughout the tenth century. Nevertheless, the tenth century saw an increase in active monastic interaction with the secular world with the abolishing of lay

888P. G. Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century* (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997), p. 23.

889S. Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms. Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West*. Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte 47 (Berlin, 2020), pp. 41–2. See more in M. de Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s Church’, in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. J. E. Story (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103–35.

abbots, a central goal of the tenth-century reformers⁸⁹⁰. If the monasteries were an essential support network for Carolingian rulers and functioned as sites of sovereign authority under Louis the Pious, from the end of the ninth century on they depended not on the king but on the local lords and bishops⁸⁹¹, which provoked different abuses and contributed to the discourse of the *correctio* and *reformatio*.

The scholarship is currently cautious about the notion of church reforms in the tenth century. Discussing Carolingian writings, J. Smith singles out how the Carolingians used the notion *correctio* for the royal and episcopal task of disciplining morals, behaviour, and ecclesiastical organisation, which lacks the cyclical, iterative implications of ‘*reformare*’ or ‘*renovare*’⁸⁹². J. Barrow argues that the earliest narrative use of the word ‘*reformatio*’ to mean change within an ecclesiastical institution appears much later, in the Life of John of Gorze (974–984)⁸⁹³. In his turn, S. Vanderputten, explaining the Cluny case, insists that it was rather a combination of unforeseen events than a deliberate reform effort; he also sees the justification of the notion of ‘reforms’ in their drastic nature and drastic consequences⁸⁹⁴. Furthermore, Vanderputten argues that these ‘reform memories’ contributed to the discourse of the restoration of old realities and a ‘renewal’ of monastic observance and spirituality⁸⁹⁵. Therefore, with the recent scholarship in mind, it would be more appropriate to speak not about the reforms but rather about the developing discourse on the *correctio* of religious institutions, which, due to the strong integration between clergy and laity in the late ninth, tenth and early eleventh century⁸⁹⁶, was the hot topic of discussion among the religious elites. Two features thus characterise eleventh-century society at the eve of the reforms: on the one hand, a tendency to strengthen spiritual needs over the secular style of life; and on the other hand, a tendency to distinguish a religious and a secular style of life, especially within the monastic institutions.

Two hagiographic accounts, the *Vita Alexii* and the *Vita Geraldi*, demonstrate these two features. As part of a broader hagiographical heritage, shaped during the post-Carolingian period, they could not neglect the concerns of the religious world. Even though the lives of Alexius and Gerald were created as religious products and mainly disseminated in religious institutions, they reveal much about the contemporary world of their compilers, reflecting the

890P. G. Jestic, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century*, p. 25.

891S. Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms*, pp. 47 and 50–1.

⁸⁹²J. Smith, “Emending Evil Ways and Praising God’s Omnipotence”: Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs’, in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, eds. K. Mills, A. Grafton (Rochester, NY, 2003), pp. 189–223, p. 192 and n. 15.

893J. Barrow, ‘Developing Definition of Reform in the Church in Ninth-Tenth Centuries’, in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe (Past and Present)*, eds. R. Balzaretto, J. Barrow, P. Skinner (Oxford, 2018), pp. 501–11, p. 509.

894S. Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms*, pp. 56 and 58.

895Ibid., p. 64.

896See, for example, the widespread marriage of clerics with the late acceptance of monastic clothes. R. Savigni, ‘Les laïcs dans l’ecclésiologie carolingienne: Normes statutaires et idéal de “conversion”’, in *Guerriers et moines. Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l’Occident médiéval (IX^e–XII^e siècles)*, ed. M. Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), pp. 41–92, p. 53.

idealistic vision of the relations between secular and religious authorities. On the one hand, in these lives the saints illustrate a certain concern that the nobility should have had, according to the authors: to pay attention to the spiritual deeds and care more of the church and the soul than of the secular world. On the other hand, the contemporary realities of interactions between secular and religious styles of life are also expressed in both texts. Both saints, Alexius and Gerald, exist somehow in between two ‘orders’ of medieval society⁸⁹⁷, the nobility and the clergy: without becoming monks they strike a balance between lay and religious life by trying to perform spiritual exercises during their earthly life. As such, their hagiographical accounts are significant products of their time, for they create a bridge between lay and religious behaviour, thus reflecting the controversial ecclesiastical situation in the tenth and eleventh centuries that saw the intermingling of secular and religious circles.

It is even more understandable if we realise that both *vitae* were conceived in a monastic environment where local contemporary concerns were of primary relevance. Although our two saints, Alexius and Gerald, do not officially belong to monastic social and religious groups, their two *vitae* reveal several ideas of tenth-century monasticism. The *Vita Geraldi*, written by Odo of Cluny, clearly contains reflections of the ideals that medieval monasticism was concerned with at that time⁸⁹⁸. For instance, Gestice states that Odo, in shaping the sanctity of Gerald, examines the spirituality of a noble layman and thus follows the key idea of the monastic reformers to enlighten society and to participate in its spiritual education⁸⁹⁹. The voice of the narrator, which is very present in the texts through the meta-narrative insertions, constantly appeals to the audience, which possibly consisted not only of monks but also of the educated laity⁹⁰⁰. This text can thus be considered as a mouthpiece of the monastic message, intended for both the monastic and secular elite circles.

The same concern within monastic circles, and in particular of the monks of Cluny, to actively intervene in profane society may be explained by their reaction in response to the weakening of royal power and political disorder⁹⁰¹. For instance, in the *Vita Geraldi*, Odo of

897The tripartite distinction of the three ‘orders’ of society, the nobility, the peasantry and the clergy, based on the biblical models developed by Alcuin and Jonas of Orléans, was shaped around the turn of the first millennium. R. Savigni, *art. cit.*, pp. 43–5. J. Duby, *Trois ordres ou l’imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978). On the importance of the Auxerre school in the emergence of this threefold scheme in the discourse of the late 9th century see D. Iogna-Prat, ‘L’école d’Auxerre et le schéma des trois ordres’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1 (1986), 101–26.

898On the tendency for using the lay character into the monastic understanding of the virtuous life see R. Savigni, ‘Les laïcs dans l’ecclésiologie carolingienne’, in *Guerriers et moines*, and D. Iogna-Prat, ‘La Vita Geraldi d’Odon de Cluny: Un text fondateur?’, in *op. cit.*, pp. 143–55.

899P. G. Jestice, ‘The Gorzian Reform and the Light under the Bushel’, *Viator* 4 (1993), 51–78, pp. 52–3.

900For the audience of the *Vita Geraldi* see the following works: D. Baker, ‘Vir dei: Secular Sanctity in the Early Tenth Century’, in *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. G. J. Cuming, D. Baker. *Studies in Church History* 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 41–53 and more recently S. Airlie, ‘The Anxiety of Sanctity: St Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992), 372–95; D. Barthélemy, ‘Modern Mythologies of Medieval Chivalry’, in *The Medieval World*, eds. P. Linehan, J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), pp. 214–29. See also S. Fray, *L’aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d’Olt et de Dordogne (X^e–XI^e siècles)*, pp. 528–94.

901A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages. Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre-Dame 1993) [1987], p. 13.

Cluny, eloquently insisting on the spiritual activity, holiness and miracles performed by Gerald,⁹⁰² thus provides an image of a pious layman, whose goal is to be as monastic as possible. This image of St. Gerald might thus correspond to the Cluniac religious mentality. Was Odo, approving of such behaviour, appealing to the laity by encouraging them to perform both their noble duties and religious devotion? Or was he speculating about the monks' vocation by providing an analogy between Gerald fighting in battle and the monastic spiritual battle in order to defend the faith? Or did he know, or hope, that his audience included both secular and ecclesiastical members and that both messages could be transmitted and absorbed correctly by each demographic? At any rate, his *Vita Geraldi* reflects the ideals that tenth-century society was looking for. Taking into consideration different accents the three versions of the *Vita Geraldi* developed⁹⁰³, one may see how these facets could be adapted over the course of the tenth century, either paying attention to the lay status of St. Gerald, or to the ideal of monastic sanctity.

The Roman *Vita Alexii* was also seemingly a product of monastic culture. The descriptor 'Man of God' expresses in this context *par excellence* the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal⁹⁰⁴ and a tendency to minimise any contact with the secular world, which was, as mentioned above, one of the primary concerns of religious elites and actively promoted in monasteries. Moreover, Alexius can be considered as a progenitor for the movement of laymen engaged into the *vita apostolica*, a concept developed since the eleventh century and becoming institutionalised over a century later⁹⁰⁵. However, at the time of the text's composition in Roman intellectual circles, the figure of hermit might yet have played a more important role.

The tenth/eleventh-century hermit movements were inspired by the ascetic tradition coming from the saint Fathers living in solitude in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts⁹⁰⁶. The monastic reformers and the proponents of the new hermitages rediscovered the sense and the vigour of the *Vitae patrum*⁹⁰⁷. Moreover, the rivalry between hermetic and cenobitic monasticism became a topos in the literature of the tenth and eleventh centuries⁹⁰⁸. Contemporary hagiography also pointed to the advantages of the eremitic life over cenobitic

902 *Iusticie sitis vel esuries ordinatum in eo flagrabat: non enim aut simplicitatis benignitas, asperitatem zeli deserebat, aut asperitas zeli simplicitatis benignitatem evacuabat*. *Vita Geraldi* I, 18; Odon de Cluny, p. 164.

903A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, 'Le dossier de saint Géraud d'Aurillac', pp. 196 and 201–02.

904C. Vincent, 'Fortunes médiévales du culte de Saint Alexis', in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 124/2 (2012), 629–42; <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/849>, accessed 18th August 2020.

905M.-D. Chenu, 'The Evangelical Awakening', in *Debating the Middle Ages. Issues and Readings*, eds. L.K. Little, B.H. Rosenwein (Oxford, 1998), pp. 310–29.

⁹⁰⁶ W. Berschin, for instance, compares two lives, of St. Alexius and of St. Simeon Stylites, and argues that both represent the model of Syrian anachorite. W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*. I. Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Großen (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 161–73, esp. pp. 172–73.

907 *La vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. M. Perugi (Genève, 2000), p. 37.

908 The discrepancy between the eremitic and cenobitic style of life are expressed in the contemporary texts. For instance, in the Life of St. Neilos of Rossano the saint chooses the hermitage because people distracted him from mental contemplation and the hidden, interior labour which he could only experience with the three other monastic companions, also divinely inspired fathers. See *The Life of Saint Neilos of Rossano*, eds. and transl. R. L. Capra, I. A. Murzaku, D. J. Milewski. *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 47 (Harvard, 2018), pp. 140–43.

training⁹⁰⁹. However, the well-known tenth-century hermits rarely existed completely nor constantly distanced from the religious life: Romuald of Ravenna (951–1027) had episcopal experience, Adalbert of Prague (956–997) was a bishop and the hermit Neilos of Rossano (910–1005) performed the duties of an abbot, as did Benno and Eberhard of Einsiedeln and Einold of Gorze⁹¹⁰. Moreover, both Adalbert and Neilos apparently had connections with Abbot Leo and the community of the monastery of San Alessio, and it was Neilos who provided the letters of introduction to Abbot Leo for Adalbert⁹¹¹. The San Alessio monastery, which played such an important role in the dissemination of St. Alexius's cult, was apparently also one of the hotbeds of contemporary discussions on the actual forms of religious life⁹¹². Later, in the eleventh century, several especially devout people, with the approval of their spiritual mentors, were able to quickly transfer from a cenobitic to an eremitic life, such as Count Simon of Crépy (d.1081/82) who became a monk at the monastery of Saint-Oyend and then remained in Rome under the personal protection of Pope Gregory VII⁹¹³. Gregory VII (1072–1085) showed himself to be well disposed towards individuals who adopted strict or eremitic forms of religious life, and they were particularly welcome when they settled within the city of Rome⁹¹⁴. All of these examples, however, differ from St. Alexius. One should remember that St. Alexius was not himself of the tenth-century but an earlier resurrected Christian saint. Brought into society of the turn of the first millennium, and thus endowed with some traits inherent to this time, he still remains a literary hagiographic character, slightly fictional, for he is not involved in any social duty as a layman nor as a hermit and exists in between the hermitage and the institutionalised religious life.

909Baker, for instance, shows how Peter Damian accepted the admittance of laymen directly into the eremitic life which, according to the scholar, points to a distrust of cenobitic training. D. Baker, 'The Whole World a Hermitage', p. 215.

910J. Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the First Way of the Reform', *New Cambridge Medieval History III*, pp. 163–85, p. 168.

911B. Hamilton, 'The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome', pp. 285–87.

912Recently the scholarship has become more careful in awarding the ecumenical role to the San Alessio monastery in the tenth/early eleventh centuries. See the arguments of advocates for this centre, B. Hamilton and K. Bosl, in B. Hamilton, 'The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century', *Orientalia christiana periodica* 27 (1961), 5–26, id., 'The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome', *Studia monastica* 4 (1962), 35–68, id., 'The House of Theophylact and the Promotion of the Religious Life Among Women in Tenth Century Rome', *Studia monastica* 12 (1970), 195–217; K. Bosl, 'Das Kloster San Alessio auf dem Aventin zu Rom. Griechisch-slawische Kontakte in römischen Klöstern vom 6./7. bis zum Ende des 10. Jh. Kulturbewegung im Mittelmeerraum im archaischen Zeitalter Europas', in *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung anlässlich des 2. Internationalen Balkanologenkongress in Athen*, eds. H.-G. Beck, A. Schmaus, R. Trofenik (München, 1970), pp. 15–28. For the counterargument see J.-M. Sansterre, 'Le monastère des Saints-Boniface-et-Alexis sur l'Aventin et l'expansion du christianisme dans le cadre de la 'Renovatio imperii Romanorum' d'Otton III. Une révision', *Revue bénédictine* 100/4 (1990), 493–506, and later id., 'Le monachisme bénédictin et le monachisme italo-grec au X^e et dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle: relations et distinction', in *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII–X). Atti del VII Convegno di Studi Storici sull'Italia Benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10–13 settembre 2003*, ed. G. Spinelli. Italia benedettina 27 (Cesena, 2006), pp. 97–118, esp. pp. 108–10.

913H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy and Eremitical Monasticism', in *Popes and Church Reform in the 11th Century*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 33–54, p. 39.

914Ibid., p 40.

Nevertheless, the *Vita Alexii* partially touches upon the important contemporary idea revealed in eleventh-century hagiography on the eremitic conversion of the nobility. C. Caby, exploring the hagiographic accounts of Pietro de Orseolo and Romuald, argues that the elitist model is embedded within the Life of Romuald in particular, which shows how the possible eremitic conversion could have brought to the sainthood⁹¹⁵. Discussing the conversion of the laymen in the example of these two *vitae*, Caby demonstrates that in both Catalan and Italian aristocratic circles the decision to become a hermit was popular among the companions of Pietro de Orseolo and Romuald, but that they were anxious about the balance between secular power and spiritual authority, or, as she puts it, about ‘the possibility to be at the same time a saint, a layman, and powerful’⁹¹⁶. This study singles out two important moments. First, at the time of the transmission of the cults of St. Alexius and St. Gerald to Catalonia, ideas of lay sanctity and the integration of lay elites into the eremitic style of life was a fashionable phenomenon, especially at the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà, where Pietro de Orseolo had retired. Second, the *Vita Alexii*, which presents us with a model of a saint who became a hermit, is in perfect dialogue with other hagiographic narratives in which the contemporary nobility were responsive to spiritual changes. Therefore, the *Vita Alexii* fits into contemporary local monastic production, reflects the most relevant ideas circulating in educated circles and, as such, explains the simultaneous implementation of St. Alexius’ cult in the Catalan region.

The *Vita Geraldi* also embodies a number of contemporary ideas. Along with the desire to retire from the world, Gerald, carrying his social status of count and exercising his noble duties, deals with such realities of post-Carolingian society as protectionist lordship, regional military conflicts and the growing power of the Church. However, Gerald’s consistent hopes to take the monastic cloth in the *Vita Geraldi* also partially reflects the growing tendency for asceticism by regularly describing Gerald dedicating himself to mental contemplation⁹¹⁷. C. Lauranson-Rosaz mentions that in Southern, Pre-Gregorian Gallia there coexisted a laity that lived in a holy way, as for example Gerald, an ascetic with monastic tendencies, and a clergy that lived in a secular way, such as the abbot Peter who commanded several abbeys and was a military leader⁹¹⁸. The asceticism of St. Gerald thus also embodies the relevant tendency developed from the needs of Pre-Gregorian society.

The interest in changes in religious life that were brewing over the course of the tenth century led to the Gregorian reforms that widened the gap between the clergy and the laity, on the one hand, and between the regular and secular clergy on the other. Guided by their desire to secure the benefits of spiritual reform, the popes, according to H. E. J. Cowdrey, were concerned with guiding and using different groups of monks and hermits in whatever ways

915 C. Caby, ‘Faire du monde un ermitage: Pietro Orseolo, doge et ermite’, in *Guerriers et moines*, pp. 349–68.

916 Ibid., p. 363.

917 For example, Gerald was inclined to pray all the time he was not engaged in his comital duties: ‘*Solebat, in stratu suo, dilectione Christi atque dulcedine pasci per studium oracionis*’. *Vita Geraldi* I, 26; Odon de Cluny p. 172.

918 C. Lauranson-Rosaz, ‘La Vie de Géraud, vecteur d’une certaine conscience aristocratique dans le Midi de la Gaule’, in *Guerriers et moines*, pp. 157–81, pp. 177–78.

opportunity might offer⁹¹⁹. Within such a society the distinction between two ideal models also took place: the ‘ascetic-sacral model’ and the ‘statuary-moral model’, which, to a certain extent, corresponded to two different social categories, the clergy and the laity⁹²⁰. Both the *Vita Alexii* and *Vita Geraldi* can hardly be referring only to the first or the second group: the saints do have necessary features for potential hermits in their everyday life but do not clearly belong to a religious social group.

The hagiographic accounts explored here are thus full of religious ideas that were embedded within Carolingian society, especially those that concern the spirituality of laymen. According to Savigni, the Carolingian ecclesiology proposed two models concerning lay spirituality: 1) the imitation of monastic spirituality (interiorised monasticism) that did not implement, however, an exhortation to leave the family and the world; 2) the valorisation of specific aspects of a lay behaviour, such as marriage, juridical and military functions, uses of the wealth for the mercy, protecting the Church and the poor, staying humble, and performing the pastoral responsibility to his *subiecti*⁹²¹. On both levels, the *Vita Geraldi* responds to this Carolingian model and is endowed with many spiritual features crucial for the layman of that period. With regards to the *Vita Alexii*, some scholars point to several ‘Gregorian’ features of St. Alexius as an exemplary saint focusing on the spiritual and not material, conducting the chaste life and being marked by God⁹²². However, it is important to see the *Vita Alexii* as a source revealing the accumulated phenomena of the tenth-century Europe rather than projecting it upon the ideals declared during the Gregorian reforms. The *Vita Alexii* even goes beyond emphasising the role of the hermitage, which was also one of the major phenomena of the late tenth/early eleventh centuries. Both accounts thus contain the most important concerns of the religious elites of their time: the mutual integration of the religious and secular worlds and preference of the spiritual over the material. As such both ascetic accents and the complex coexistence of the saints between the religious and the secular world, holy men who are able to strike a balance between these two worlds without existing only in one, define the mentality of tenth-century monasticism.

2. Catalan Contexts in the Post-Carolingian World

In the ninth century, the Catalan region was part of a larger southern region of the Western Frankish kingdom. At this time the Catalan region, or the former *Marca Hispanica*,

919H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘The Gregorian Papacy and Eremitical Monasticism’, p. 43.

920D. Iogna-Prat, ‘La place idéale du laïc à Cluny (v. 930–v. 1150): d’une morale statuaire à une éthique absolue’, in *Guerriers et moines*, pp. 291–316, p. 292.

921R. Savigni, ‘Les laïcs dans l’ecclésiologie carolingienne’, pp. 62–3.

922U. Mölk, ‘La Chanson de saint Alexis et le culte du saint en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles’, p. 354. C. Vincent, ‘Fortunes médiévales du culte de Saint Alexis’, <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/849> accessed 18th August 2020; P. Golinelli, ‘Velut Alter Alexius: The Saint Alexis Model in the Medieval Hagiography’, p. 149.

consisted of several counties, not yet institutionally unified⁹²³. However, by the tenth century public power, embodied by the Carolingian monarchy and delegated to regional servants such as counts, had collapsed along with the Carolingian dynasty⁹²⁴. The absence of royal authority and legitimacy forced Catalonia to build upon its political relationships with other powerful neighbours: namely with the Muslims from the South, the papacy to the East and with other Frankish regions in the North East, with which it shared the common historical ecclesiastical space of the Narbonne province⁹²⁵. Around 1000 the political power in the region was still dispersed, contributing to the improvised quest for palliatives to the unending violence. During this time, the Catalan territories achieved a precocious unity that would eventually lead to a new national consciousness⁹²⁶. Politically reinforced counties had to deal with the same processes as other regions of the post-Carolingian world, such as the Peace and Truce of God movements, which were particularly significant in the south of France⁹²⁷.

The Peace of God, according to Head and Landes, was a ‘response to the perceived disorder at the turn of the millennium’, which was expressed in a series of councils organised by regional bishops which brought together religious (both secular and regular) and lay leaders, and the people (*populus*), where the attendees were shown the relics of saints, and where ‘members of the warrior elite took oaths of peace, framed in a context that mobilised what a modern observer might call popular opinion’⁹²⁸. One of the most remarkable figures of this movement in Catalonia was Abbot and Bishop Oliba who was involved in the Peace and Truce of God movement⁹²⁹. Oliba was present at the Council of Elne-Toulouges (1027) where

923See Introduction, ‘Politico-Ecclesiastical Context’.

924C. Taylor, ‘Elite Reform and Popular Heresy in c. 1000: ‘Revitalization movements’ as a Model for Understanding Religious Dissidence Historically’, in *Elite and Popular Religion*, eds. K. M. Cooper, J. Gregory. Studies in Church History 42 (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 41–53, p. 42.

925The Narbonne province was extended to the north and to the south of the Pyrenees up to Aquitania and Provence from the 9th to the end of the 11th century. See A.-V. Gilles-Raynal, ‘Le dossier de saint Saturnin de Toulouse dans le légendaire de Moissac: aux origines du dossier légendaire?’, in *Le Légendaire de Moissac et la culture hagiographique méridionale autour de l’an mil*, ed. F. Peloux (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 325–44, p. 329.

926M. Zimmermann, ‘Western Francia: the Southern Principalities’, in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, pp. 420–55, p. 455.

927See V. Farías Zurita, ‘Problemas cronológicos del movimiento de Paz y Tregua catalán del siglo XI’, *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 14/15 (1993–1994), 9–37. V. Farías Zurita notices that the first wave of the councils in 1020–30s was rather a popular movement remained, however, local, while the second, in the 1060s, marked more the involvement of the elites and became more widespread phenomenon.

⁹²⁸See the book *The peace of God. Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, eds. T. F. Head, R. Landes (New York, 1992), and in particular T. F. Head, R. Landes, ‘Introduction’, in *op. cit.*, pp. 1–20, pp. 1–2. See more in E. Delaruelle, ‘Paix de Dieu et croisade dans la chrétienté du XII^e siècle’, in *Paix de Dieu et Guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIII^e siècle*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 4 ((Toulouse, 1969), pp. 51–71; T. Head, ‘The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005)’, *Speculum* 74/3 (1999), 656–86; *The peace of God. Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, eds. T. F. Head, R. Landes (New York, 1992). On the consequence of the Peace and Truce of God on the ‘territorialisation of local power’ see the recent book by G. Koziol, *The Peace of God* (Leeds, 2018).

929On the role of Abbot Oliba in the Peace and Truce of God see in M. Zimmermann, ‘Sur la terre comme au ciel: La paix chrétienne. Oliba (1008–1046), pacificateur et guide des âmes’, *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 7–38; J. E. Ruiz Domènech, ‘Consideraciones sobre la paz de Dios en siglo XI: El abad Oliba revisado’, in *Entre historias de la Edad Media: ventiún ensayos*, eds. J. E. Ruiz Domènech, A. Blasco (Granada, 2011), pp. 93–116.

the institution of the Truce of God was formulated for the first time⁹³⁰. As Head and Landes single out, if the Peace of God had been an attempt to protect the unarmed, particularly the clergy, what followed was the proclamation of the Truce of God, an attempt to outlaw all fighting, but only during certain periods of religious significance⁹³¹. The Peace and Truce of God reached Vic in 1030/1031 and the whole of Languedoc⁹³². Abbot Oliba organised two councils in Vic, in 1030 and 1033, the second of which included the presence of both religious and secular members of the audience for the first time in Catalonia⁹³³. The Peace and Truce of God promoted in Catalonia by Abbot Oliba thus went some way to solidify the powerful alliance between secular power and the bishops, as can be seen in the first of multiple assemblies held in the chapter of Barcelona in the presence of Count Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) and his wife Almodis in 1064⁹³⁴.

Both the *Vita Alexii* and the *Vita Geraldi* apparently only reached Catalonia in the eleventh century. The increasing veneration of these saints and the relevance of their cults, in terms of their secular origins, might partially be due to the wider-ranging interest in the Peace and Truce of God. Their dissemination in the region may be explained by two key factors. Firstly, their cults may have arrived via political and cultural connections, bearing in mind the aforementioned interaction of the Catalan secular and religious authorities with the papacy and Catalan integration in the south-western part of the post-Carolingian Frankish world. Secondly, these cults might have found an echo in Catalan society, generating the interest of ecclesiastical elites like Abbot Oliba who were deeply involved in contemporary politics, as well as of some of their secular counterparts. The combination of these two factors, as well as the features of both saints chiming with contemporary aristocratic and monastic ideals analysed above, very probably contributed to the deeper entrenchment of these two cults.

The two hagiographic accounts are also employed to combat moral deficiencies. The elements of corrupted mores in the religious world of the tenth/eleventh centuries were obviously not uncommon for Catalonia. The lay canons associated to the chapter and called

930For the complete critical edition of 30 acts with records from Catalan councils on the Peace and Truce of God from 1027 to 1257 see *Les constitucions de Pau i Treva de Catalunya (segles XI–XIII)*, ed. G. Gonzalvo i Bou. Textos Jurídics Catalans 9, Lleis i costums II/3 (Barcelona, 1994). For three more peace records in 1189, 1206 and 1220 absent in the critical edition see S. Bensch, 'Three peaces of Empúries (1189–1220)', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26/2 (1996), 583–603.

⁹³¹ T. Head, R. Landes, 'Introduction', in *The peace of God*, p. 7.

932M. Zimmermann, 'West Francia: the Southern Principalities', p. 454.

933E. Ferran Planas, 'L'Abat Oliba, personatge i conflicte', *Revista de Dret Històric Català* 16 (2017), 137–50, pp. 144–45. The concept of popular participation on the councils of the Peace of God movement has stimulated huge debate between historians. Supported by P. Bonnassie it was considered to be exaggerated by D. Barthelemy. See D. Barthelemy, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-ell eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des X^e et XI^e siècles* (Paris, 1997), pp. 298–99.

934G. Gonzalvo i Bou, 'Les Assemblees de Pau i Treva', *Revista de Dret Històric Català* 10 (2010), 95–103, p. 101. According to Bonnassie, the Peace and Truce of God movements provided the opportunity for the counts of Barcelona to establish their authority. See P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*, pp. 653–62. On the peculiar role of the lay magnates who were eventually not targeted as abusive oppressors in Catalonia see J. A. Bowman, 'Councils, Memory and mills: the early development of the Peace of God in Catalonia', *Early Medieval Europe* 8/1 (1999), 99–128, pp. 124–25.

levitae were responsible for the defence of the castles which was a typical Catalan phenomenon in the first half of the eleventh century, while from 1050s the situation slowly started changing, probably due to the reforming movements⁹³⁵. The letters of Gregory VII to the laity in 1078 raised the questions of abstention from the ministrations, offending clergy, clerical fornication and chastity. Legates and papal vicars had a responsibility for ensuring whether the papal decrees were maintained: in Catalonia an active papal vicar Amatus of Oloron attested the processes in Girona in 1078 against clerical fornication and simony⁹³⁶. Both cults, of Alexius and Gerald, might thus have found fruitful soil in Catalan religious institutions due to common tensions in ecclesiastical structures of tenth/eleventh centuries in Western European medieval society.

Furthermore, during the period when religious communities were seeking prestigious patron saints, the developing veneration of St. Alexius at the monastery of Sant Cugat had to be of particular importance. The papacy, still not a definitive authority throughout the tenth century, significantly expanded its influence in the eleventh and its dealings with the peripheral regions of Christendom were a major factor in asserting papal leadership of the wider church⁹³⁷. Given the increasing role of Rome for Western Christendom in the period preceding the First Crusade, the arrival of the cult of St. Alexius in the monastery of Sant Cugat directly from the Roman See obviously added prestige to this monastic community. In these historical conditions the liturgical veneration of St. Alexius in Catalonia made the Catalan counties symbolically a part of the orbit of Roman sacred power. Moreover, the clear emphasis in the *Vita Alexii* on the spiritually and politically unified Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire, via the images of two brother-emperors and the Pope – might have resonated with this new interest in the Eastern territories.

Another aspect of tenth/eleventh-century religious life that was to become particularly popular in the Catalan region was asceticism. As shown previously, the increase in the numbers of hermitages at the turn of the first millennium demonstrates the ascetic revival that emanated from the East and was mediated through southern Italian provinces to Western regions⁹³⁸. As an important, central hub between the Latin and Greek worlds Rome played a significant role in this transmission via the religious interactions of various monks and hermits

935M. Zimmermann, 'Le rôle de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne: IX–XII^{ème} siècle', in *Aragon en la Edad media*. Sesiones de trabajo, II Seminario de la Historia Medieval (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 7–29, p. 25. See also on such lay canons (*levitae*) in the Chapter of Vic in P. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic. Tradition and regeneration in medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp. 23 and 49–62. P. Freedman, 'L'influence wisigotique sur l'Église catalane', in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, eds. J. Fontaine, C. Pellistrandi (Madrid, 1992), pp. 69–79, p. 69.

936H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity of the Clergy', in *Popes and Church Reform in the 11th Century*, ed. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 269–302, p.281.

937H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Structure of the Church, 1024–1073', in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, pp. 229–67, p. 245.

938D. Baker, "'The Whole World a Hermitage": Ascetic Renewal and the Crisis of Western Monasticism', in *The Culture of Christendom. Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M.A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 207–23, p. 207.

who travelled through the city⁹³⁹. At this time, alongside the *Vita Alexii*, several other hagiographic lives of this type became popular, such as the *Vita Romualdi* written by Peter Damien around 1042⁹⁴⁰. The connections between Italian and Catalan hermits was not only due to the dissemination of texts, ideas and pre-reformation beliefs, but also due to the migration of several famous hermits, such as Romuald of Ravenna or Pietro Orseolo. Romuald of Ravenna (950–1027) lived as a hermit close to the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà in the 970s–980s. Romuald was also among those who accompanied Pietro Orseolo in his escape from Venice to this monastery, where he stayed from 978 to 988⁹⁴¹. Their stay at the monastery of Cuixà and the atmosphere of ‘spiritual intimacy’⁹⁴² that Romuald experienced with his friends, such as John Gradenigo and Oliba Cabreta, father of Bishop and Abbot Oliba, bears witness to the spiritual and intellectual proximity between both Italian and Catalan regions in the tenth century, and also points to a possible impact on the diffusion of this new hermit model of sanctity in Catalonia.

Moreover, the penetration of crucial contemporary ideals of monasticism into the secular elite *milieu* is illustrated by the proximity of some hermits who became significant religious and spiritual authorities at the turn of the first millennium, for example Adalbert of Prague, Neilos of Rossano, Romuald of Ravenne, Pietro de Orseolo etc. Even Emperor Otto III (996–1002) was very enthusiastic about the hermitage and saw St. Neilus as spiritual father⁹⁴³. Romuald was known to have a spiritual influence over the young emperor and encouraged him to undertake a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano in 999⁹⁴⁴. A number of Catalan secular and religious authorities also undertook the pilgrimages to the sanctuary Monte Gargano and Rome at the turn of the first millennium. The penetration of the monastic ideals in the life of noblemen and the dissemination of the veneration of the ‘lay saints’ cults is thus more than probable at the Mediterranean courts.

Therefore, the successful implementation of the cults of Alexius and Gerald in the Catalan region can, to some extent, be explained by the increasingly widespread hermitages in the Italian and Catalan regions. As the contemporary hagiographic accounts demonstrate, these hermitages were strongly supported by local secular elites and the parallels between Gerald as a model nobleman and Alexius as a model hermit are significant. Moreover, the

⁹³⁹See J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Le monachisme byzantin à Rome’, pp. 723–25.

⁹⁴⁰*Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco (Rome, 1957). See on the eremitic features in C. Phipps, ‘Romuald – Model Hermit: Eremitical Theory in Saint Peter Damian’s *Vita Beati Romualdi*, chapters 16–27’, in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils. *Studies in Church History* 22 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 65–77.

⁹⁴¹J.-L. Antoniazzi, ‘Une affaire diplomatique: la demande d’une relique insigne de Pierre Orseolo par la république de Venise à l’abbaye de Saint-Michel de Cuixà’, *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 43 (2012), 195–98, p. 195.

⁹⁴²More on the affection ‘amongst an ascetic elite’ see in D. Boquet, P. Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 116–19.

⁹⁴³See more in J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Otton III et les saints ascètes de son temps’, pp. 377–412; C. Caby, ‘Faire du monde un ermitage’, pp. 349–68. On the circles around Otto III including Abbot Leo of the monastery of SS. Bonifassio and Alessio see K. Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus. Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie* (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 216–23. See also *The Life of Saint Neilos of Rossano*, eds. R.L. Capra, I.A. Murzaku, D. J. Milewski, in *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 47 (Harvard, 2018), p. X.

⁹⁴⁴J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Otton III et les saints ascètes de son temps’, p. 394.

councils of the Peace and Truce of God movements, also organised in Catalonia, bear witness to the common concerns of the religious elite to perform the *correctio morum* for the good of society, which had become distant from religious ideals by the turn of the first millennium. These processes and expectations thus created fertile soil for the popularity, dissemination and entrenchment of both cults.

3. *Aristocratic Values of Nobility: The Image of the Good Sovereign and Pious Layman*

Having explored the echos of religious ideals and spiritual inspirations of contemporary society in the *Vita Alexii* and *Vita Geraldi*, it is worth observing the secular aristocratic values that are emphasised in both texts. Even if we consider that these values were shaped in the monastic environment they continued to carry Carolingian models of ideal noble behaviour.

The Carolingian and post-Carolingian aristocracy adhered, at least in theory, to a code of behaviour, according to which the most important qualities were that of the defender (being a warrior, able to fight and protect lands and subjects) and the judge (having legitimacy and exercising authority as a lord)⁹⁴⁵. Over the course of the tenth century, alongside the weakening of central power and the fragmentation of power to the local lords, noblemen were increasingly faced with the need to protect their lands. Moreover, their life was codified according to the concrete spiritual ideas that prevailed in society, actively underscored by the monastic circles. Noblemen were expected to be devout, good Christians and to demonstrate their piety through their patronage, giving gifts and building churches, and thus being actively integrated into the life of the Church as a religious institution. Beyond that, in line with biblical teachings, they had to think about their progeny and thus actively sought suitable marriage and creation of a family⁹⁴⁶. Numerous ‘mirrors for princes’ appeared in the late eighth/early ninth centuries, which provided the aristocracy with a model of moral public service⁹⁴⁷.

As mentioned above in the section dedicated to the meta-narrative insertions in the *Vita Geraldi*, the intended audience for the *Vita Geraldi* is still debated by scholars. In the preface Odo underlines that some people trying to excuse their own sins argue that Gerald, being powerful and rich, lives in the world but is yet considered a saint⁹⁴⁸. As S. Airlie points out, these people have been seeking to justify their sordid secular ways by misappropriating a

945D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow, 2006), pp. 72–3.

946J. Nelson, ‘Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, c.900’, in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 121–42, esp. pp. 126–27.

947On the exemplarity of the powerful sovereign and his service as a *Vicarius Dei* in the Carolingian tracts see in the fundamental study by H. H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968), esp. pp. 357–446.

948*Vita Geraldi* I, *Prefatio*; Odon de Cluny, p. 130.

saint, and it is exactly these aristocratic noblemen (*militēs*) who were Odo's intended audience⁹⁴⁹. J. Nelson develops this idea, adding that Odo wrote in and for a changed world. His public were the *pagenses* of Aurillac, and more broadly, the *potentes* of the Auvergne and the Limousin⁹⁵⁰. C. Lauranson-Rosaz tends to see the *Vita Geraldi* as a simultaneously monastic and aristocratic piece of work. He argues that this text was a mirror for princes, providing a model of a saint lay person from Southern France, and as such represents a vector of a certain aristocratic consciousness and acts as a vehicle for revealing the southern noble identity⁹⁵¹. Moreover, the *Vita Geraldi* obviously served as a model for the diffusion of other hagiographic texts, as the biographies of modern saints contain elements from this account⁹⁵².

However, many traits that were expected of a nobleman are circumvented in the *Vita Geraldi*. For example, as it was mentioned in the section on topoi, Gerald seeks to avoid marriage, preferring to remain in chastity, which does not correspond to common contemporary noble behaviour because in doing so he rejects dynastic values. Similarly, while he does perform his warrior duties, Gerald fights only in defence and with no intent to kill or punish. He leads his men, commanding them to fight with the backs of their swords and with their spears reversed to avoid the shedding of blood⁹⁵³. S. Fray calls this aspect of Gerald's behaviour '*une éthique inapplicable*' and thus insists on the fact that Odon aimed to instruct the lay aristocracy on the ethical use of arms⁹⁵⁴. R. Le Jan also claims that the *Vita* became a veritable mirror of a knighthood who should bear the sword against the enemies of the Church and to fight those who oppress people⁹⁵⁵. Furthermore, she suggests that Odo defined the mission of the *armata militia*, the concept that took shape under the Carolingians (as *miles Christi* by Hrabanus Maurus), but was developed in the context of the tenth century to emphasise the knights as peace-makers and protectors of the Church who were ideally receptive to monastic penance⁹⁵⁶. Considering that the disorder of the tenth century made church institutions pay particular attention to the protection of ecclesiastical property, the *Vita Geraldi* might represent a belief of the religious elites in an ideal knight and a hope to reveal the ideal exemplary moral of noblemen defending the Church and promoting peace. As such the *Vita Geraldi* is less a real 'mirror for princes' than an eloquent tool shaping the popular and necessary concept in society at the turn of the first millennium.

949S. Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', pp. 373, 387 and 394.

950J. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity', p. 126.

951C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'La Vie de Géraud, vecteur d'une certaine conscience aristocratique dans le Midi de la Gaule', p. 158.

952P. Facciotto, 'Moments et lieux de la tradition manuscrite de la *Vita Geraldi*', p. 232.

953'[...] *suis imperiosa voce precepit, mucronibus gladiatorum tetro actis, hastas inantea dirigentes pugnarent*'. *Vita Geraldi* I, 8; Odon de Cluny, p. 144.

954 S. Fray, *L'aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d'Olt et de Dordogne (X^e-XI^e siècles)*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Université Paris-Sorbonne 1, 2011), pp. 540-46.

955R. Le Jan, 'Continuity and Change in the Tenth-Century Nobility', in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, origins, transformations*, ed. A. J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 2000) pp. 53-68, p. 61.

956R. Le Jan, 'Continuity and Change in the Tenth-Century Nobility', pp. 65-7.

Lauranson-Rosaz also points out that the *Vita Geraldi* is characterised by a regret of ancient aristocratic values and the monastic desire for a new ideal⁹⁵⁷. The combination of these contradictory features makes one doubt that this text was created for practical use, as a typical layman mirror aimed at a particular individual. The *Vita Geraldi* rather could be seen as providing subtle advice to a broader noble audience or rather as a carefully formulated aspiration from a monastic perspective for justice and the diminished violence the Church expected from an ideal nobleman, or even an ideal knight. Therefore, although the *Vita Geraldi* does contain several elements of the Carolingian *speculum laicorum*, it was nonetheless aimed at both the religious and secular worlds, while primarily reflecting the concerns of the religious circles on the aristocracy.

The text thus reflects the major preoccupations of the ecclesiastical authorities in the tenth century. The ninth/tenth centuries saw debates on monastic purity as well as the development of a more positive attitude to secular power⁹⁵⁸. Both find their expression in hagiographic accounts of Gerald. In the *Vita Geraldi* through several meta-narrative insertions the narrator (and possibly the author too) reveals the desire of reformers to improve the monastic audience. For example, commenting upon Gerald's decision to remain in the world, the narrator implicitly complains about the corrupted mores of some monks⁹⁵⁹. He adds then that Gerald exercised the monastic profession through his devotion to Christ⁹⁶⁰. This might have been intended as both a convincing argument to those who doubt Gerald's devotion, and as an appeal to the aristocracy to increase their devotional practices⁹⁶¹. This creates a dialogue between several potential groups of readers and allows us to see in the *Vita Geraldi* a medium which may have found feedback from the audience, not only religious but also the 'cultural laity'⁹⁶².

If the *Vita Geraldi* is embedded with both implicit and explicit references to ecclesiastical structures, the *Vita Alexii* is by comparison not focused on the image of a pious knight defending justice and the Church, nor on the ecclesiastical world. The only exception is the image of a powerful Pope, possibly aiming to reinforce Roman prestige. Perhaps the closest point of comparison between both hagiographic accounts from this perspective might be their role in shaping the model of lay sanctity. St. Alexius was never a priest nor a monk,

957C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'La Vie de Géraud, vecteur d'une certaine conscience aristocratique dans le Midi de la Gaule', p. 159.

958J. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity', p. 141.

959'*Sed cum esset providis, considerans quia professores sublimis propositi, dum seculi amore corrumpuntur, gravius ab alto ruunt, sacius estimavit sic stare quam absque probatis cooperatoribus tam rem arduam adtemptare*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 16; Odon de Cluny, pp. 216–18.

960'*Si igitur votum illius inspicias, monastice professionis fidem Christo per devotionem servavit*'. *Vita Geraldi* II, 16; Odon de Cluny, p. 218.

961On aristocratic devotion see D. Baker, 'Vir dei: Secular Sanctity in the Early Tenth Century', p. 51. On the ascetic pilgrim with a sword in his hand, in line with the burgeoning crusades see J. Flori, 'Croisade et chevalerie. Convergence idéologique ou rupture?', in *Femmes, mariages, lignages, XII^e-XVI^e siècles. Mélanges offertes à Georges Duby*, eds. J. Dufournet, A. Joris, P. Toubert (Bruxelles, 1992), 157–76.

962On the concept of the 'cultural clergy' and 'cultural laity' and their role in controlling the media production see A. Spencer-Hall, *Medieval Saints and Modern Screens. Divine Visions as Cinematic Experience* (Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 50–51.

he never converted people to the faith nor fulfilled any miracles during his life. He lived a pious poor life, praying all the time, but never leaving the secular world as he always stayed in big cities⁹⁶³. This model might have been addressed towards the laity for their edification, teaching them about spiritual poverty and care towards the Church⁹⁶⁴. Moreover, the cult of St. Alexius had already found a lay audience in the eleventh century. According to Peter Damian (1007–1072), the faithful eagerly attended churches on his feast day, July 17, for they apparently were interested in the legend's unusual novelty⁹⁶⁵. Therefore, from the eleventh century on, St. Alexius gained veneration in very different social layers. His legend became so popular that *joculatores* ('players') represented it in the market squares⁹⁶⁶. In the twelfth century, he was venerated among the burgher class in Germany, France, Italy and the Low Countries. Later the reform-minded clerics and the new orders preached about him, and their conserved sermons show that people addressed their prayers to St. Alexius, seeking for help in their time of need and treating him as a shining example of the renunciation of prestige, riches, and family ties⁹⁶⁷.

The analysis of both saints as models for the laity demonstrates that the features akin to a 'mirror for princes' in these texts should be perceived as a broader rhetorical tool rather than practical advice aimed at an individual ruler. The initial aim of the texts was to promote the ideals and concerns of religious elites about contemporary society, which, in terms of the noble laity was primarily focused on their behaviour and *correctionem*. Nevertheless, both cults found their audience beyond religious circles. Both saints, Alexius and Gerald can be thus seen as the characters of hagiographic media that aimed at remodeling society through further stressing a fervent devotion to God. If St. Alexius symbolised the purity and refusal of earthly temptations in the tradition of the early fathers from the desert, it was the destiny of St. Gerald to overcome the primary peaceful intentions of Cluniac ideology to struggle against violence for justice. His fame as a knight was particularly important in popular culture, and it is no surprise that in the thirteenth century his cult was often particularly venerated by military orders⁹⁶⁸.

4. Miles Christi and the Dawn of the Crusades: the Iberian Peninsula and Multi-ethnic Coexistence

Finally, the realities of conflict and military matters, which were so crucial for contemporary society in the Catalan region at the turn of the first millennium, also suggest a

963U. Mölk, 'La Chanson de saint Alexis et le culte du saint en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', p. 355.

964C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'La Vie de Géraud, vecteur d'une certaine conscience aristocratique', p. 178.

965Petrus Damianus, *Sermones*. Sermo 28, PL, cols. 652–660. col. 655.

966See P. Golinelli, 'Velut Alter Alexius The Saint Alexis Model in Medieval Hagiography', p. 142.

967See L.J. Engels, 'The Western European Alexius Legend', p. 104.

968For example, in Manosque (Haute-Provence), the Order of Hospitallers possessed relics of St. Gerald in the chapel of their palace, since at least 1283. See D. Carraz, 'Saint Géraud et le culte des saints guerriers en France méridionale (X^e–XII^e siècles)', *Revue de la Haute-Auvergne* (2010), 91–114, p. 113.

reason for the particular veneration of St. Gerald. As a border region, Catalonia was characteristically unstable and vulnerable, surviving numerous Muslim attacks and embarking on its own military expeditions into neighbouring territory. For this reason, the role of the knight defender was relevant not only in the context of the Peace and Truce of God movement, but also in the context of the military operations, where the knight was perceived as the defender of the Christian faith. St. Gerald provided a fitting model within which this role could be emphasised alongside other aspects of the ideal nobleman.

From the ninth century on, developing chivalric ethics, that encouraged noblemen to protect their servants and their lands, received a pivotal place in the post-Carolingian system of values⁹⁶⁹. By the year 1000 a new social world was forming, dominated by an elite that intellectual religious circles hoped to educate in the model of the pious Christian ruler, promoting and defending the peace⁹⁷⁰. In the circumstances of a new political world, however, a peaceful model of saint confessor that had been common for the tenth century turned into a new model closer to that of military saints or soldiers of Christ (*miles Christi*)⁹⁷¹.

According to D. Carraz, while the sanctified sovereigns of the 970s–980s, namely Wenceslav of Bohemia or Edmond of East Anglia, suffered their martyrdom peacefully, from the end of the eleventh century this image transformed into paragons of holy warriors⁹⁷². A number of older revitalised and more recent newer saints, such as Gandulf or William of Gellone, belong to this new category of military saints⁹⁷³. In his *Libri historiarum* Radulf Glaber (985–1047) mentions how a monk named Wulferius had a vision of the dead warriors who had fallen in the battle against Muslims. They appeared to Wulferius in the church as a group of men dressed in white robes and wearing purple stoles, the mark of martyrdom⁹⁷⁴. This vision illustrates the common contemporary image of a holy warrior and sheds light on the ideas of the Peace of God movement, which permitted military actions for the defence of the country and of the faith.

969On the Carolingian ideas and the discussion in the scholarship concerning the ideals of chivalry see R. Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in Carolingian Empire*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4/81 (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 106–11.

970R. Le Jan, 'Continuity and Change in the Tenth-Century Nobility', p. 68. T. Noble, 'Introduction', in *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. T. F. X. Noble, T. Head (Pennsylvania, 2000), pp. XLII–XLIV. Also on the clerical perception of knights see R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2006) [1999], esp. pp. 63–87.

971On the shaping of the *miles Christi* see A. Vauchez, 'La notion de *Miles Christi* dans la spiritualité occidentale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', in *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècle*, eds. M. Aurell, C. Girbea (Rennes, 2011), pp. 67–76. M. Zimmermann, 'Le rôle de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne: IX–XII^e siècle', in *Aragon en la Edad media*. Sesiones de trabajo, II Seminario de la Historia Medieval (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 7–29, p. 25.

972D. Carraz, 'Saint Géraud et le culte des saints guerriers', p. 97.

973S. Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', p. 385. S. Fagiolo, 'San Guillermo de Gellone, caballero y monje', *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval* X/20 (2018), 25–42.

974*Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque*, II, IX 19. In Raoul Glaber, *Les cinq livres de ses histoires (900–1044)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1886), pp. 45–6. See also these alternative critical editions: *Rodolfo il Glabro: Cronache dell' anno mille*, eds. G. Cavallo and G. Orlandi (Milano, 1989); and *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. J. France, (Oxford 1989).

The Cluniac writings obviously promoted the image of monks as *militia*, fighting in God's service against supernatural forces, which became an important motif for tenth/eleventh-century monasticism⁹⁷⁵. The appeal of the motif was its positivity: a warrior can be Christian knight while defending his faith, not while aggressing against other Christians. S. Fray argues that in the *Vita prolixior prima* of St. Gerald Odo of Cluny uses the term *miles* in a polysemantic way: while traditionally the term was used to refer to the spiritual struggle against vices of the monks, this was not the case with regard to describing the layman Gerald⁹⁷⁶. The *Vita Geraldi* is thus a perfect example of a pious peaceful layman exerting justice by sword only in critical situations. It is interesting that later, in the context of the crusades, the image of a good count received a more martial interpretation: the *Vita Geraldi* became a frequent lecture among the armed pilgrims from the end of the eleventh- to the end of the twelfth centuries⁹⁷⁷.

For the first time in the history of Christian models, Odo shows that a lay person engaged in the military profession can be saint. Gerald was certainly not a monk, but his biographer prepared the ground for a new conception: that a *miles*, exerting his military function, could pursue ethical or religious aims⁹⁷⁸. Odo combined Gerald's chivalry with his sanctity, building thus the prototype of a generous and pious knight. D. Barthelemy, however, reckons that the *Vita Geraldi* was far from the idea of Christianising the knighthood because Gerald wanted to escape his worldly duties and take the cloth. While he is unable to do so, Barthelemy considers Gerald as a model for escaping from secular duties and thus any ideal of military sanctity⁹⁷⁹. Certainly, from a practical perspective, this division between secular responsibilities and a spiritual freedom was a stark one but for Odo, in his *Vita*, the blending of these worlds and their ideologies was possible. D. Carraz highlights that it was a reason why the compilation of such lives of saint confessors remained only a temporal phenomenon of the tenth century, in response to monastic ideas about the sanctity⁹⁸⁰. Therefore, from a military perspective, in the same way as with the aristocratic audience, the *Vita Geraldi* demonstrates its fictional nature, being rather a rhetorical tool, a desired state of mind, than the reality.

In eleventh/twelfth-century Western Europe, some of the *vitae* of Carolingian or post-Carolingian saints contributed further to this atmosphere of sacralised struggle, even before the first Crusade⁹⁸¹. Before the middle of the eleventh century there were few descriptions of

975P. G. Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution*, p. 42.

976On the understanding of the monastic *militia* against the vice see R. Grégoire, 'Esegesi biblica e "militia christi"', in "*Militia Christi*" e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII, *Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio (Mendola, 28 agosto–1 settembre 1989)*. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13 (Milano, 1992), pp. 21–45. See S. Fray, L'aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d'Olt et de Dordogne, p. 257.

977D. Carraz, 'Saint Géraud et le culte des saints guerriers', p. 100.

978D. Iogna-Prat, 'La Vita Geraldi d'Odon de Cluny: un texte fondateur?', p. 148.

979D. Barthelemy, *Chevaliers et miracles. La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale* (Paris, 2004), p. 64.

980D. Carraz, 'Saint Géraud et le culte des saints guerriers', p. 111.

981C. Morris, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle Before and During the First Crusade', in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood. *Studies in Church History* 30 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 93–104, p. 99.

those who fell in battle against pagans as being martyrs⁹⁸². However, the idea that martyrdom could be acquired on the battle field seems to have been elaborated and accepted by the monks and the laity well before the Clermont Council in 1095⁹⁸³. J. Flori underscores the changing perception of the notion of ‘martyr’ from the early Christian period, arguing that from the model of martyr as a passive victim, never resistant nor aggressive, it transformed to a martyr for the faith, attributed to Christian warriors who died in the battle⁹⁸⁴. The growth of pilgrimages and crusading during the eleventh century represented the increasing spiritual self-awareness of the laity and concern for their own salvation⁹⁸⁵. Furthermore, the papacy was not strong enough to promise salvation to faithful warriors and, either to provide them with the status of martyrdom or to grant to them indulgences, before the eleventh century⁹⁸⁶. After the First Crusade, the concept of ‘martyrdom’ included three categories: 1) those who died of disease on the crusade; 2) the ‘conventional martyrs’, priests and laymen who were killed when they were non-combatants or were unarmed or because they refused to renounce the Christian faith; 3) those who were killed in battle⁹⁸⁷. A renewed comprehension of ‘martyr’ thus embraced several different possibilities to acquire this status, the most important to be defending the faith against the unfaithful. Therefore, a pivotal role for the defining of the new category of saints was played by the image of an enemy. The religious enemy was not only in the East, menacing the Holy Land, however, but even closer, attacking from the south. The notion of a sacralised struggle received particular tension regarding the border situation on the Iberian Peninsula, where the proximity to their Muslim neighbours always played a crucial role⁹⁸⁸.

982Ibid., p. 93.

983J. Flori, ‘Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L’exemple de la première croisade’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 134 (1991), 121–39, p. 122.

984Ibid., p. 139.

985S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (Harlow, 2013), p. 310.

986C. Morris, ‘Martyrs on the Field of Battle’, p. 95

987J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 2003) [1993], pp. 114–15.

⁹⁸⁸Further, during the eleventh century, the successful steps of the Reconquista received spiritual and political support from the papacy. Pope Alexander II (1062–1073) encouraged the knights into a permissible war against the Muslims, relieving them from penance and granting them forgiveness for their sins. In his letter to the Spanish bishops (1063 or 1064) he stressed that the war is waged justly against those who persecute Christians and expel them from their cities and own homes (*‘In illos enim, qui Christianos persequuntur et ex urbibus et propriis sedibus pellunt, juste pugnantur’*. *Alexandri II pontificis Romani epistolae et diplomata*, PL 148, col. 1387A). The Spanish bishops preached the triumph of the cross and the count Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) in 1058, on the dedication of the Barcelona cathedral, expressed the hope that the cross would advance victoriously further in Spain. In 1089 Urban II himself had proposed to the faithful of Catalonia that its support of the frontier church of Tarragona would merit the same spiritual rewards which an individual might achieve by means of a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem or elsewhere. Encouraged by his words, Count Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona pledged to restore Tarragona and promised to pay an annual tribute. Urban II also pushed for the collaboration of the counts of Barcelona and Urgell and gave the title of Archbishop of Tarragona to Bishop Berenguer Sunifred de Lluça of Vic (1076–99) in 1091. See E.-D. Hehl, ‘War, Peace and the Christian order’, in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, pp.185–228, p.197. M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1998) [1993], p. 2–3. P. Kehr, *Die ältesten Papsturkunden Spaniens*. *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2 (Berlin, 1926), no.23, pp. 287–88. *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1955), no.29,

Throughout the tenth century, the alliance with the powerful caliphate of Cordoba gave Catalonia a window on the Islamic world and the position of a privileged intermediary between Christendom and Islam. Catalonia was a frontier zone and a zone of interchange: it encouraged cultural and commercial exchanges, making Catalonia highly favourable to encounters between the Christian and Arabic worlds⁹⁸⁹. Several agreements were concluded between them from 940 to 974 which made Catalonia dependent on the caliphate until the defeat of the Catalans during the Al-Mansur's attack on Barcelona in 985⁹⁹⁰. After the sack of Barcelona, the Catalan counts sought allies in developing the frontier, and the well-endowed ecclesiastical institutions, headed by their relatives and relatives of their viscounts, proved ready to assist⁹⁹¹. One of the richest and most powerful polities in Western Europe in the tenth century, the caliphate of Cordoba nevertheless faced a crisis immediately after the death of Al-Mansur's son and successor, Al-Muzaffar, in 1008⁹⁹². By 1013 the power of Cordoba was broken, and Al-Andalus broke up into a number of different polities, each with his own court and capital. The political history of the Taifa period (1010–1086) was thus dominated by rivalries and mergers between the kingdoms and the slow process of Christian domination⁹⁹³.

The bishops Arnulf of Vic, Odo of Girona and Aeci of Barcelona participated in the Catalan expedition against Cordoba in 1010 where they lead forces into conflicts with both Islamic and Christian foes. During the Reconquista they acquired rights in various castles⁹⁹⁴. These bishops fell in the battle, but, as Kosto underscores, it is important to remember that they died fighting for Islamic allies, supporters of the caliph Al-Mahdi, in one of the first open contests for power after the collapse of unitary Islamic rule⁹⁹⁵. Considering the constant military participation of the Catalan religious elites it is possible that the message in the *Vita Geraldi* was aimed not only at noble laymen but also at clerics at war. In this case the good use of arms in the battle and the appeal to the defensive strategy for shedding less blood makes more sense. Certainly, clerics who engaged too willfully in typically secular and military exploits were quickly chastised by their fellow clergy⁹⁹⁶. By contrast, the passivity of Gerald in combat provides clergymen at war with a suitable middle ground that simultaneously tempers and justifies their involvement. We might say that the author of the

pp. 46–7. J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 24, 32. A. Kosto, *Making Agreements in medieval Catalonia*, p. 205.

989E. g. M. Zimmermann, 'Le rôle de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne: IX–XII^{ème} siècle', pp. 13–15.

990M. Zimmermann, 'Western Francia: the Southern Principalities', p. 447.

991A. Kosto, *Making Agreements in medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 180.

992H. Kennedy, 'Muslim Spain and Portugal: al-Andalus and its Neighbours', in *New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, pp. 599–622, esp. pp. 599–601.

993Ibid., p. 604.

994A. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia*, p.178.

995A. Kosto, 'Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Histories of Iberia, ca. 1000–1200', in *European Transformations. The Long Twelfth Century*, eds. T. X. Noble, J. H. van Engen (Notre-Dame, 2012), pp. 93–116, p. 98.

⁹⁹⁶ For example, the Anglo-Norman monk Orderic Vitalis criticises several clergymen who preferred military exploits to their religious duties: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT, 1969–1980), vol. 2, III, pp. 74–7, vol. 6, VIII, pp. 278–79.

Vita Geraldi employed these military themes in two ways, as a rhetorical tool aimed at the laity that emphasised the need for control and correction, and as more direct and practical guidance for religious men who found themselves on the front lines.

Regarding the *Vita Alexii*, its Roman version does not provide any military context nor image of combatants and is more focused on the ideal of hermitage. However, this might have also played an important role in the militant context on the borders with the Muslim world. R. Ordeig i Mata, exploring the bequests of tenth-century Catalonia, confirms that the tenth-century Church suggested three methods for the remission of sins: 1) alms; 2) pilgrimage to the tomb of any apostle or martyr; 3) retirement from the world. Studying the Osona diocese, Ordeig assumes that throughout the tenth century people lived with a feeling of anxiety, expecting the return of the Muslims and new raids⁹⁹⁷. Thus, if St. Gerald represents the Carolingian and Cluniac ideas of the *miles Christi* and the inspiring active rhetorical model of behaviour, St. Alexius introduces another peaceful and passive model for avoiding any violent acts. Both were relevant for contemporary society and can be seen as a spiritual answer to the permanent military conflicts in the Iberian Peninsula

Therefore, throughout the eleventh century, Catalan bishops and counts were actively interacting with both various allies among the Muslims who were struggling against one another, and also with the papacy with regards to the holy war against the unfaithful on the Iberian Peninsula. Catalonia, being a part of Christendom, unified by the common idea of Crusade and defence of the Christian faith, on the one hand, and dealing with a specific border situation on the other, might be seen as a potentially favorable recipient of hagiographical production that embedded the relevant ideas of that time. This context was favourable for shaping the image of the Other (as I show in Chapter Four) as well as for projecting the image of the Christian knight, and from this perspective St. Gerald might have received a notorious reception in religious sensibilities in the Catalan region. This rhetorical tool nevertheless remained prudent advice for the noblemen at the border and it is possible that the text might have played a more important role in the guidance for clerics who were not only metaphorically but often practically the *miles Christi*, providing a more flexible middle ground when necessity dictated their involvement in matters they were supposed to avoid.

Conclusion

During the tenth and eleventh centuries medieval society in Western Europe was undergoing changes at all levels. The disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, the growing power of local noblemen and the evolution of the structures of feudal society led to increasing political fragmentation and instability. The loss of spiritual ideals within the secular and regular clergy brought resentment in religious circles. Thus, propelled by these problems, intellectual religious minds set out to reform society. Their attempts resulted in the establishment of the Peace and the Truce of God, the unification of religious rules for the

⁹⁹⁷ R. Ordeig i Mata, *Els orígens històrics de Vic*, pp. 74–76.

clergy, and the restoration and strengthening of the authority of powerful religious structures. In these socio-political conditions hagiography played the role of promoting these new structures and ideals.

From the tenth century onwards Western European society was guided by a tendency to integrate into a wider world. The spirit of the monastic reforms of the tenth century were held onto and would lead to those of the twelfth century, for which the identity of a monastic house would be stronger than identities as the family of some local saint⁹⁹⁸. The local saints thus overcame the borders between their communities and some of them, propelled by political will or by growing popular devotion, obtained a universal status. At the same time, political changes and the maturing of the monastic ecclesiology affected the development of the sanctity as it was shaped within the big ecclesiastical institutions⁹⁹⁹. Both, St. Alexius and St. Gerald were the fruit of Rome and Cluny, the most powerful structures in tenth/eleventh-century Europe. It is possible to assume that the dissemination of St. Alexius's cult was due to Roman religious institutions, while the cult of St. Gerald rather spread through the Cluniac network. The cult of St. Alexius propelled by the papacy reached Catalonia where the Sant Cugat del Vallès monastery became the first hotbed of the veneration of this Roman saint. St. Gerald arrived by the network of Benedictine and Cluniac monasteries from Aquitania, took deep roots in the region according to the liturgical testimonies and possibly received a favourable reception in the *milieu* of many powerful laymen and powerful bishops intended to follow the reformed prescriptions.

Both Alexius and Gerald received an increasing veneration in the Catalan region from the end of the tenth century on. Their hagiographic accounts reflect the contextual changes in society at the turn of the first millennium, such as the strong integration between the secular and religious worlds and the preoccupation with ascetic behaviour through the revived ascetic models. Some of the analysed narratological patterns allow us to follow the implicit appeal for the hermitage and for the improvement of monks' behaviour. Furthermore, the structural elements revealed here, which include the itineraries, the miraculous image and the compunctive effect, demonstrate the way in which hagiographic texts developed and spread their new and increasingly relevant ideas to contemporary society. The valorisation of specific aspects of lay behaviour, of being a pious and fair governor, echoes contemporary social problems and places both lives in the context of the Peace and Truce of God movement.

Through their pious behaviour, both St. Alexius and St. Gerald's lives may have simultaneously targeted different social groups: the religious and the secular, from the rich noblemen to the lower classes. They represented the model of layman, generous, pious, full of devotion, chaste, consecrating his life to God. It was a clear attempt to valorise lay behaviour if it was combined with a strong religious faith. This model is expressed in two ways within our saint's lives: of staying in the world while remaining pious (St. Gerald) and of escaping from the world (the more radical option of St. Alexius). It stresses thus two main tendencies

998P. Geary, *Furta sacra: thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages*, p. 25.

999P. Henriot, 'Sainteté', in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, p. 1273.

of the tenth and eleventh centuries: first the accessibility of divine mercy, which could be reached by all, and the potential for sanctity simply via accomplishing good acts during one's earthly life, and second the hermitage as another means of salvation for laymen.

The speed at which the veneration of both cults spread bears witness to two crucial factors. On the one hand, it proves their effectiveness for the target audience and on the other demonstrates the clear interest of religious authorities (most likely the papacy and the Cluny congregation) that was necessary to make these cults popular. The attention to Rome and papacy in the *vitae*, the importance of pilgrimages to the sacred locations, the promotion of pious and generous behaviour in comparison to heroic deeds, and the tendency to embrace the whole of Christendom, respond to the crucial themes and expectations for society at the turn of the first millennium. The main concerns of tenth/eleventh century society are expressed in both texts: the desired emphasis on the spiritual to the detriment of the material, the need for the *correctio* of the religious and secular world, through improving the moral behaviour and appealing for the defence of the Christian values. The aristocratic enthusiasm for the hermitage, the Carolingian trope of a mirror for princes, the model of *miles Christi*, –all these topics, expressed through the hagiographic medium, were intended for both secular and religious elites, whether as a practical message of guidance or as an expression of an ideal. Therefore, the diffusion of both cults was strongly connected to contemporary political and religious strategies in the tenth/eleventh centuries. The presence of these two saints and the promotion of their cults in Catalonia thus refined the idea of a globalising Christendom, engendered by the Carolingians.

Chapter Four. Multifaceted Liturgy: *Passio Imaginis Domini* and Visualising Devotion

Having its origins in the East, the legend of the Crucifix that survived the Passion through the blasphemy arrived in Western Europe with the Second Council of Nicaea (787). The sermon on the subject, erroneously attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria (300–373), was read and written up at the Council¹⁰⁰⁰. This sermon recounts an incident of Jewish blasphemy over the Image of Christ, which had occurred in Beirut. The story goes that once, at a dinner at someone's house in Beirut, the Jews noticed the Icon of Christ hanging on the wall (apparently left by the previous owner). Having decided to reproduce the act of their ancestors, the Jews crucified the Image again. The Image suddenly started bleeding, and with the blood also came out water. Astonished, the Jews brought both the water and the blood to the Synagogue, remembering that the Christians pretended they can heal. Indeed, healing miracles happened there, leading to the conversion of all the witnesses to Christianity¹⁰⁰¹.

This text, named later the Beirut legend, became known in the West in the Latin translation of the Nicaean acts, but was largely disseminated later in the translation made by Anastasius the Librarian around 873, as both M. Bacci and J.-M. Sansterre argue¹⁰⁰². The acknowledgement by the Carolingians of the decisions—and possibly of the texts—issued from the Nicaean Council, can be confirmed by their *Capitulare adversus synodum* (791) as well as by entire polemics developed afterwards¹⁰⁰³. Coming from the Eastern Mediterranean sphere, this Beirut legend constituted part of a broad field of discussion on the iconoclasm and the role of material object in the veneration of the Divinity¹⁰⁰⁴.

Several important issues come out from this text: the 'sacred' and its boundaries, the 'miraculous' and the witnesses of the miracle, the power of the image and its agency, the

1000J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence/Venise, 1759–1798, 31 vols), XIII: col. 23–32. This text is the Latin translation by Anastasius the Librarian of the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (BHL4227), which has recently been published in *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV–V*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3, part 2. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Series Secunda (Berlin, 2012), pp. 316–31.

1001M. Bacci, 'The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998), 1–16, pp. 4–6. As mentions Lamberz, for this sermon there has been no critical edition yet. See *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV–V*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3, part 2 p. IX.

1002M. Bacci, 'The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office', p. 4; J.-M. Sansterre, 'L'image blessée, l'image souffrante: quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VI^e–XII^e siècle)', in *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales: Pour une histoire comparée, Atti del convegno Roma, 19–20. VI. 1998* (Bruxelles/Rome, 1999), pp. 113–30, p. 117.

1003A. Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the "Libri Carolini"', *Viator* (1985), 65–108, pp. 75–81.

1004M. Bacci reveals the Byzantine context and the Greek versions of the Beirut legend in order to demonstrate its penetration into the Orthodox homiliaries from the 10th century onwards. See M. Bacci, "'Quel bello miracolo onde si fa la festa del santo Salvatore': studio sulle metamorfosi di una leggenda", in *Santa Croce i Santo Volto. Contributi allo studio dell'origine e della fortuna del culto del Salvatore (secoli IX–XV)*, ed. G. Rossetti (Pisa, 2002), pp. 7–86, esp. pp. 10–16.

visualising of the invisible. The text tells us about the image and the image emerges from the text – from this entanglement a new understanding of the Crucifix took shape.

Apparently, the diffusion of the Beirut legend in different religious communities galvanised a particular veneration of the Crucifix. The Passion of Christ gained an important place in Carolingian theological discourse, focused primarily on the development of Christological doctrines. A hundred years later, at the end of the tenth century, some liturgical books start to mention a feast described as the *Passio Imaginis Domini*. The first regions in Western Europe which attested to the liturgical celebration of this feast were Catalonia and Aquitania.

It appears that the *topos* of the miraculous image of Christ was known before the iconoclast controversy of the eighth century. For the first time the story of the icon which started bleeding after the Jew had pierced it is attested in the *Liber miraculorum* by Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century¹⁰⁰⁵. Another early witness to the role of an image of Christ, also dated to the sixth century, belongs to the Narbonne church. It relates to a vision of Christ who appeared to a priest ordering him to clothe His naked body as it was depicted on the Cross¹⁰⁰⁶. As a consequence, the bishop of Narbonne instituted the ritual of veiling and unveiling of the Cross¹⁰⁰⁷. The fact that the earliest witnesses of the miraculous Crucifix in the Occident are attested in the Narbonne region demonstrates that narrative tradition on the miraculous Crucifix already existed there. This strong Septimanian tradition of interest in miraculous images of Christ that show signs of life might have created favourable ground for the arrival of the later account on the Beirut Icon which reinforced this theme topic.

The material signs of crosses and crucifix in the West had been increasing since the Carolingian era (as evidenced by the famous wooden crucifix, the Volto Santo from Lucca that served as model for multiple forms of Christ on the Cross). The connection between the Beirut Crucifix (*icona, imago*) and the Volto Santo is fundamentally based on their attribution to Nicodemus¹⁰⁰⁸. The pre-ninth-century Crucifixions normally represented the iconographic type called *Christus triumphans* (or Christ in Majesty), while under the Carolingians from the ninth century onwards, there are new motifs diffusing: Christ receiving a wreath, the snake beneath Christ's feet on the Cross, *Ecclesia* raising the chalice to catch Christ's blood, until

1005J.-M. Sansterre, 'L'image blessée, l'image souffrante: quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VI^e-XII^e siècle)', p. 115.

1006Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. XXIII, PL 71, col. 724–25. See the MGH critical edition: *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis. Miracula et opera minora*, ed. B. Krusch. MGH SS. rer. Merov. I, 2 (Hannover, 1969) [repr. 1885].

1007See J.-Cl. Schmitt, 'Rituels de l'image et récits de vision', in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 419–59, esp. pp. 423–24. Gregory of Tours gave no date for this incident. For the bibliography on this question see *Gregory of Tours. Glory of the Martyrs*, transl. and ed. R. Van Dam (Liverpool, 2004) [1988], p. 21, n. 26.

1008See M. Bacci, 'Berardenga Antependium', p. 9 and his references to P. Luiso, *La leggenda del Volto Santo. Storia di un cimelio* (Pescia, 1928), pp. 36–7 and 40, C. Frugoni, 'Una proposta per il Volto Santo', in *Il volto Santo. Storia e culto*, ed. C. Baracchini, M. T. Filieri (Lucca, 1982), pp. 15–48, esp. pp. 18–9.

the Christ suffering or dead, with His head slumped to the side (*Christus patiens*)¹⁰⁰⁹. J.-M. Sansterre refers to multiple testimonies that underline the veneration of the images in the West in the eighth and ninth centuries¹⁰¹⁰.

Nevertheless, the Iberian Peninsula manifested a relative absence of cult images until the twelfth century¹⁰¹¹ that is exceptional when compared to other Western regions, where images of the cross were flourishing, especially from the ninth century onwards (e.g. in 878 Charles the Bald offers the golden crucifix to the Pope,¹⁰¹² and in the tenth century the famous Gero-Kreuz manifests the earliest depiction of *Christus patiens*). Catalan iconographical heritage instead apparently follows the common Iberian pattern: the well-known Catalan Majesties appear from the twelfth century on. In the scholarship an emphasis was often put on the common iconographical tradition for Catalan Majesties and the Italian Volto Santo¹⁰¹³.

The Beirut legend, in its turn, not only influenced the visionary side of the medieval imagination expressed in the iconography, but also penetrated into the medieval liturgy. From the tenth century onwards, liturgical sources, such as martyrologies, calendars and sacramentaries, include references to the feast called *Passio Imaginis Domini*, and celebrated it on November 9, as will be shown in this chapter. The eleventh century witnesses the elaboration of the mass for this day. The Proper of the mass reproduces, however, the text for other feasts, in particular those of Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. The liturgy of the Cross, attested since the Early Middle Ages, developed further under the Carolingians, and can be also considered an important factor in the formation of several Christological doctrines: the Vision of the Cross to the Emperor Constantine; the Invention of the Cross; the Exaltation of the Cross¹⁰¹⁴; Good Friday¹⁰¹⁵; the Dedication of Lateran basilica.

1009J. Reil, *Christus am Kreuz in der Bildkunst der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1930). E. Saxon, 'Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. I. C. Levy, G. Macy, K. Van Ausdall (Leiden/Boston, 2012), pp. 251–324, esp. p. 259. C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 62–3.

1010J.-M. Sansterre, 'La vénération des images à Rome et en Italie', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 49 (Spoleto, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 993–1050, esp. pp. 1010–15.

1011J.-M. Sansterre, P. Henriot, 'De l'*inanimis imago* à l'*omagem mui bella*. Méfiance à l'égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l'Espagne médiévale (VII^e–XIII^e siècle)', *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 10 (2009), 37–92, pp. 78–9.

1012D. Alibert, 'Note sur le crucifix de Saint-Pierre de Rome', *Bullettino dell'Instituto italiano per il Medio Evo* 99 (1993), 319–42.

1013See such studies as *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa, 1120–1180*, ed. M. Castiñeiras, J. Camps (Barcelona, 2008). *Envisioning Christ on the Cross. Ireland and the early Medieval West*, ed. J. Mullins, J. Ní Ghrádaigh, R. Hawtree (Dublin, 2013). M. Jorba i Valero, *Les majestats de la Cerdanya* (La Seu d'Urgell, 2017).

1014The Exaltation of the Cross (*Exaltatio sanctae crucis*), together with the Invention of the Cross (*Inventio sanctae crucis*, 3 May), are two calendar feasts that provide evidence for the growing commemoration of the cross and the crucifix. Both the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross were of a particular importance under the Carolingians, and Ado dedicated sizeable *auctaria* to them in his martyrology (855–870). See *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, ed. J. Dubois, pp. 141–44, 146 (for the Invention of the Cross), pp. 313–5 (for the Exaltation of the Cross). Both feasts are recorded in the Gelasian sacramentaries and the ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries. See A. Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gelasien (Vaticanus Regimensis 316)*, Bibliothèque de théologie IV (Tournai,

Liturgical sources bear witness to the early veneration of the miraculous *Imago Dominis* in Catalonia, that is from the late tenth/early eleventh-century onwards. This visible divergence between the liturgical and iconographical fields might be connected to the attitude of Carolingians intellectuals with Visigothic origins, such as Theodulf of Orleans and Claudius of Turin, who were critical towards the veneration of images¹⁰¹⁶. If the iconographical sources demonstrate the relatively late blossoming of the well-known Catalan Crucifixions, the early liturgical veneration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the dissemination of the Beirut narrative underscore the Catalan interest in the sacrality of the Crucifixion and of this feast already at the beginning of the eleventh century. This Chapter will explore the liturgical testimonies which demonstrate how Catalonia was one of the earliest areas in the West for the liturgical veneration of *Passio Imaginis Domini* and point to the possible arrival of this Eastern Mediterranean cult via Italy. It will show how these Catalano-Italian connections played an important role in the early dissemination of the liturgical veneration of the feast.

Therefore, the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* lies at the core of multiple polysemantic questions defining the most important issues of medieval thought and imagination. Emphasising the sacredness of the crucified Christ, this feast had an impact on various fields: 1) art and iconography; 2) liturgy and legends that often became intertwined during the Middle Ages; 3) theological debates leading to the evolution of the crucial Catholic notions of transubstantiation and the two natures of Christ.

The recent scholarship dedicated to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* has focused primarily on its chronological development in a local region (València or Mallorca)¹⁰¹⁷. The Crucifix from the Beirut legend has also been placed in a larger context of miraculous images¹⁰¹⁸. Finally, the major contribution into the research on the *Passio Imaginis Domini* has been by M. Bacci, who traced the history of the feast and the legend, although mainly

1958), vol. 1, pp. 351–60. The Hadrianum sacramentary contains the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, while both feasts appear in the Gregorian version from Padua. *Ibid.*, p. 271 and pp. 639 and 659.

1015The Carolingians developed the prayer and the ceremony for the Adoration of the Cross, as described in the poem of Hrabanus Maurus (*In honorem sanctae crucis*) and in the development of new ritual and prayers for Good Friday (*Adoratio crucis* in the Hadrianum supplement of the Gregorian sacramentary). See C. Chazelle, *The crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, p. 152.

1016See the essential article by A. Freeman, ‘Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini’, *Speculum* 32/4 (1957), 663–705. C. Chazelle demonstrates how Carolingian attempts (in particular Theodulf with his *Opus Caroli regis*) to blame Spanish Adoptionism brought with them an erroneous interpretation of the excessive adoration of the images. See C. Chazelle, *The crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, pp. 38–74.

1017L. Arciniega García, ‘La *Passio Imaginis* y la adaptativa militancia apologética de las imágenes en la Edad Media y Moderna a través del caso Valenciano’, *Ars Longa* 21 (2012), 71–94; C. Espí Forcén, *Recrucificando a Cristo. Los judíos de la Passio Imaginis en la isla de Mallorca* (Mallorca, 2009). Luis Serdá highlighted the importance of future studies on the *Passio Imaginis* in his brief article ‘Los martirologios de la Marca Hispanica en la evolución litúrgica de la misma’, *Ausa* 1 (1952–53), 387–9.

1018J.-M. Sansterre, ‘L’image blessée, l’image souffrante: quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VI^e–XII^e siècle)’, pp. 116–20; J.-M. Sansterre, P. Henriot, ‘De l’*inanimis imago* à l’*omagem mui bella*’, pp. 60–61. J.-Cl. Schmitt, *Le Corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002), in particular ‘Cendrillon crucifié. À propos du Volto Santo de Lucques (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)’, pp. 217–71 and ‘Les reliques et les images’, pp. 273–94 in the same volume.

through Italian material¹⁰¹⁹. However, the study of the dissemination of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the Catalan region and the role of this feast in the contemporary religious imagination has not yet been undertaken.

The complex phenomenon of the Beirut legend bred the devotion to the miraculous Crucifix on several levels: first, in the liturgical field via the creation of a new liturgical feast and the diffusion of new lectures in books for mass and office; second, in popular devotion through the diffusion of the relics with the blood of Christ. Finally, having emerged and spread out during the years of the iconoclasm controversy, the Beirut legend might have defined the major tendencies in medieval art. This study of the integration of the legend into liturgical and visual medieval life will shed light on the interpretation of polyvalent and complex relations between relics and images.

The Beirut narrative plays a crucial role in the development of the Crucifix and brings new interpretations into the visual representation of Christ on the Cross, in particular in its eleventh-century version. The discovered text with the Beirut legend from the eleventh-century lectionary from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena (Ribagorça) together with the liturgical testimonies helps us to shed light on the perception of this narrative in Catalonia. How was it entrenched into the political context of the Iberian Peninsula? Is the narrative changing? How does it affect the image of Christ? In order to answer these questions, the first part will deal with all the known testimonies to this feast in the Catalano-Aquitainian zone. The second part will focus on the contextualisation of the Beirut legend through the imaginary of the cross and the crucifix, the visions related to them and the performative nature of the image at the turn of tenth to eleventh century. Finally, the historical context of the perception of the Jews at that time will be considered. The crucial aspects will be in particular the increasing veneration of images and relics, the development of the Christology and the depiction of the gentile, or the 'other'.

I. The Catalano-Aquitainian Region: the Nucleus of the Cult's Dissemination

The Beirut legend became associated in medieval religious thought with the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* and found its place in liturgical manuscripts in three main forms: firstly, as a feast celebrated on November 9 and added then in calendars and martyrologies. Then, as a mass, established for the same day it was attested through different sacramentaries from the region. Finally, as a *lectio*, it was diffused then in lectionaries where it was called a sermon of Athanasius of Alexandria (296/298–373), but was erroneously attributed to

1019M. Bacci, 'The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office'; M. Bacci, "'Quel bello miracolo onde si fa la festa del santo Salvatore": studio sulle metamorfosi di una leggenda' (both mentioned above). M. Bacci "'Ad ipsius Christi effigiem": il Volto Santo come ritratto autentico del Salvatore', in *La Santa Croce di Lucca. Il Volto Santo. Storia, tradizioni, immagini. Atti del Convegno, Villa Bottini 1–3 Marzo 2001*, ed. M. Bianchi, F. Cardini, M. Zingoni (Lucca, 2003), pp. 115–30. M. Bacci, 'Nicodemo e Volto Santo', in *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000)*, ed. M. Camillo Ferrari, A. Meyer (Lucca, 2005), pp. 15–40.

Athanasius¹⁰²⁰. The narrative about the Image of Christ that suffered the blasphemy was also transmitted in the acts of the Nicaean council.

As it was mentioned above, Catalonia and Aquitania were the first two Western European regions to welcome the liturgical veneration of the feast, the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, and to spread it in different hagiographical versions. The textual sources conserved until now help to estimate the level of implementation of the feast in the region. The number of surviving testimonies, mainly from the Catalan region with some from Aquitania (29 in total) allow us to explore the correlations between different genres of texts. In order to observe all possible nominations and manifestations of the feast in the manuscripts, all these manuscripts have been divided into three main groups. Each group represents a number of texts that mention the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the same way. The first group contains texts that reproduce the Beirut legend (or ‘text-reference’). The second group consists of texts with a calendar reference to the feast (such as calendars and martyrologies – so-called ‘calendar-reference’ then). The third group comprises texts with a ‘liturgical reference’ (sacramentaries, and rather their sanctorale part). The proportional evolution in time is presented in Table 23 below¹⁰²¹:

Table 23 – *Passio Imaginis Domini*. Three Groups of Testimonies

	I GROUP ‘text-reference’	II GROUP ‘calendar-reference’	III GROUP ‘liturgical reference’
10th c.	1	1	0
11th c.	2	7	3
12th–13th cc.	4	5	6

This table demonstrates that the feast of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* became more and more integrated into the religious life of the Catalan and Aquitanian region across these four centuries. This implementation occurred at all levels, as it is witnessed in all genres of analysed manuscripts. The main increase concerns the development of the Proper of mass, spreading massively in the Pyrenean zone. The development of the mass for this day referring to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* starts from the eleventh century onwards: the earliest one is attested in the Ripoll sacramentary¹⁰²² (1040), with the later testimonies mainly repeating the same prayers. The dissemination of the Proper of mass in sacramentaries from the Pyrenean region shows a possible standardisation of the text introducing even more the feast into the context of the liturgical ritual, as it will be demonstrated further. Furthermore, the

1020M. Bacci, ‘Nicodemo e il Volto Santo’, in *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo*, p. 22.

1021In some cases there are two references for one manuscript, if a sacramentary contains both a calendar and the sanctorale with the feast.

1022Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 66.

spike in the calendar and martyrological references over the course of the eleventh century bears witness to the strong penetration of the feast into liturgical life.

The earliest references, dated to the tenth century, belong to the lectionary from the monastery of Saint-Martial of Limoges in Limousin¹⁰²³ and to a calendar with either a Catalan or Septimanian provenance¹⁰²⁴. Together these two locations mark the northern and southern borders of the area explored here to track the feast's diffusion in the following three centuries. The main geographical concentration, however, clearly falls in the northern Catalan counties (Girona, Empúries, Besalú, Rosselló – see Figure 1). The more detailed analysis of all three referential types (the text-reference, the calendar-reference, and the liturgical reference) will show the dissemination of the feast's implementation in the region.

1. The Text-Reference: Pseudo-Athanasius' Sermon at the Cathedral Chapter of Roda

1) Catalan and Aquitanian Copies

The earliest complete Catalan testimony of the Pseudo-Athanasius's sermon that survives in Catalonia in the Central Middle Ages is housed in the Capitular Archive of Lleida in an eleventh-century lectionary from the Cathedral of Roda d'Isàvena (Ribagorça)¹⁰²⁵. This manuscript consists of two parts: the first one is a sanctorale organised in the order of the liturgical year, and the second contains the offices of the common temporale¹⁰²⁶. Previously this lectionary was dated to the second half of the eleventh century, according to both J. Barriga, who connected it to the Gregorian reforms, and M. Gros i Pujol, who placed it at the period of regularisation of canonical life in the cathedral chapter¹⁰²⁷. However, R. Swanson Hernández has recently suggested an earlier dating of the first half of the eleventh century on the basis of both a palaeographical analysis of the book and the absence of any commemorative references to St. Valerius¹⁰²⁸. She argues that it was the Bishop Arnulf who promulgated the cult of St. Valerius after having discovered his relics and having consecrated the new cathedral in honour of two martyrs, St. Vincent and St. Valerius (1028–1035)¹⁰²⁹. Therefore, her convincing argument is that the compilation of the manuscript started under Bishop Aimeric (976–1016) and continued under Bishop Borrell de Ribagorça (1017–1026).

1023Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 740, ff. 127r–129r, 10th c.

1024Barcelona Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 185/1, 10th/11th cc.

1025Lleida, Arxiu Capitular (further – AC), RC_0035, ff. 161ra–166ra. J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. 15. *Viage á Gerona y á Roda* (Madrid, 1851), pp. 173–75.

1026J.-R. Barriga, 'El manuscrit 18 de l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Lleida: leccionari per a l'ofici, del segle XI, provinent de Roda', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 1 (1978), 11–41, p. 13.

1027J.-R. Barriga, 'El manuscrit 18 de l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Lleida', p. 14. M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'L'inventari de l'antiga biblioteca de la catedral de Roda d'Isàvena', *Revista catalana de teologia* 31/2 (2007), 339–56, pp. 344–45.

1028R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 2 vols (Universitat de Barcelona, 2016), II, pp. 145–47.

1029R. Swanson Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 98–9.

In his transcription of the manuscript's structure J.-R. Barriga calls the feast '*In dedicacione Basilicae Ssmi. Saluatoris*' and provides the *incipit* and the *explicit*¹⁰³⁰. Swanson Hernández, following Barriga, repeats the same name of the feast: '*In dedicacione Basilicae sanctissimi Salvatoris*'¹⁰³¹, although the title of the text in rubric does not contain it. With an effaced initial letter at the beginning (which is erased together with four previous lines), the text starts in upper case with '*pas>sio sancte et gloriose Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris que a fidelibus colitur mense novembrio intrante die VIII^o quod est idus novembris*'¹⁰³² (see Figure 23). Therefore, no explicit indication concerning the dedication of the basilica is suggested in the manuscript.

The sermon is organised in two columns and is divided into eight lections, which confirms the liturgical use of the whole manuscript. Moreover, all account on the *Imago Domini* from Beirut is interspersed with the texts of prayers addressed to the faithful. The transcription and edition of this text allowed us to identify it as BHL 4229c. This version apparently became the popular one in Catalonia in the following centuries. Altogether, very few texts of Pseudo-Athanasius's sermon have been found in the Catalan archives. All discovered copies are dated, at the earliest, to the thirteenth century. Two monastic copies from the thirteenth century, a lectionary from Santa Maria de Serrateix and a breviary from Sant Miquel de Cuixà contained this sermon. The copy from Serrateix apparently was a shortened version of BHL 4229b or 4229c¹⁰³³. The Cuixà manuscript was described in the seventeenth century but disappeared later; the transcription provided by P. Pujol i Tabau does not allow us to use this fragmentary information to assure the correct attribution to a BHL version, but the sermon might have been either BHL 4228 or BHL 4229 (with its variants 4229b and 4229c)¹⁰³⁴. Finally, M. M. Tischler has recently found four late medieval canonical manuscripts that contain the text of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, two of which were copied in the Cathedral chapter of Barcelona and belong to the same version as the eleventh-century copy from Roda d'Isàvena, BHL 4229c¹⁰³⁵. From what we know of the manuscripts, the Roda

1030J.-R. Barriga, *op. art.*, 30.

1031R. Swanson Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 143.

1032Lleida, Arxiu Capitular (further – AC), RC_0035, fol. 161ra–rb.

1033Solsona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 33 [olim 3], ff. 104v–105v, 13th c. On the manuscript itself see the article by F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'El leccionari i collectari santoral de Santa Maria de Serrateix (Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 10 (2001), 211–93.

1034According to the *incipit* starting with 'Apud Cesaream Capadocie urbem', on the fol. 90r. See P. Pujol Tubau, 'El breviari de Cuixà', *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 9 (1920–1922) 329–40, p. 338.

1035Three manuscripts belong to the production of Barcelona Cathedral chapter: Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 105, ff. 272va–273rb (1339–1360), Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, ff. 121rb–126va (14th/15th cc.), Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, ff. 211vb–214ra (15th c.). On these manuscripts see À. Fàbrega i Grau, J., Baucells i Reig, 2005, 1, p. 11 and 210–20, 221–31, 253–63. The fourth manuscript was copied in the province of Girona: Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 1158, ff. 126va–130vb (14th c.). See F. X. Miquel Rosell, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1961), vol. 3, pp. 209–214. Two texts from Barcelona (Ms. 104 and 108) can be identified as BHL 4229c for they entirely correspond to the Roda version. It is hard to identify two other manuscripts (Ms. 105 from Barcelona and Ms. 1158 from Girona) with any of the BHL 4227–4230 versions. However, they do contain the major plot elements of the sermon, though in a very shortened form.

version can be considered the earliest prototype in the region, influencing later copies, especially since the first copy from Barcelona reproduces the Roda version verbatim¹⁰³⁶.

The extant manuscripts with Aquitanian provenance are older than the Catalan ones and mainly belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The earliest witness has a provenance from the monastery St. Martial from Limoges and is dated to the second half of the tenth century (it belongs to the version BHL 4227a): *‘Petrus sanctissimus episcopus Nicomedie dixit: Librum deffero sancti Athanasii et sancte Sinodi ofero ad legendum [...] sermo sancte memorie patris viri Athanasii de Imagine Domini nostri Iesu Christi [...] quod factum est miraculum magnum in civitate Berito’*¹⁰³⁷. In the same Limousin region another variation of Pseudo-Athanasius’s sermon was copied several decades later by Ademar of Chabannes, before 1034 (BHL 4227): *‘Incipit sermo sanctae memoriae patris nostri Athanasii patriarche de imagine Domini nostri Iesu Christi veri dei aeterni quod factum miraculum magnum in civitate Berito tempore Constantini Iunioris et Hirene uxoris eius. Sustollite fratres oculos mentis vestrae’*¹⁰³⁸. Both these testimonies reproduce the most disseminated and the oldest version of the sermon, translated at first by Anastasius the Librarian. Other extant copies, which belong to different BHL versions, were produced later and some of them in a shortened version¹⁰³⁹.

Therefore, the few testimonies of the sermon from the tenth/eleventh centuries do not allow us to follow in detail the dissemination of the text in post-Carolingian regions. However, the preponderance of the BHL versions 4228 and 4229 in the Catalan region might point to the possible circulation of this type of the sermon in the Catalan region compared to the BHL 4227 and BHL 4227a, which were more widely spread in the north and probably more popular in Languedoc and Aquitania at that time.

1036Two more texts with an unidentified provenance belong to the same version (BHL 4229c) and are dated to the twelfth century: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, ff. 98v–100v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, ff. 320vb–323ra. The second Vatican manuscript was dated by Poncelet to the 11th/12th centuries, and later Garrison suggested its attribution to the Abbey San Michele a Marturi (Siena) with the dating of the third quarter of the 12th c. See A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Bruxelles, 1910), pp. 458–67; E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the history of mediaeval Italian painting* (Firenze, 1953), vol. 1, pp. 27, 106 and 108–09; vol. III, p. 78; vol. IV, pp. 72, 76, 80, 82, 175, n. 3, 418, n. 12. G. Verrando picks up this attribution and calls the Barb. lat. 586 a legendary from San Michele a Marturi. See G. N. Verrando, ‘I due leggendari di Fiesole’, *Aevum* 74/2 (2000), 443–91, p. 458, n. 84. The first Vatican manuscript reproduces verbatim the text of the Roda. The second floats between the version BHL 4228 and 4229c. The differences between this manuscript and the BHL 4229c will be shown further below.

1037Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 740, ff. 127r–129r (attributed to the BHL 4228 on the BHL Webpage, the *incipit* corresponds to the 4227a though).

1038Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 3784, ff. 113r–114rv (before 1034). See the elaborated manuscript description on the BnF Website: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc617454/cd0e2347> (attributed to the BHL 4228 on the BHL Webpage, although the *explicit* corresponds to BHL 4227).

1039See a manuscript from Moissac (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5298, ff. 99v–101v; 13th c.; BHL 4229c, shortened version, stops right after the miraculous healing) and Sainte-Marie de Lagrasse (London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4699, ff. 136r–143v; second half of the 12th c.). F. Dolbeau attributes the legendary from Lagrasse to the BHL 4228. See F. Dolbeau, ‘Un légendier de l’abbaye de Lagrasse’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 130/2 (2012) 354–58.

2) Differences in Textual Structure

These Limousin BHL versions, 4227 and 4227a, are the closest to the edition in the Acts of Nicaean Council¹⁰⁴⁰. Compared to them, the Catalan text from Roda (BHL 4229c) has some deviations and particular accents. The transcription of the text and comparison with the sermon recorded in the Nicaean Acts showed several particular features. In the pages that follow I constantly compare several of them in the tables with three testimonies: Mansi I (acts of Nicaean Council in the translation of Anastasius the Librarian), Mansi II (the eleventh-century variation of the Acts) and Roda (the earliest extant Catalan testimony of this text)¹⁰⁴¹.

Juxtaposition of the Christian and the Jewish: a New Contribution of the Roda Text

The Catalan text shortens some passages but becomes more eloquent in others. For example, the decision taken by Jews to reproduce the acts of mockery from the Gospels on the Image found at the house in Beirut is expressed in a quite concise manner, while the Nicaean acts provide a much more detailed description of that.

Table 24 – Roda Text. Mockery of Christ

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Tunc coeperunt conspuere infaciem sanctae imaginis Domini, et dare alapas coram his qui convenerant	[...] confestim autem imaginis Domini pedes manusque clavis ferreis foraverunt [...] acceptaque	Super caput eius coronam posuerunt spineam et acetum cum felle mixtum in potu dederit et clavis manus

1040J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence/Venise, 1759–1798, 31 vols), vol. XIII: col. 23–32; *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV–V*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3, part 2. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Series Secunda (Berlin, 2012), pp. 316–31.

1041M. Bacci uses the first one as a reference to the Greek text and names the second text as the ‘full one’ (see M. Bacci, ‘The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office’, p. 4, n. 9 and 11. The first bilingual text (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XIII, col. 23–32) is the Latin translation by Anastasius the Librarian of the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (BHL 4227), which has recently been published in *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV–V*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 316–31. I am grateful to Niek Thate for clarifying for me the history of these texts. He suggests that the second text (Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XIII, col. 580–585) might be a version that spread more intensively in the eleventh century (BHL 4228–4229) and possibly served as a model for Longolius’ text. See the edition of Gisbert Longolius, *Concilium Nicenum. Synodi Nicenae quam Graeci septimam vocant [...] Actiones omnes contra iconoclastas et iconomachos [...] Opus nunc recens inventum et e Graeco versum per G. Long.* (Köln, 1540). Niek Thate also notes that it is hard to reconstruct the history of the second text, since the Greek manuscript used by Longolius is lost (see *Concilium universale Nicaenum Secundum*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 1, p. LVI), and points out that it is still unclear whether the interpolations from the second text arrived from other text versions or the Greek translations of a Latin text. See the critical edition *Passio imaginis Salvatoris*, ed. N. Thate, *Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 2021), forthcoming, and the colloquium planned in February 2021, accessed 13th August 2020, available at <https://passio.hypotheses.org>.

<p>[...] Infinitis ergo ludibriis illuserunt iconam Domini [...] tunc in manus et pedes imaginis Domini infixerunt claves [...] et fecerunt apponentes ad os imaginis Domini spongiam aceto plenam [...] et accipientes calamum percutiebant caput Domini [...] praeceperunt cuidam suorum tollere lanceam et percutere contra latus imaginis Domini¹⁰⁴².</p>	<p>spongiam aceto plena, ad os imaginis applicuerunt [...] sumpto igitur calamo caput Domini caedere coeperunt [...] itaque lanceam cuidam porrigentes, jusserunt, ut latus imaginis dominicae transfigeret¹⁰⁴³.</p>	<p>pedesque in ligno crucis affixerunt et post modum latus eius lancea transverberari fecerunt¹⁰⁴⁴. [...] Nam sputa alapas vituperia spineam coronam commelias et opprobria in ea exercuerunt. Ad extremum vero preceperunt cuidam suorum forti robore arrepta lancea transforderet latus eius¹⁰⁴⁵.</p>
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According to Table 24 above, one can see that the narrative structure in the Roda version is different to the original text from the Nicaean acts (Mansi I) as well as to another eleventh-century version (Mansi II). The Roda text reminds us firstly of the mockery of Christ according the Gospels, and then in a very shortened form informs us about the repeating of those acts over the Image of Christ. However, in Mansi I and Mansi II the same idea is organised in another narrative way. Before accomplishing every new torture over the Image, the Jews refer to the same act made by the ancestors (*patres nostri*) over Christ himself. Both the repetitive narrative structure as well as the content referencing the repetition of the same act reinforce the visual imagery of the performed blasphemy. In this passage, the text from Roda does not seem to be yet such a vivid rhetoric tool.

The performed blaspheme actions are almost the same, if we compare the acts with those in the Gospels. The way of enumerating the actions, reinforcing the emotional degree of the narration, leads the reader to the last and most significant act of the story, the piercing of the Christ's side with a spear. It is obviously an important element to be repeated in the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius, as the miracle of the Image of Christ occurred due to this act of piercing the Christ's flank on the Image. However, this last was mentioned only in the Gospel of John (Jn. 19:34).

Moreover, in the description of the Jews' mockery of the Image of Christ, the Nicaean Acts and the Mansi II present more actions than the Roda text: 1) spit at his face (Mt. 26:67; Mk. 14:65); 2) slap him (Mt. 26:67, Jn. 19:3); 3) put nails in his hands and feet; 4) give him a sponge with vinegar (Mt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Jn. 19:29); 4) hit his head (Mt. 27:30, Mk. 14:65,

1042Mansi I, col. 27. *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum*. ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 323–25 (further – Lamberz).

1043Mansi II, col. 581.

1044Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 162vb; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, ff. 122vb–123ra; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213va.

1045Lleida, AC RC_0035, ff. 162vb–163ra.

Lk. 22:63); 5) strike his flank with a spear (Jn. 19:34). The Roda version simply focuses on three of them: slapping and spitting at the Image, putting on his head the crown of thrones (absent in the Nicaean Scts) and the major one, piercing the body of Christ on Image with the spear.

Although the Catalan text is more concise and less eloquent in its description of the Jews' mockery over the Christ's image through the reconstruction of the Gospel's events, it remains very eloquent in its portrait of a Jew, which was treated in the accusatory context in the medieval discourse¹⁰⁴⁶. The multiple added details create a more aggressive image of the Jews, reinforcing their hate and intolerance towards the Image of the Crucifix as well as to their fellow conserving it at his house. Two examples from Table 25 below illustrate this biased approach of the Roda's text.

Table 25 – Roda Text. Jewish Aggression towards the Image of Christ

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Vidit Iconam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi et dicit ei qui se invitaverat ¹⁰⁴⁷ :	Moxque conversus ad convivatorem ¹⁰⁴⁸ :	Tunc frendens dentibus toruoque aspectu eum qui se invitaverat intuens ita affatur ¹⁰⁴⁹ :
Imaginem vero Domini nostri Jesu Christi deponentes dixerunt ¹⁰⁵⁰ :	Imaginem vero detrahunt , dicentes ¹⁰⁵¹ :	Domini vero Salvatoris Yconam deicientes in terra calcibus tundere ceperunt cum cachinnis dicentes ¹⁰⁵² :

Thus, there is a curious emotional addition to the reaction of the invited Jew to the Crucifixion on the wall. Having suddenly seen the Crucifixion, he addresses to the host of the house with the fervent speech, but his first reaction was grinding his teeth, as he was

1046See e.g. G. Saige, 'De la condition des juifs dans le comté de Toulouse avant le XIV^e siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 39 (1878), 255–322. More on this context see in G. Langmuir, *History, Religion and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 285–89.

1047Mansi I, col. 26; Lamberz, p. 321.

1048Mansi II, col. 581.

1049Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 162rb; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 122rb; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213ra. The text is slightly different but not less emotional in the second Vatican manuscript: '*Tunc maximo tabescens furore cepit fremere dentibus*', Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321rb.

1050Mansi I, col. 27; Lamberz, p. 323.

1051Mansi II, col. 581.

1052Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 162vb; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 122vb; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213rb–va. Here the second Vatican manuscript is less emotive: '*Deponentes Yconam in terram*', Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321va.

overwhelmed with the anger. The Jew in the account of the earliest Nicaean acts (Mansi I) and even in Mansi II instead keeps calm at this moment.

The same increasing of the emotional degree of the hate comes later, at the moment of taking the Image off from the wall before the whole procedure of blasphemy follows. The Jews are thus shown to be so preoccupied by their emotions, that they do not control themselves and their every act, although being partially rational (as their goal is to reproduce the mockery in the same way it was earlier performed), remains irrational due to the hate that possesses them.

At the same time, there is a particular accent on the Christian faith in the Roda text. It can be manifested through a couple of details, yet taken together they are meaningful for their ideological charge. First, an interesting word is used in the Roda version. The *Christianus* (who left his house forgetting the Crucifix there) is replaced by *Christicola* which highlights and reinforces the veneration towards Christ¹⁰⁵³. This insertion is all the more interesting as both Limoges versions (BHL 4227 and 4227a) keep the word *Christianus*. On the one hand, this word might point to another textual tradition, considering that it appears in the BHL 4229 but not in the earlier and more traditional BHL 4227¹⁰⁵⁴. On the other, this word carries a particular meaning, reinforcing the religious opposition between the Christians and the Jews in the Beirut narrative in this eleventh-century version. The same word ‘*Christicolae*’ is mentioned several times in the *Vita Raimundi* (1191) by the canonic of Roda Elias who describes the holy life and miracle of St. Raymond (bishop of Roda at the beginning of the twelfth century)¹⁰⁵⁵. According to P. Henriët, the Christians were called *christicolae* already in the Late Antiquity, the term designated those who were faithful to Christ in contrast to the pagans. He also adds that in the Spanish medieval texts this term carried the similar meaning but this time not only in contrast to the gentiles but also to the Muslims¹⁰⁵⁶. It is therefore particularly curious that around 150 years earlier in the same Cathedral chapter of Roda this word was also used to reinforce the opposition between the Christians faithful to Christ and the Jews who rejected Christ and the Image of Christ.

1053Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 162ra in contrast to Mansi I, col. 26 (Lamberz, p. 319) and Mansi II, col. 581. See the fourteenth/fifteenth-centuries Catalan versions (BHL 4229c) from the Barcelona Archive (Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 121vb and Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 212va), also using the word *Christicola*.

1054Two more twelfth-century texts preserved in Vatican and belonging to the same version (BHL 4229c) use the same word *Christicola* instead of the *Christianus*, as it was conserved in the Nicaean acts. See Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 98v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321ra.

1055Lleida, AC RC_0029, ff. 162r–168r. See also R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII*, II, pp. 89 and 98.

1056See P. Henriët, ‘L’evêque Raymond de Roda († 1126), défenseur des ‘Christicoles’. À propos de la *vita beati Raimundi Basbastrensis Antistitis* (BHL 7074)’, in *Hombres de religión y guerra. Cruzada y guerra santa en la Edad Media Peninsular*, eds. C. de Ayala Martínez, J. S. Palacios Ontalva (Madrid, 2018), pp. 17–28, p. 23. For the earliest texts he refers to *l’Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* and Prudence. For Spanish references see the *Historia Compostellana* where Henriët found 9 instances of this word in Chapter II, 50 and 53 (*Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey. CCCM 70 (Turnhout, 1988)). See more in P. Henriët, ‘L’evêque Raymond de Roda († 1126)’, p. 23, n. 20.

Furthermore, to the very briefly described image of the Christian in the Acts, the Roda text adds an important detail on his devotion (Table 26).

Table 26 – Roda Text. Veneration of the Icon of Christ

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Contra accubitus suum fixit imaginem Domini nostri Jesu Christi honeste depictam et integrae staturae habentem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ¹⁰⁵⁷ .	Hic ex adverso lectuli imaginem Jesu Christi Domini nostri fixerat: erat hec sane veneranda, quod integram Christi Domini proportionem exprimeret ¹⁰⁵⁸ .	Hic yconam habebat honestissime figuratam , que Domini Salvatoris formam continebat integram , quam in interiori cellule loco, contra sui lectuli faciem fixit in pari[e] ¹⁰⁵⁹ te, die noctuque per eam Dominum exorans ¹⁰⁶⁰ .

By adding this detail on the Christian praying day and night in front of the image of Christ, the text does not only tells us about his devotional religious attitudes, but also insists on the sacrality of the Image which reproduces the entire stature/proportion/form of Christ. From the beginning of the text the Crucifix is thus automatically declared as the sacred object.

Content: The Miracle and its Consequences

The central part of the sermon is dedicated to the miracle which happened to the Crucifix. This time, the description of the bleeding image is much more concise in the Nicaean acts than in the Catalan text (Table 27):

Table 27 – Roda Text. Miraculous Image

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Mox ergo emanavit multitudo sanguinis et aquae ab ea ¹⁰⁶¹ .	Ex eo autem confestim sanguinis et aque rivuli emanare coeperunt ¹⁰⁶² .	Cumque fuisset tam inmanissimum tirannicidium ab iniquis Iudeis perpetratum

1057Mansi I, col. 26; Lamberz, p. 319.

1058Mansi II, col. 580.

1059A letter ‘e’ is subscribed over the line. I use square brackets to demonstrate this for any following examples throughout the thesis.

1060Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 162ra. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 98v; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 121vb; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 212vb. The sentence is slightly different in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321ra (*‘Que Ycona honeste depicta integram continebat dominicam staturam’*).

1061Mansi I, col. 27; Lamberz, p. 325.

1062Mansi II, col. 581.

		<p>repente orbis terre elementa sunt mutata et iliquo signa renovantur antiqua et abictu ferientis lancee tanquam ex matheria sensibili aqua et sanguis distillare cepit ad laudem et gloriam eterni Dei patris¹⁰⁶³ (Figure 24).</p>
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If we compare the words highlighted in blue it is clear that the central description of the blood and water flowing out of the Crucifix is slightly different in the texts. Mansi I, a translation from the Greek source by Anastasius the Librarian, says ‘*emanavit*’, flowing out. The later Mansi II uses the comparison with the *rivulet*—‘*rivuli emanare coeperunt*’—which reinforces the degree of miraculous act happening. The Roda text comes back to the primary idea of liquid coming in drops—‘*distillare cepit*’—which visually reduces the intensiveness of the action. However, the Roda version develops the whole philosophical interpretation of the significant event.

While the Nicaean acts in earlier versions only confirm that the blood and the water came from the flank of the Crucifix, the Roda manuscript transforms the statement of the fact into a real performance. At the moment when the blasphemy was accomplishing, the elements of the earth were changed, and the ancient signs were restored. This Apocalyptic atmosphere contributes to the symbolical significance of the narration. The accumulation of all events happening, from the hyperbolic ‘*inmanissimum tirannicidium*’ (in red), through the combination of natural catastrophe and the apocalyptic omen, to the climax: ‘*abictu ferientis lancee tanquam ex matheria sensibili aqua et sanguis distillare cepit*’. All texts insist on the immediate flowing out of the blood and water from the Crucifix, right after it has been struck (‘*repente*’ – ‘*mox*’ – ‘*confestim*’, in green). Later Thomas Aquinas would distinguish between *matheria sensibilis* and *matheria intelligibilis*, the first one is *materia corporalis* that underlies sensible qualities (color, heat, hardness), the latter quantity (shape, size, number)¹⁰⁶⁴. The blood and water are thus coming from the Crucifix like from the corporal matter and conserve thus its corporal characteristics, which creates somewhat a parallel between the Image of the Crucifix and the real body of Christ on the Cross.

The reference to the natural signs reminds (though not literally) the Gospel of Matthew, which testifies that at the moment of Christ’s death the earth shook, and the rocks

1063Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 163ra. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 123ra; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213va–vb.

1064‘*Materia enim sensibilis dicitur materia corporalis secundum quod subiacet qualitatibus sensibilibus, scilicet calido et frigido, duro et molli, et huiusmodi. Materia vero intelligibilis dicitur substancia secundum quod subiacet quantitati*’. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1 a 85.1 ad. 2. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae cum Supplemento et commentariis Card. Caietani*, vols. 4–12, Editio Leonina (Rome, 1888–1906), vol. 4.

split (*'et terra mota est, et petrae scissae sunt'*, Mt. 27:51). The moment of striking the Christ's flank with the spear, which was mentioned only in the Gospel of John, is obviously the pure source of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* legend: *'sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua'* (Jn. 19:34).

Furthermore, this passage carries another important sense because of the particular use of the word *'Iudeis'* in the text¹⁰⁶⁵. In general, throughout the sermon in its Roda version there are very few cases of the word *'Judaeus'* presented, in the opposite to the Nicaean acts, where this word is applied every time¹⁰⁶⁶. Throughout the text the word *'Iudei'* imply religious specificities, at the first time it is used to remind that the Jews crucified the Image of Christ (*'crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate'*¹⁰⁶⁷), then the Jew who moved to the house of the Christian is called *'Ebreus'* but when he invites the people from his community he is called *'Iudeus'* (*'ut isdem Iudeus quendam de suis contribulibus convocaret ad prandium'*¹⁰⁶⁸). The most impressive use of this word comes up at the scene of the blasphemy over the Icon (see Table 27)¹⁰⁶⁹.

Nevertheless, apart from these cases, the Catalan text constantly replaces the term *'Judeus'* by *'Ebreus'*. This emphasis on the ethnic and not on the religious component of the Jewish identity might be explained by the fact that the Jewish communities were a frequent phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula at this time. Moreover, in his overview on Jewish culture in medieval Catalonia E. Feliu i Mabres underscores that the eleventh/twelfth-century document sources tend to use rather the term *'hebreus'* than *'judaeus'*, the latter having a negative connotation was established by the end of the thirteenth century¹⁰⁷⁰. This statement allows me to suggest two possible explanations of the replacement of the word *'Judaeus'* in the Roda version. First, that the choice of the word *'Ebreus'* might be explained by a regional usage of this term in the Catalan lands in the analysed time period; in this case Roda text is even more crucial as local regional product. And second, that the word *'Iudeis'* is used on purpose in the crucial culmination scene of the whole sermon, which brings a particular

1065 See the similar use in the Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r.

1066 Mansi II, however, uses the word *'Hebreus'* twice, first, in the synagogue the miracles happen *'in conspectu Hebraeorum'* (Mansi II, col. 582); second, at the very end with a dating of the new feast to *'in mense Novembri, qui apud Hebreus est nonus'* (Mansi, col. 585). Both nominations seem to be very general and do not carry particular ethnic nor religious implementation.

1067 Lleida AC RC_0035, fol. 161va; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 98v; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 121ra; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 212ra. This part is omitted in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 320vb.

1068 Lleida AC RC_0035, fol. 162rb; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, ff. 98v–99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 121vb; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213ra. Curiously the second Vatican manuscript uses here *'Hebreus'*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321rb.

1069 Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 163ra; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 123ra; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 104, fol. 213va. Curiously, here even the second Vatican manuscript uses the same phrase *'ab iniquis Iudeis'*, although it does not follow the Roda use of the words *'Hebreus'* and *'Judaeus'* in other constructions. See Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 321va.

1070 E. Feliu i Mabres, 'Algunes puntualitzacions sobre diversos aspectes de la història dels jueus a la Catalunya medieval', *Catalan Historical Review* 2 (2009), 175–190, p. 176.

religious accent to the described scene, for instance to highlight the possible juxtaposition of Christians and Jews according to their faith. Moreover, these Jews, called ‘*Iudeis*’ and not ‘*Ebreis*’, are preceded by such characteristics as ‘*iniquis*’—enemies—which sounds again as an emotional and clearly ideological message. In a similar way the decree from Girona (1078) indicating that the Jews shall pay the tithes to the Church also refers to them as ‘*infidelium Judaeorum*’¹⁰⁷¹. The use of offensive/stigmatising words preceding the ‘*Judaeus*’, and not ‘*Hebreus*’, emphasises their religious identification and thus hints at the frequent accusation of the Jews in their betrayal of Christ, an attitude which was increasing at this time throughout much of Europe.

The second part of the sermon describes the following baptism of the Jews, which is one of the major consequences of the miracle and without any doubt one of the crucial messages of the whole text of the Beirut legend (Table 28):

Table 28 – Roda Text. Healing Miracles

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Dicunt summi sacerdotes eorum et seniores: Quoniam susurrant colentes eum, quod sanitates multas fecerit, sumamus ergo sanguinem hunc et aquam, et deferamus ad synagogam , et colligamus omnes qui male habent in populo, et ungamus eos ex illo, et videamus si vera sunt quae dicuntur ¹⁰⁷² .	Dixerunt autem principes sacerdotum: [...] Qui illico detulerunt hydriam et ad locum vulneris, unde sanguis et aqua decurebant, statuerunt. Quae absque ulla mora subito repleta est. Dixerunt autem ad novicem: Quoniam susurrant Christum colentes, quod signa et inaudita multa fecerint in mundo, quae nemo alius agere potuit, accipiamus hunc sanguinem at aquam hanc et deferamus ad nostram synagogam , et congregemus universos qui se male habent , et ex hoc spargamus eos: et si vera sunt quae de Christo	Iudei [quę] fiebant cernentes aiunt magnates mediocribus. Quem afferunt Galilei Iesum colentes quod multa signa in populo ostenderit afferatur idria et lancea facto vulnere apponatur ut videamus si in ea aliquid inmersum fieri stillicidium. Quid plura delata est idria quę absque ulla dilatione adsumum usque impleta est. Dixeruntque ad invicem. Deferatur idria hec ad synagogam nostram et quoscumque debiles et male habentes reperire poterimus perungemus et si vera sunt ea quę de Christo dicuntur continuo sanabuntur ¹⁰⁷⁴ .

1071 *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. A. Linder (Detroit, 1997), p. 559.

1072 Mansi I, col. 27; Lamberz, p. 325.

	dicuntur, continuo sanabuntur¹⁰⁷³.	
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This scene shows how the most respectful and highest among the Jews demand that the blood and the water from the Crucifix be collected and brought to the Synagogue to check whether they can bring about the healing effect for those who suffered and fell ill (Mansi I, in red). In this paragraph the Roda version has more in common with that in the contemporary Mansi II (with the nomination of the *hydria* and the clear repetition of some phrases). The curious element here concerns the affirmation that if the blood and the water were truly miraculous/truly belonged to Christ, the ill people would be cured (in blue). In Mansi I (the direct translation from the Greek original) this is declared as: ‘We will see whether they are the true ones as it is said [about them]’. In both later texts the idea is more tricky: ‘if they are true ones, as it is said are those from Christ, [the people] will be cured immediately’. Mansi I thus clearly puts the accent on the idea of the authenticity of the blood and the water flowing out of the Crucifix. The other two texts focus on the process of healing, and then add a little change concerning the comparison to the blood and the water of Christ himself. Therefore, these two eleventh-century texts highlight the attribution of the powerful agency of the Image to the powerful agency of Christ himself far more than the Acts of Nicaea.

In the meantime the healing miracles occurred, and all the Jews believed in Christ (Table 29).

Table 29 – Roda Text. Conversion of the Jews

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Omnes autem principes sacerdotum ac seniores, et populus Judaeorum, virorum, puerorum, et mulierum crediderunt in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, clamantes: Gloria tibi Christe ¹⁰⁷⁵ .	Omnes autem principes sacerdotum ac seniores, et omnes turba Judaeorum, parvulorum ad majorum, et mulierum, videntes quae facta fuerant , crediderunt in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, et dicebant: Gloria tibi sit eterne Deus ¹⁰⁷⁶ .	Igitur Ebrei dum talia fieri cernerent conpuncti corde omnes pariter crediderunt in Dominum Iesum Christum et cum lacrimis incredulitatem sue mentis deflebant dicentes: Gloria tibi Domine ¹⁰⁷⁷ .

1074Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 163vab. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99v; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, ff. 123vb–124ra; The manuscript Ms. 104 from Barcelona does not contain this part.

1073Mansi II, col. 582.

1075Mansi I, col. 30; Lamberz, p. 327 (suggests ‘crediderunt ad Dominum nostrum’).

1076Mansi II, col. 583.

1077Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 164ra. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99v; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 124rb; The manuscript from Barcelona does not contain this part.

While both Mansi versions pay attention to every social, age and gender group among the Jews, describing in details those who were witnesses of the miracle, the Roda version just highlights that all Jews equally believed in Jesus Christ (*omnes pariter*). The emphasis is however replaced on the emotions that the repentant Jews have had (in red), although both Mansi texts definitely neglect that. Exploring the hagiography of the Early Middle Ages, P. Nagy argues that tears and repentance both point to a real interior conversion¹⁰⁷⁸. These hagiographical stories underline the value of tears, and identify them as a real divine mercy¹⁰⁷⁹. Here, in the Roda text, all these factors are brought together: the repentance the Jews felt (*compuncti corde*), and the tears they shed realising their disbelief (these are even reinforced by the repetition of *cum lacrimis* with the following *incredulitatem sue mentis deflebant*). The juxtaposition of mind or intellect (*mens*) and of affectivity (*lacrimae, deflere*) increases the effect of the conversion: thanks to tears and emotions the Jews overcame the disbelief of their rationality. According to Nagy, it was the eleventh century that demonstrated the crucial change in the anthropology of tears – at this time they enter different genres of religious discourse in the Medieval West¹⁰⁸⁰. The Roda version, compiled in 1000–1028 is thus an authentic text of its time, adding insertions that respond to religious sensibilities of contemporary society. Only one detail where Mansi II agrees with the Roda text concerns the fact that the Jews have seen (*videntes*), have discerned (*cernerent*), what was happening (in blue). The direct connection then between the fact of seeing the miracle, attesting it and only then believing to the divine intention, belongs to the traditional narrative on the sanctity.

The comparison between the different copies of several extracts shows how similar BHL 4228 and 4229c are to one another. These copies also have more things in common with Mansi II, which is one of the same family of texts apparently being produced in Western Europe during the eleventh century. The extant manuscript testimonies demonstrate the active dissemination of the BHL 4228 and 4229 copies, in comparison to the oldest translation by Anastasius the Librarian (BHL 4227) in the eleventh/twelfth centuries and in the late medieval period in the Mediterranean. The comparative tables also demonstrate that the Roda text, as the earliest found in the Catalan region, might have influenced the later versions and inspired the inclusion of new features. First, it develops the deeper distinction between the notions ‘*Judaeus*’ and ‘*Hebreus*’ on ethnic and religious grounds and the progressive negativity of ‘*Judaeus*’ in relation to ‘*Hebreus*’. Second, it sharpened the emotional palette of the narrative, making the text an eloquent rhetoric tool in the discussion of the sacred images and the gentiles. Third, it constructed a more ardent image of the Christian, which, on the one hand, reinforces the dichotomy between Christians and ‘others’, and on the other hand, highlights the important values for Christian society, such as the role of religious authorities and of religious images. Therefore, this comparative analysis of the Roda text with the translations of the Nicaean acts spread in the Latin Occident shows the different changes that

1078P. Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (V^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 2000), p. 158.

1079P. Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge*, p. 163.

1080Ibid., p. 167.

appear between these texts and might have influenced their potential audiences. Even the few given examples of the *réécriture* show that the Roda text exhibits a more emotional anti-Jewish rhetoric, emphasising a particular religious rather than ethnic aspect of the Jewish population. Moreover, the text is clearly a genuine product of its era: the role of the sacred image, highly controversial during the II Nicaean Council, is accepted as resolved, and the clear message about the sacrality of the image and its similitude/correspondence to the deity is stressed throughout the whole text.

The Roda manuscript thus is an important testimony that the Catalan counties received relatively early the text treating the crucial question on the image of the crucified Christ and the Jews (an important case for the whole Catalan region). To understand it more fully, the following overview of the Christological literature in the region has to be outlined.

3) *Other Textual Testimonies of the Implemented Christological Literature in the Region*

The sermon on the *Passio Imaginis Domini* was not the only text that belonged to the increasing veneration of the dominical relics in the eleventh century at the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena. The Pontifical of Roda¹⁰⁸¹ starts with three sermons dedicated to the True Cross¹⁰⁸² that follow the fragment on the healing miracle that occurred to Tiberius (1rv and 12v)¹⁰⁸³. This fragment is apparently a slightly later addition, written in eleventh-century Caroline minuscule script, whereas the manuscript itself is dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century¹⁰⁸⁴. The identification of the fragment allows it to be attributed to one of the texts' clusters relating to the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Latin *Vindicta salvatoris*¹⁰⁸⁵ (Figure 25).

The Gospel of Nicodemus was a well-known apocryphon in the Middle Ages, with its earliest witness in the fifth century¹⁰⁸⁶. The *Evangelium Nicodemi* was often expanded with

1081Lleida, AC RC_0036 (around 1000). See R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII*, II, p. 151–68.

1082Lleida, AC RC_0036, ff. 2r–12r.

1083R. Swanson Hernández provides the full manuscript description in her thesis, where she briefly describes the references to the content of the fragment, but did not define the text itself. She uses the definition of J. R. Barriga, *El Sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda* (Barcelona, 1975), p. 43. R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII*, II, p. 155.

1084J. R. Barriga, *El Sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda*, pp. 90–91. R. Swanson Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–54. M. Bernadó, 'Sacramentary, Ritual and Pontifical', in *Hispania Vetus. Musical-liturgical manuscripts from Visigothic origins to the Franco-Roman transition (9th–12th centuries)*, ed. S. Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), p. 320.

1085*Vindicta salvatoris* §19, p. 272. See the edition in *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source. The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*, ed. J. E. Cross (Cambridge, 1996), p. 272. This fragment has not yet been identified.

1086I would like to thank Philip Wallinder (University of Exeter) for his precious remarks on the Gospel of Nicodemus, its manuscript transmission and the literature on the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. The earliest edition of the cluster of texts on the Gospel of Nicodemus was by C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha: adhibitis plurimis codicibus graecis et latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus* (Leipzig, 1876). On the texts that make part of the Gospel of Nicodemus see Tischendorf's introduction, pp. LIV–LXXXIV. For more contemporary editions based on the comparison with the Old English versions see *Two Old*

the so-called *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, a rapid narrative focused not any longer on the Christ's Passion but on the Roman mission of a man called Volosianus to find the healer Jesus Christ to cure the Emperor Tiberius¹⁰⁸⁷. If we follow Cross's description, the *Vindicta* is the 'first and most important sequel' of the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*, and repeats the story, also amplifying it¹⁰⁸⁸. The missing passages in the first part in the Pontifical from Roda complicates its identification with a definitive BHL version of the *Vindicta*. However, the comparison with the earliest manuscript witnesses identified by Z. Isydorczyk allows us to suggest that it belongs to the BHL 4221 version¹⁰⁸⁹. Furthermore, it has a slightly different narrative structure: it contains many more dialogues and has some insertions. Moreover, the aforementioned manuscript from Limoges containing a version of the *Passio Imaginis* (in its translation by Anastasius the Librarian, BHL 4227), has also the *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*, just preceding Pseudo-Athanasius's sermon¹⁰⁹⁰. This might point to a possible simultaneous dissemination of the Beirut account with the Gospel of Nicodemus cluster of texts.

The fragment from the Pontifical of Roda d'Isàvena starts on folio 1r with: '*miserunt nuncios ad Tiberio in urbem Rome*' and finishes on folio 1v with '*cum mulierem nomine Veronice*'¹⁰⁹¹. It describes thus the journey of Volosianus to Judea to bring Christ to the Emperor Tiberius who would heal his wounds. Volosianus arrived in Judea and learnt there that had been Christ crucified. In anger he ordered Pilate to be put in prison. He found then the woman called Veronica who had the image of Christ (*vultum Domini*) and brought the image to the Emperor¹⁰⁹². The story continues on the folio 12v with the following healing of leprous Tiberius through his worship of the miraculous *vultum Domini*¹⁰⁹³.

English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source. The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour, ed. J. E. Cross (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 131–293. See the new edition in P. Wallinder, *John Trevisa and the Gospel of Nicodemus*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Exeter, 2021), forthcoming.

1087See Z. Isydorczyk, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages', in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 158 (Arizona, 1997), pp. 43–103, esp. pp. 57–9.

1088See T. N. Hall, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* and *Vindicta Salvatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England', in *op. cit.*, pp. 36–81, pp. 71–5.

1089Z. Isydorczyk identifies two earliest extant texts of the *Vindicta*: first in the ninth-century manuscript from Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 202, ff. 20v–25v, and second in the tenth-century manuscript from Paris BnF, Ms. lat. 5327, ff. 55r–61v. See Z. Isydorczyk, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages', p. 60; and Z. Isydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the 'Evangelium Nicodemi': A Census* (Toronto, 1993), p. 139.

1090Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 3784, ff. 113r–114r (BHL 4220). For the identification see the detailed manuscript record on the BnF Webpage, accessed 5th August 2020, available at <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc617454/cd0e2347>.

1091Fol. 1rv represents a variation of the §§19–32, from the published edition by J. E. Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source*, pp. 272–90. On fol. 1vb, lines 10–19 the Roda text transforms the common monologue of Titus and Vespasianus into their dialogue, still referring to the Jewish blasphemy over Christ. This form increases the rhetorical accusation against the Jews without changing the content (see the edition of Cross on the p. 290 and of C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 484).

1092See Lleida, AC RC_0036, fol. 1rv and the text edition by Cross, pp. 272–90.

1093Lleida, AC RC_0036, fol. 12v. The end of this text is more detailed than that in the printed version by J. E. Cross and thus corresponds more to the edition by Tischendorf. See C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha: adhibitibus plurimis codicibus graecis et latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 471–86, p. 486.

The fragment from the Roda Pontifical does not seem to reproduce the *Vindicta* from the earliest found manuscript, now in Saint-Omer, dated to the ninth century (BHL 4221k)¹⁰⁹⁴. The main difference between the Roda fragment and the printed version of this first manuscript is revealed at the very end of the text. The Saint-Omer version finishes with a simple sentence on the healing and the baptism of Tiberius and all his house (§ 35), while the Roda fragment describes this baptism in a more detailed way, thoroughly reproducing every gesture made, and finishes with the words of Tiberius claiming Pontius Pilate and ordering to punish him. For this reason, the Roda text is closer to Tischendorf's edition¹⁰⁹⁵, although it mentions for the first time this last order against Pilatus.

However, there is another important difference between the Roda text and that printed one in Tischendorf's edition: in the Roda Pontifical the name of the person who baptises Tiberius is not Nathan, but Silvester. Nathan was mentioned at the very beginning of the *Vindicta*, as a man coming from Judea and telling the story about Jesus Christ who performed many miracles. Since the king Tyrus from Bordeaux heard the story, he believed in Christ and was healed. So then Nathan baptised him. At the end of the tale Nathan baptises Tiberius in the same way. The Roda version however suggests Silvester in Nathan's place. On the one hand, it might indicate a particular meaning of Silvester for Catalonia, if we think of Pope Silvester, who being yet Gerbert of Aurillac studied in Catalonia at the Ripoll monastery¹⁰⁹⁶. But on the other hand, the second manuscript witness from another region uses the same name, albeit it does not change the name at the beginning of text¹⁰⁹⁷. So Nathan arrives from Judea, but it is yet Silvester who baptises Tiberius. Could this change of name for Silvester refer to the regional context of the place of the manuscripts' compilation? Or did this change of name (having a certain papal reference) rather point to the new perception of Rome at the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh centuries?

One of the main aspects of this text related to the discussed topic on the *Passio Imaginis Domini* concerns the miraculous image of Christ. The text of *Vindicta* also mentions the scene with the Crucifixion as well as the healing miracles that Christ performed during his life. The same miraculous power is then transferred to the image of Christ, in the *Vindicta* version: the *vultum Domini* was captured and saved by Veronica. The notable part of the story

1094 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 202, ff. 20v–25v, a different one from the earlier Tischendorf's edition. See J. E. Cross, J. Crick, 'The Manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202', in *Two Old English Apocrypha*, pp. 10–35, 23.

1095 Tischendorf mentions that some texts with the *Vindicta* transmission end on the same sentence as the St-Omer does. See C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 485, n. 34–35. The manuscript he used belong however to the 14th–15th centuries. See *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations*, ed. B.R. Erhman, W. Pleše (Oxford, 2011), p. 538.

1096 See P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le Pape de l'An Mil* (Paris, 2006) [1987], pp. 21–7.

1097 Paris BnF, Ms. lat. 5327, ff. 55r–61v (10th c.). This manuscript is mentioned by Z. Isydorczyk as the second text (chronologically!) transmitting the *Vindicta*. See Z. Isydorczyk, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages', in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 60.

concerns the worship of this image, where both Veronica and Velosianus ‘adorant’ the image of Christ¹⁰⁹⁸.

To this curious Catalan collection of texts on the passion and miracles of Christ also belongs the essential text, the Gospel of Nicodemus itself, copied together with the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*¹⁰⁹⁹. It comes to us in a tenth-century miscellaneous volume from the monastery of Ripoll and is titled as *Gesta graecorum de passioni domini contra Iudaeos*¹¹⁰⁰ (Figure 26). This Ripoll copy is one of the two oldest surviving examples of its family, the Iberian-based C version¹¹⁰¹. The other one comes from the monastery Santo Domingo de Silos¹¹⁰². The Ripoll version claims to be a translation of now lost Greek version¹¹⁰³. It is tempting to bind together the manuscript from Limoges (BnF 3784) with its *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and Catalan testimonies with the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* (Ripoll 106) and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* (Roda 35). Although they all belong to different versions of the text¹¹⁰⁴, they clearly highlight the common intellectual atmosphere in the Aquitanian and Catalan region, the major fields of interest for medieval religious circles, and might also point to the connections between religious institutions in this region¹¹⁰⁵.

Altogether there are five sources with the texts in close connection to each other, although not necessarily of the same versions (Table 30).

1098 ‘Ego autem ab eo illum inclusum in sindone mundo et cotidie adoro eum’. Velosianus dixit: ‘Ostente illum mihi et ego eum adorabo’. Tunc Veronices quo acta dedit vultum Domini. Velosianus autem ut vidit eum prostravit se in terra prompto corde et ex tota fide adoravit eum’. Lleida, AC RC_0036, fol.1rb. J. E. Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, p. 280. A similar idea can be found in Tischendorf’s edition but without Velosianus verbalising his desire to adore the Image. See C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 481.

1099 See Z. Izydorczyk, ‘The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages’, in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 59.

1100 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 106, ff. 122r–139v (10th c.)

1101 Z. Izydorczyk, ‘The Unfamiliar *Evangelium Nicodemi*’, *Manuscripta* 33 (1989), 169–91, p. 183.

1102 This story is told by C. J. Chandler in his chapter on ‘A New View of a Catalonia *Gesta contra Iudaeos*: Ripoll 106 and the Jews of the Spanish March’, in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. C. J. Chandler, S. A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, 2013), pp. 187–204, esp. pp. 198–99. He refers to the personal communication of Z. Izydorczyk in 2008, who in his turn worked a lot on the Gospel of Nicodemus. See Z. Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the ‘Evangelium Nicodemi’: A Census* (Toronto, 1993); *Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Z. Izydorczyk (Tempe, 1997).

1103 C. J. Chandler, *op.cit.*, p.199.

1104 The *Passio Imaginis Domini* BHL 4227 in Limoges and BHL 4229c in Roda, as discussed above; the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* version B in Limoges and version C in Ripoll. See Z. Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the ‘Evangelium Nicodemi’: A Census*, pp. 136–37 and 16 respectively.

1105 The manuscript 3784 with the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* was copied by Ademar of Chabannes. Thanks to his chronicle we know about the relations between Limousin and Spanish regions at the beginning of the eleventh century. The circulation of the Gospel of Nicodemus could also be due to this network. See *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain, CC Continuatio mediaevalis 129 (Turnhout, 1999), III, 41 and 52. See also B. Barrière, ‘Routes et échanges entre Limousin et Espagne du XI^e au XIII^e siècle’, in *Limousin médiéval. Le temps des créations. Occupation du sol en Limousin au Moyen Âge, monde laïc, espace cistercien* (Limoges, 2006) pp. 73–90, esp. pp. 74–5.

Table 30 – Christological Literature

<i>Texts</i>		10 th c.	1000	11 th c., first quarter/ before 1034
<i>Passio Imaginis</i>				Lectionary from Roda d'Isàvena (Roda 35) Homiliary/legendary from Limoges (BnF 3784)
<i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i>	<i>Cura Sanitatis Tiberii</i>	<i>Miscellanea</i> from Ripoll (Ripoll 106)		Homiliary/legendary from Limoges (BnF 3784)
	<i>Vindicta Salvatoris</i>	Legendary from Tournai (BnF 5327)	Pontifical from Roda d'Isàvena (Roda 36)	

This collection of intertwined texts compiled in the tenth and eleventh centuries—the Gospel of Nicodemus together with the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* (Ripoll 106), the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* (BnF 3784, from Limoges), two *Vindicta Salvatoris*, possibly belonging to the same version (BnF 5327 and Roda 36), and finally the *Passio Imaginis Domini* that is the corner stone of this chapter (Roda 35)—clearly marked the changing perspective on Christ around the year 1000. The first witnesses that bring together the apocryphal Gospel, the sermons on Christ's passion, the stories on the healing miracles He performed, and His miraculous images (*vultum Domini* and *ymago/ycona Domini*) become the important testimonies of changing religious sensibilities. This concerns in particular the development of Christology, the veneration of Christ's relics as well as the veneration towards the cross and the crucifix. These phenomena will be analysed further.

2. The Feast and Auctaria: Martyrologies and Calendars

As it was pointed out above, the earliest source of a Catalan provenance with an apparent reference to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* is the fragment of a calendar housed in the Archive of the Barcelona Cathedral chapter. The preserved parts of the calendar contain, first, the dates from May 16 to July 18, and second, those from November 9 to December 31. À. Fàbrega Grau assumes that this fragment was written for a small monastic community in the *Marca Hispanica* and dates it, according to its palaeographical features, to the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century¹¹⁰⁶. Claiming that this calendar belongs to the mixed

1106À. Fàbrega Grau, 'Un calendari litúrgic franco-mossàrab (ss. X–XI) a l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 22 (2001), 151–79, esp. pp. 156–57. However, F. Dolbeau has recently pointed out that St. Maianus from this calendar was a typical Septimanian saint, which might call the Catalan provenance of this calendar into question. See F. Dolbeau, 'A la recherche de textes rares. L'enquête de

Franco-Mozarabic liturgical type, Fàbrega Grau compares it to the similar contemporary (and even slightly earlier) calendar, from the Ripoll monastery¹¹⁰⁷. The Ripoll calendar, however, does not contain any reference to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*, which, together with other testimonies, might point to the implementation of the feast in Catalan counties step by step only from the end of the tenth century on.

During the eleventh century the number of calendar references decreases in comparison to the number of *auctaria* found in the martyrologies. The earliest Catalan martyrologies from Girona (960–980) and Vic (993–1010) mention this feast in the margins. Recent scholarship has acknowledged the early dissemination of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the Catalan sources that refer to the Girona martyrology, but this conclusion drew on a somewhat dated article by L. Serdá who identified the Girona martyrology as the first testimony of the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*¹¹⁰⁸. However, in spite of such an early dating of the Girona martyrology, this feast did not yet exist at the time of its compilation, because it was added by a later hand, in a script of the twelfth century (See Figure 27). Serdá did not precise the dating of this feast, he only noticed its presence in the Girona manuscript, which led to the following misinterpretation of the first arrival of the feast in Girona. Therefore, the earliest testimony appears to be a calendar with Catalan or possibly Septimanian provenance compiled at the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century, as it will be demonstrated further.

This refining however does not diminish one meaningful fact concerning the first Vic martyrology (compiled between 993 and 1010) – the double mention of the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the margin. If the low margin seems to be written in Carolingian minuscule—very close to the original script in the martyrology or at least copied not much later—the upper one is written in Gothic script and repeats verbatim the lower version (Figure 28). Leaving a possible lack of attention aside, the main reason for such an addition might be the importance of the Christ's feast and of the celebration of his sacred image.

While both martyrologies from Girona and Vic included the reference in an added form, between the lines (Girona) or in the margin (Vic), it was mainly from the eleventh century that the feast started being copied into the main text of martyrology. Therefore it obtained its 'official' place in the manuscript used daily during the Office of the Chapter, or, in other words, it became part of religious life in the chapter (in all Vic martyrologies) or monastic institution (Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Serrateix). Again we notice that the veneration of the newly disseminating cult of the Image of Christ became entrenched in both secular and regular religious communities, which is the frequent case with Catalan religious institutions.

dom Estiennot sur les manuscrits du Languedoc et du Sud-Ouest de la France', in *Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 49 (Toulouse, 2014), pp. 193–232.

1107Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 59, ff. 195r–200v (10th/11th cc.).

1108See the arguments of M. Bacci, 'The Berarenga Antependium', p. 10, and J.-M. Sansterre, 'L'image blessée, l'image souffrante', p. 119. See also L. Serdá, 'Los martirologios de la Marca Hispanica en la evolución litúrgica de la misma', *Ausa* 1 (1952–53), p. 389.

The calendars in the Girona region kept the reference to the *Passio Imaginis Domini* from the eleventh up to the thirteenth centuries. Table 31 presented below contains the *formulae* added at the day of the feast into martyrologies and calendars from the Catalan counties (T – in the main text, M – in the margin). The manuscripts and fragments are organised in a chronological order, based on the dating of the *auctaria* and not of the manuscript itself (as in some cases the feast was added later).

Table 31 – *Passio Imaginis Domini*. References from Calendars and Martyrologies

N	Date	Genre/place in the text	Place	<i>Formulae</i>
1	end 10 th /beg. 11 th c.	Calendar (T)	A monastic community in the <i>Marca Hispanica</i>	<i>Festivitatis Immaginis [sic] Domini Salvatoris</i> ¹¹⁰⁹ .
2	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Natalis et celebratio de Imagine Domini nostri Iesu Christi que acta est in tempore Constantini Iunioris quem modo totus mundus sub magna reverentia concelebrat</i> ¹¹¹⁰ .
3	1061	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Festivitas et celebratio Ymaginis Domini nostri Iesu Christi que inventa est tempore Constantini Iunioris quam totus mundus sub magna reverentia concelebrat</i> ¹¹¹¹ .
4	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Eodem die Passio Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris que crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate</i> ¹¹¹² .
5	11 th c.	Martyrology (M)	Cathedral chapter of Carcassonne	<i>Eodem die Passio Imaginis Domini Salvatoris qui crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate</i> ¹¹¹³ .
6	11 th c., end	Martyrology (T)	Monastery of Sant	<i>Celebritas Ymaginis Domini</i>

1109Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 185/1, fol. 5ra.

1110Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (VicM₁), fol. 129v. Another mention is repeated verbatim in Gothic minuscule above the previous one.

1111Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B (VicM₂), fol. 109r.

1112Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 117v.

1113Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256 (CarcasM), fol. 124r.

			Cugat del Vallès	<i>nostri Iesu Christi que inventa est in Berito civitate tempore Constantini Iunioris quam totus mundus magna sub veneratione concelebrat</i> ¹¹¹⁴ .
7	11 th /12 th cc. ¹¹¹⁵	Calendar from the Martyrology (T)	Monastery Santa Maria de Serrateix	<i>Passio Imaginis Domini</i> ¹¹¹⁶ .
8	12 th c., first half	Calendar (T)	Sant Iscle d'Empordà ¹¹¹⁷	<i>Passio Imaginis Domini</i> ¹¹¹⁸ .
9	12 th c.	Martyrology (T)	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Festivitas et celebratio Ymaginis Domini nostri Iesu Christi que inventa est tempore Constantini Iunioris quam totus mundus sub magna reverentia concelebrat</i> ¹¹¹⁹ .
10	12 th c.	Calendar (T)	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Passio Imaginis Domini</i> ¹¹²⁰ .
11	12 th c., second quarter	Calendar from <i>miscellanea</i> (T)	Parochial church in Gironès ¹¹²¹	<i>Passio Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris</i> ¹¹²² .
12	12 th /13 th cc.	Calendar from sacramentary (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Passio Ymaginis Domini</i> ¹¹²³ .
13	1219/1221	Calendar from <i>Liber de consuetudinibus</i> (T)	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Passio Imaginis Domini</i> ¹¹²⁴ .

1114Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ms. Sant Cugat 22 (StCugM), fol. 120v.

1115The date of compilation of the Serrateix martyrology is mentioned in the explicit, 1076. The calendar, copied by different hands, might have however been completed later.

1116København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794 (SerrateixM), fol. 184r.

1117See the note 508 in Chapter Two on the arguments of M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol for the Gironian provenance and for the dating of the manuscript. M. Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari gironí de Sant Iscle d'Empordà', *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 11 (2003), 57–118, pp. 62–3.

1118Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. Mús. 420, fol. 39v.

1119Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 96v.

1120Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 110v.

1121On the provenance and the dating of the calendar in this manuscript see F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'Un singular calendari provinent d'un sacramentari gironí de Castelló d'Empúries', p. 41.

1122Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10401, fol. 8v.

1123Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 9v.

1124Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 46, fol. 154r.

All calendars contain similar references, brief and concrete (*Passio/Festivitas Imaginis Domini/Domini Salvatoris*), while the references from the martyrologies present a curious collection¹¹²⁵. First of all, one can clearly distinguish between two types of references according to their content, and thus divide the martyrologies into two groups. The first group embraces the three Vic martyrologies and the Sant Cugat one. The second group covers two martyrologies, from Girona and from Carcassonne. This combination could be explained by the political unions and changing borders between counties. Since the County of Carcassonne became a part of the growing Barcelona County from 1069 (which had already comprised Girona)¹¹²⁶, this Gironian usage of naming this feast could then spread to Carcassonne. The first group bears witness of another tradition that might have arisen through different sources. Such distinction points thus to the existence of multiple networks in the region that defined the dissemination of the textual tradition of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast.

The suggested comparison is based on the content structure of the piece of text in both groups. The first group thus does not only refer to the fact of celebrating the Passion of the Image of Christ that happened in Beirut, but insists on the solemnity of this feast: ‘*totus mundus sub magna reverentia concelebrat*’. Moreover, the StCugM even points to the place where the Passion happened—‘*in Berito civitate*’—although none of the Vic martyrologies does. Another distinction between the two groups lies in the different narration of the feast: the texts of the first group accentuate its commemorative character; not the nature of the event that occurred (*celebratio/festivitas; inventa est/acta est*), while the texts of the second group stress *what* occurred; it was the sacred image that had been subjected to the torture (*Passio imaginis que crucifixa est*). Furthermore, an important element in the *auctaria* is the accent on God-Saviour (*Domini Salvatoris*), attested only in the texts of the second group. This reference correlates with one of the main ideas of the Beirut legend being diffused at the same time in the region, on the future salvation of all Christians¹¹²⁷. Finally, another distinguishing element between the two groups concerns the formula from the second group that corresponds exactly to the text of the Beirut legend, in particular in its Catalan version from Roda d’Isàvena: ‘*De passione Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris que crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate, tempore Constantini Iunioris et Irene uxoris eius*’¹¹²⁸. Might this connection point to the circulation of Pseudo-Athanasius’s sermon in the communities of Girona and Carcassonne due to the similar nomination?

1125I do not compare the SerratM with other martyrologies here, because the conserved reference in the volume belongs only to the calendar and thus can be compared with others of the same genre. The codicological loss of ff. 155r–161v embraced the first half of the month of November.

1126See more on the politics of Ramon Berenguer I in S. Sobrequés, *Els primers Comtes Catalans*. Història de Catalunya. Biografies catalanes 2 (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 59–73. On the ‘sale’ of Carcassonne and Razès see also H. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne, XI^e – XII^e siècles: Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), esp. pp. 23–98.

1127This idea of the salvation and the forming connection of the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* with the feast of the dedication of the Lateran basilica will be discussed in Chapter Five.

1128Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 161va.

This connection between the reference from the second group of martyrologies and the text of the sermon can also be confirmed by one curious calendar reference, attested in the Limousin region. It is absent from Table 31 as this manuscript does not belong to the pure heritage of the Catalan counties. But since the religious network—such as the exchange of texts via monks’ travels—between Catalan and Limousin religious institutions has taken place, the analysis of one peculiar reference from that calendar might shed light on the character of the text’s circulation.

The sacramentary from one of the Limousin abbeys, dated to the first half of the eleventh century, contains in its calendar a curious eulogy ‘*Sanguis et aqua*’, and a non-standardised ‘*Passio Imaginis Domini*’¹¹²⁹ (Figure 29). This reference to the miracle that happened in Beirut clearly demonstrates the essential part of it: the bleeding image and relics. The text of the ‘Sermon of Athanasius’ (BHL 4227) contains exactly that mention: ‘*Demonstrantes et adnunciantes omnia que fecerant imaginem Domini qualiter et iam sanguis et aqua exierat de latere Imaginis*’¹¹³⁰. This correspondence allows us to draw a direct connection between the earliest surviving text in Limousin (tenth century of this BHL version) and this manuscript, compiled less than a century later.

Another curious testimony belongs to the Hispanic sources¹¹³¹. Although largely the Hispanic calendars neglect the five feasts which are at the core of the present investigation, one of them makes an exception for the *Passio Imaginis Domini*. A calendar from San Millán de la Cogolla (end of the eleventh century) mentions the *Passio Imaginis Domini* on November 9¹¹³². However, J. Vezin underscores a possible influence from the French liturgical tradition, particularly Cluny, on the sanctoral of this calendar¹¹³³. The arrival of this feast to Navarra was apparently thanks to the network with the religious institutions from Aquitania, connections with Cluny and possibly through Catalan institutions. Hispanic calendars, however, suggest another feast and another dating: ‘*Sancti Salvatoris*’ on November 25¹¹³⁴. This other dating may explain why Fàbrega Grau suggested that no

1129 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 8v (11th c., first half).

1130 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 740, fol. 129r (10th c.).

1131À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Un calendari litúrgic franco-mossàrab (ss. X–XI) a l’Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona’, p. 69, n. 42.

1132Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 18, fol. 11r. J. Janini suggests 1090 as *terminus post quem* according to the reference on November 6 (‘*Translatio sancti Felicis presbyteri et confessoris*’). J. Janini, ‘Dos calendarios emilianenses del siglo XI’, *Hispania sacra* 15/29 (1962), 1–19, pp. 5 and 17.

1133See J. Vezin, ‘Un calendrier franco-hispanique de la fin du XI^e siècle’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 121 (1963), 5–25, pp. 6–7.

1134See three Visigoth calendars dated to the middle of the eleventh century: first with an unknown provenance (1039), second from Silos (1052), and third ordered by Queen Sancha of Castilia (1055). *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l’église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d’Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. M. Férotin (Paris, 1904), pp. XXXI–XXXII and p. 488. Later Vives attributes this feast from the Hispanic calendars to the non-classified (according to his classification of Roman, Italian, Gallic, African and feasts from the Orient). He also points out the feast ‘*Domini Salvatoris*’ in the calendar from Albelda (1067). J. Vives Gatell, ‘Santoral visigodo en calendarios e inscripciones’, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 14 (1941), 31–58, p. 53. See the revision of all Visigoth calendars, where this feast is mentioned in all eleventh-century versions in J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Calendarios hispánicos anteriores al siglo XIII’, *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 339–80, pp. 361 (Silos, 1052), 367 (Compostella, 1055) and 379 (both Silos, 1067 and 1072). The tenth-century calendars do not contain this feast,

manuscript of Hispanic origin mentioned this feast, as he apparently only considered the date of November 9. The Beirut account in its eleventh-century versions, BHL 4228 and 4229, includes the reference to the feast on November 9: ‘*per annos singulos in mense Novembri [...], nono die ipsius mensis, id est, quinto Idus Novembris*’¹¹³⁵. The Roda text even announces the dating in the rubric (see Fig. 2). Therefore, nothing conclusively proves that the feast mentioned in the Hispanic calendars as *Sancti Salvatoris* is connected to the Beirut legend. Moreover, this feast has no link to the Roman liturgical tradition. According to P. Jounel, rather than mentioning the *Passio Imaginis Domini* all Roman calendars instead include the *Dedicatio basilice Salvatoris* (Latran basilica) and celebrate it on November 9 rather than November 25¹¹³⁶.

This analysis helps to draw the following conclusions. The diffusion of the veneration of the Image of Christ possibly arrived in different waves and from different sources. That is why different types of *formulae* in manuscripts, in particular martyrologies, can be traced. The choice of *topoi* for the narration (the accent on the event itself or on the passion) might indicate the textual tradition which already existed or was known to the religious institution that accepted and reproduced the *auctaria*. Furthermore, the geographical proximity between the institutions belonging to the same text group may demonstrate the path for dissemination of the feast within the region. At the same time, both groups contain manuscripts from canonical chapters, despite the different character of the added reference, so the formula of the feast could hardly be linked to the type of religious community and thus to the religious use of the manuscript. If we accept the hypothesis by Fàbrega Grau that the earliest calendar (at the turn of the tenth to eleventh centuries) had a Catalan origin and belonged to a Catalan monastery, this might reveal that the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* was accepted first by monastic communities. At any rate, the reference to the date 1061 from the Vic₂M (1061) (Figure 30) demonstrates that the feast quickly spread to the canonical communities too. This again shows the close connection between monastic and canonical communities in Catalonia regarding their choice of feasts and the dissemination of cults.

The liturgical manuscripts analysed here demonstrate the pace with which the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast was disseminated in the Catalan region. The early arrival of the Beirut account in Roda d’Isavena in the first quarter of the eleventh century, and the double reference to November 9 for the celebration of this feast in the Roda manuscript, might explain the increasing integration of its commemoration in other liturgical testimonies in the Catalan region throughout the eleventh century.

see on two manuscripts with the provenance from San Martín de Abelda and San Millán de la Cogolla J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Calendarios hispanicos anteriores al siglo XII’, *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949), 119–46 and on the calendar from León, J. Vives, À. Fàbrega Grau, ‘Calendarios hispánicos anteriores al siglo XIII’, p. 373. The reference to ‘*Sancti Salvatoris*’ in the tenth-century calendar from Silos is posterior, see *ibid.*, pp. 348 and 355. 1135Mansi II, col. 585. The Roda text announces the date in almost the same way: ‘*in mense Novembrio [...], nono scilicet die ingrediente eodem mense quod est, quinto Idus Novembris*’, Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 165va. 1136P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977), pp. 15–94.

3. Liturgical References: the Formation of the Standardised Mass

Table 23, which outlines three groups of testimonies at the beginning of this chapter includes all references of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* on the chronological scale and demonstrates a clear tendency for increasing liturgical references from the eleventh century on. Concerning the proper liturgy, the Ripoll sacramentary (1040) is the first book to integrate this feast into the proper of the mass. The second eleventh-century reference belongs to another piece of the monastic community of Lagrasse. The Lagrasse *collectarium* and ritual is close not only to this particular Ripoll sacramentary, but also to other liturgical volumes from Iberian religious institutions¹¹³⁷. Nevertheless, a massive increase of the liturgical commemoration of this feast occurs only in the twelfth century, as demonstrated in Table 32 below.

Table 32 – *Passio Imaginis Domini*. Proper of the Mass

Manuscript	Feast Day (November 9)
1) Sacramentary from the Monastery Santa Maria de Ripoll (1040) ¹¹³⁸	<p>Coll. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hunc diem nobis caeleberrimum contulisti praesta quaesumus ut sicut hodierna die in imagine sua Christi filii tui passione fideliter recolimus ita ab infestantis inimici iaculis tuo munimine tueamur. Per eundem.</i> (CO 3959)¹¹³⁹</p> <p>Scr. <i>Munera tuae pietati oblata sanctifica quaesumus domine et gehennales cruciatus quos pro piaculis digne nostris meremur per unigeniti Christi filii tui Imaginis passionem a nobis procul pelle propitius. Qui tecum.</i> (CO 3507)¹¹⁴⁰</p> <p>Pref. VD. <i>Per Christum. Qui se pro peccatoribus tradidit qui proprias manus extendit in cruce pro nobis, qui adversas potestates per crucis misterium absicavit, ac tocius humani generis delicta in ipsa cruce transfixit. Et ideo.</i> (CP 1223)¹¹⁴¹</p>

1137See S. Nishimagi who suggests the interaction between liturgical traditions on both sides of the Pyrenees comparing the *ordines* and the *antiphona* of this Lagrasse volume and other Catalan and Aragonese sources. S. Nishimagi, 'Collectarium, Ritual', in *Hispania Vetus. Musical-liturgical manuscripts from Visigothic origins to the Franco-Roman transition*, p. 334.

1138Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, fol. 153rv. See *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, ed. A. Olivar (Madrid/Barcelona, 1964), pp. 185–86.

1139*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 E (Turnhout, 1995), *oratio* 3959.

1140*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 D (Turnhout, 1994), *oratio* 3507.

1141*Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 376.

	<i>Ad compl. Alimonia caelesti potuque spirituali recreati tuam, deus pater, obsecramus pietatem, ut per eandem, quam hodierna die sanctae Immaginis Christi filii tui veneramur passionem, cunctorum a te mereamur consequi veniam delictorum. Per eundem. (CO 243)</i> ¹¹⁴²
2) Collectary-ordinary from the monastery of Lagrasse (11 th c., fourth quarter) ¹¹⁴³	<i>Coll. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hunc diem nobis caeleberrimum (CO 3959)</i>
3) <i>Missale Parvum</i> from the Cathedral chapter of Vic (end 11 th c./beg. 12 th c.) ¹¹⁴⁴	<i>Coll. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus (CO 3959)</i> ¹¹⁴⁵ <i>Scr. Munera tuae pietati oblata (CO 3507)</i> <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Adesto nobis quesumus domine Deus noster ut quos per lignum sanctae crucis pio cruore filii tui dignatus es redimere ab omni insidiatoris digneris fraude protegere. Per eundem. (CO 165)</i> ¹¹⁴⁶
4) Sacramentary from the Collegiate church Sant Feliu de Girona (12 th c.) ¹¹⁴⁷	<i>Coll. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus (CO 3959)</i> <i>Scr. Munera tuae pietati oblata (CO 3507)</i> <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Alimonia caelesti (CO 243)</i>
5) Sacramentary from the Cathedral Santa Maria de Girona and Collegiate church Sant Feliu de Girona (12 th c., first half) ¹¹⁴⁸	<i>Coll. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus (CO 3959)</i> <i>Scr. Munera tuae pietati oblata (CO 3507)</i> <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Alimonia caelesti (CO 243)</i>
6) Sacramentary of regular canons from Santa Maria de	<i>Coll. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus (CO 3959)</i> <i>Scr. Munera tuae pietati oblata (CO 3507)</i>

1142 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), *oratio* 243.

1143 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, fol. 78v. For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El Collectari-Ordinari de l'Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 16 (2008), 203–453, pp. 207–08.

1144 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 71, ff. 24v–25r. For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El "Missale Parvum" de Vic', *Hispania sacra* 21 (1968), 313–77, pp. 313–14.

1145 The same prayer, but with the phrase 'qui unigenitum tuum pro salute mundi incarnari voluisti' instead of 'qui hunc diem nobis caeleberrimum contulisti'.

1146 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 (Turnhout, 1992), *oratio* 1165.

1147 Girona Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 5, ff. 103v–104r.

1148 Girona, Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46, fol. 104r. The shortened version of this mass is published in M. Sureda i Jubany, M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari de Sant Feliu de Girona (Girona. Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 17 (2009), 83–210, p. 161. For the dating and the provenance see *ibid.*, pp. 88–9.

Vilabertran (12 th c., third quarter) ¹¹⁴⁹	Pref. Absent Ad compl. <i>Alimonia caelesti</i> (CO 243)
7) Collectary-capitulary from the Cathedral chapter of Vic (12 th c., third quarter) ¹¹⁵⁰	Coll. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> (CO 3959)
8) Missal from the Abbey Arles-sur-Tech (12 th c., fourth quarter) ¹¹⁵¹	Coll. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> (CO 3959) Scr. <i>Munera tuae pietati oblata</i> (CO 3507) Pref. Absent Ad compl. <i>Alimonia caelesti</i> (CO 243)
9) Sacramentary from the Monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès ¹¹⁵² (12 th /13 th c.)	Coll. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> (CO 3959) ¹¹⁵³ Scr. <i>Munera tuae pietati oblata</i> (CO 3507) Pref. <i>Qui salutem humani generis</i> (CP 1200) ¹¹⁵⁴ Ad compl. <i>Alimonia caelesti</i> (CO 243)

Table 32 demonstrates the uniformity of the mass for the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the Catalan region, with the earliest testimony found in the Ripoll sacramentary (1040), apart from one manuscript from Vic with another prayer for the collect and communion. Furthermore, these sources prove again that the religious text was transmitted at the same time and in the same way for both secular and regular religious communities. The only testimony that conserves the preface is the latest source from Sant Cugat del Vallès. This sacramentary also uses the same collect as the one from Vic, although the communion prayer corresponds to the common one. These changes demonstrate a possible variation, although at a very insignificant level, rather than a particular unifying tradition between Vic and Sant Cugat liturgy. The words for *praefatio* in the Sant Cugat sacramentary stress once more the message of the salvation that the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* delivers to the faithful and may highlight how the liturgical sources bear witness to the symbolical theological ideas being entrenched into religious consciousness¹¹⁵⁵. Nevertheless, together these eight masses from Table 32 testify that a unified standardised version of the proper of mass in the sacramentaries was already established from the second quarter of the eleventh century onwards.

The idea of Christ's self-sacrifice, central to Christian religious sensibilities, acquires a particular meaning for this feast day through the highlighted image of the cross – the sign of

1149Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1102, fol. 160rv.

1150Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 99, ff. 108v–109r. For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El collectari-capitulari de la Catedral de Vic (Vic. Mus. Episc., Ms. 99)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 5 (1994), 107–73, pp. 110–11.

1151Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, ff. 112v–113r.

1152Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 113v.

1153The same prayer, but with the phrase '*qui unigenitum tuum pro salute mundi incarnari voluisti*' instead of '*qui hunc diem nobis caeleberrimum contulisti*'.

1154*Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 371.

1155See more on the idea of salvation underscored by this feast in Chapter Five.

Christ's torments and victory over the death. Thus, the preface of the mass is wholly dedicated to Jesus Christ and pays particular attention to the cross. The crucial meaning of the proper of the mass would be a certain juxtaposition of the Passion of *Christ* and the Passion of the *Image of Christ*: the Image automatically takes on the symbolical meaning of Christ himself, so the Passion of the Image of Christ becomes a metonym for the Passion of Christ. First, this close interaction between Christ and His Image reinforces this medieval connection between object and its representation, bringing us back to the dispute on the sacred images. The Image of Crucifix thus reinforces the notion of the sacred image through Christ's sanctity. The same text of the Beirut legend, grounded earlier than the liturgical commemoration for the November 9, tends rather to amalgamate Christ with the Image of Christ by insisting on the repeating similarity of the tortures the real and the imaged Christ suffered. But in the eleventh-century mass this similarity is already obvious enough to be rather perceived as absolutely identical. Second, it is important to consider that this parallel between the Passion of the Image (Crucifix) and the Passion of Christ happens at the core of the mass, right before the sacred moment of the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ. According to several Carolingian scholars, the sacrament of Eucharist is indistinguishable from the crucified body of Christ¹¹⁵⁶. The accumulation of these theological and symbolic interpretations reinforces the aesthetic of the Image of Christ and the Crucifix and makes the faithful active in this 'triple concentration' of Christ during the Mass of the feast day *Passio Imaginis Domini*.

Apart from the sacramentaries there are three more testimonies which show the implementation of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* into various genres of liturgical production. The first one concerns a brief reference to the feast in the twelfth-century antiphony from the collegiate church Sant Pere d'Àger¹¹⁵⁷. The chants that follow this reference correspond to the prayers for the martyr Theodore commemorated the same day¹¹⁵⁸. While observing this

1156Paschasius Radbertus stresses that the bread and wine at the Eucharist are transformed into historical flesh and blood of Christ. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domine cum appendice epistola ad Fredugardum* 1, ed. B. Paulus. CC Continuatio Mediaevalis 16 (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 16–18. Gottshalk perceives the Eucharist as the fruit of Christ's crucified body that, received back from Christ, is descended to those elected with a true faith who are predestined to the salvation. Gottschalk, *De corpore et sanguine Domine. Oeuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais*, ed. D. C. Lambot. Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 20 (Louvain, 1945), pp. 331–32. Hincmar of Rheims is convinced that the miracle of the Eucharist demonstrates the humility of Christ who offered his crucified body and blood as food and drink. Hincmar, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. D. Nachtmann. MGH Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Munich, 1998), pp. 243–46 and 251–52. See more on the Carolingians in C. Chazelle, 'The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 205–50, esp. pp. 240–49.

1157Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1147, fol. 157r.

1158'*In virtute. Domine prevenisti. Letabitur. Gloria et honore. Posuisti domine*'. J. Bellavista attributes these texts to the feast of St. Theodorus martyr, celebrated the same day. J. Bellavista, 'L'antifoner de missa de l'església de Sant Pere d'Àger: el santoral. M. 1147 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya a Barcelona', *Revista catalana de teologia* 2 (1977), 189–232, p. 227. The full version of these chants can be consulted in the gradual from Albi, see BnF, Ms. lat. 776, fol. 119rv (11th c.).

manuscript, J. Bellavista tentatively attributed it to the group of graduals that he called the Narbonnese group. However there are no other references to the *Passio* in any of them¹¹⁵⁹.

The second source, the evangeliary of Cuixà, compiled at the end of the twelfth century, contains a reference to the *Passio Imaginis Domini* with a Gospel lecture: ‘*In festivitate passionis Ymaginis Domini. Sicut fulgur exit ab oriente*’¹¹⁶⁰. Lemarié claims that this feast was mentioned among the others in the calendars of the religious institutions, placed nearby – in Elne, Girona, Vic, Arles-sur-Tech¹¹⁶¹, which corresponds to the manuscript evidence from the Girona and Vic martyrologies as well as from the missal from Arles-sur-Tech observed above. Finally, the thirteenth-century homiliary from the monastery Sant Ponç de Tomeres has the same lecture: ‘*Passio Ymaginis Domini. Evangelium. Sicut fulgur exiit ab Oriente*’¹¹⁶². This Gospel reading refers to Matthew: ‘*Sicut enim fulgur exit ab Oriente et paret usque in Occidente ita erit et adventus Filii hominis*’ (Mt 24, 27) and replaces again the commemoration of the Image of Christ to commemoration of Christ. Moreover, this reading particularly emphasises the expectation for the Advent of Christ, reaffirming the message of salvation, constantly carried out in the mass for the same day.

All these liturgical sources shed light on the integration of the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* in the religious life of the Catalan and Aquitanian regions. The analysis shows that in the tenth century the feast was still not established in the region. The eleventh century marks a significant change in religious sensibilities with the diffusion of Christological literature, relics and new interpretations on Christ suffering on the Cross. The important early eleventh-century sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d’Isàvena reflects all these major changes. They also bear witness to the creation of the proper of the mass for this feast, to be read in the cathedral chapters and the monasteries. The feast became celebrated even more widely over the course of the twelfth century. There is no evident predominance of one type of religious institution over another in the dissemination of this feast. Collegiate churches, cathedral chapters and monasteries during all three centuries contributed all together to the integration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* into the Catalan liturgy.

This analysis of the manuscripts’ testimonies helps us to ground the primary basis in the implementation of the veneration of the Crucifix in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions. The following examination of the iconographical heritage and visual depictions of the crucifix in the narrative sources will allow us to build the connection between liturgical and iconographical testimonies, exploring to what extent we can unify the ritual and the imaginary in order to explain the changing nature of medieval religious sensibilities.

1159See e.g. the gradual from Albi (BnF, Ms. lat. 776, fol. 119rv). For others see J. Bellavista, ‘L’antifoner de missa de l’església de Sant Pere d’Àger’, pp. 194–96.

1160Quoted by J. Lemarié, *Le santoral de Saint-Michel de Cuxa d’après le manuscrit Perpignan B.M. 2*. Liturgica 3. Scripta et Documenta 17 (Montserrat, 1966), pp. 85–100, p. 94.

1161Ibid., pp. 96–97.

1162Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5259, fol. 53v. See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, ‘Les *homelieae capitulares* del monestir de Sant Ponç de Tomeres i l’homiliari de l’ofici catalannarbonès’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 11 (2003), 131–57, p. 156.

II. Contextualisation of the Feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* in Western Europe: The Crucifix as Evidence for Changing Religious Sensibilities

1. *From the Cross to the Crucifix*

The cross, which became an essential sign for the whole Christian thought, can be treated in multiple aspects: as a visual and material sign, as a theological concept, as a narrative tool in the devotional and hagiographic literature, as a motor of action for many pious believers and saints, and these are only some of its possible meanings. The recent book by B. Kitzinger is dedicated to the visual rhetoric of the cross, for instance she stresses the multitemporal nature of the cross, the cross as sign of the Church itself and as a sign of other works of art¹¹⁶³. This analysis reinforces the complex understanding of the cross under the Carolingians and in the post-Carolingian period and highlights the intrinsically linked and multiplicitous meanings of the cross and the Crucifix.

Exploring the transformation of the Western medieval thought on images, J.-Cl. Schmitt defines two important steps that occurred around the year 1000: 1) the transformation of the cross to the crucifix, from a sign (*signum*) to the image (*imago crucifixi*); 2) the transformation of a reliquary to the statue-reliquary¹¹⁶⁴. He further mentions, that at that time the Occident paradoxically adapted the Greek attitude towards the images, though two centuries later that the Greeks did¹¹⁶⁵. However, he is much more focused on the role of relics, which contributed to the supernatural force of the image. J.-M. Sansterre, in his turn, highlights that at the same time period the image gains in sacrality and thaumaturgical power in the Occident¹¹⁶⁶.

Furthermore, D. Iogna-Prat points out that the devotion to Christ was enriched by the image of the Saviour suffering on His Cross or at the place of his Passion and weeping¹¹⁶⁷. This increasing accent on the changing attitude towards the Crucifix in the narrative sources may have a connection to the heretic movements of the eleventh century. On the Synod of Arras in 1025 bishop Gerard of Cambrai highlighted the following two among other heretic errors: the jeering at veneration of the Cross and the spurning images of Christ on the Cross or of the saints because they were only the work of human hands¹¹⁶⁸. This source points to two

1163B. Kitzinger, *The Cross, the Gospels and the Work of Art in the Carolingian Age* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 3–7.

1164J.-Cl. Schmitt, ‘De Nicée II à Thomas d’Aquin : l’émancipation de l’image religieuse en Occident’, in id., *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002), pp. 63–96, p. 76.

1165Ibid., p. 79.

1166J.-M. Sansterre, ‘La vénération des images à Rome et en Italie’, p. 1034.

1167D. Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam 1000–1150* (Paris, 2000), p. 192.

1168Gerardi Cameracensis *Acta synodi Atrebatensis, Vita Autberti, Vita tertia Gaugerici. Varia scripta ex officina Gerardi Exstantia*, eds. S. Vanderputten, D. J. Reilly. CC Continuatio Mediaevalis 270 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 63–4. *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, ed. W. L. Wakefield, A. P. Evans (New York, 1969), p. 84.

important features in the perception of the Crucifix in tenth- and eleventh-century thought: first, there is a clear distinction between the cross and the crucifix, the latter being identified with the Image of God and thus a direct addressee for prayers and contemplation. Second, the accent put on the ‘work of human hands’ might explain the necessary element in attribution of several medieval Christological objects, such as the Mandylion, the Volto Santo and the portrait of the Virgin, to Luc or Nicodemus, who both lived in the time of Jesus Christ and had an authority in medieval terms. The struggle against heretics thus might have been an important factor in entrenching the veneration of the Crucifix.

The changing attitude towards the image of the Crucifixion has already taken place at the beginning of the eleventh century. Moreover, the tenth and eleventh centuries were definitely marked by the increase of a new crucifix form for the veneration, notwithstanding that the Crucifix itself was not a new form in the narrative texts nor in the iconographical sources. This time period testified the creation of new objects, material and liturgical instruments of cults, with the most visible examples as reliquaries or new crucifixes henceforth installed in the choir of churches¹¹⁶⁹. The material implementation of the crucifix went hand in hand with the spiritual one, for the beginning of the eleventh century marked the era of numerous visions and miracles of the crucified Christ¹¹⁷⁰.

One of the earliest miracles, according to the sources, occurred in 921 in Rome, with the Silver Crucifix that Pope Leo IV ordered for the church St. Peter in the ninth century¹¹⁷¹. On Holy Wednesday, nearby the altar of St. Peter, the Crucifix (*crucifixa imago Christi*) started weeping while the Passion was being read¹¹⁷². This vision implies that the Crucifix was attentive to the world of the Scripture, as if re-enacting the deeds of the past, as the true Passion happened in the past. The later visions, increasing from the eleventh century onwards, present Christ weeping because of a catastrophe that had or might have happened. For instance, in the vision of Ademar of Chabannes in 1010, the huge Crucifix appears in heaven with weeping Christ, apparently referring to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which had to be destroyed¹¹⁷³.

Furthermore, there is also a pattern of a miraculously moving Crucifix. Sometimes it can happen during the Passion Week, as in the case in 1024 in the Acerenza Cathedral. On the

1169G. Lobrichon, ‘Le culte des saints, le rite des hérétiques, le triomphe des savants’, in *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles*. Actes du colloque international de l’Université du Littoral-Côte d’Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4–6 septembre 1997, ed. E. Bozóky, A.-M. Helvetius (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 95–108, 97.

1170A very good and helpful overview of the visions related to the crucifix is presented in the article by J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Visions et miracles en relations avec le Crucifix dans les récits des X^e–XI^e siècles’, in *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000)*, ed. M. C. Ferrari, A. Meyer (Lucca, 2005), pp. 387–406.

1171*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris 1955–1957), vol. 2, p. 117. Quoted by J.-M. Sansterre, ‘La vénération des images’, p. 1046.

1172*Annales Alamannici*, in MGH *Scriptores* 1, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannover, 1826), p. 56. See also a more recent critical edition of the annals in *Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik*. Die Murbacher Annalen, ed. W. Lendi: *Scrinium Friburgense* 1 (Fribourg, 1971), pp. 146–192.

1173*Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain, *CC Continuatio mediaevalis* 129 (Turnhout, 1999), III, 46, pp. 165–66.

feast of Easter, the *'crucifixus magnus argenteus'* moved three times his head, arms and feet in front of the believers¹¹⁷⁴. This case reminds the aforementioned Silver Crucifix and brings us back to the idea of stressing the ritualism of suffering the Passion. The Crucifix acting-as-being-alive can thus serve as a rhetorical tool to engage the audience to get again through the passion together with Christ.

However, the miraculously moving Crucifix can also point to a significant change in religious sensibilities over the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. In the *Vita S. Hugonis* dated to the eleventh century, Odo—the pious friend of St. Hugo—enters the church St. Martin of Autun and sees the Image of Christ on the Cross leaning to him (*'ipsa Jesu Christi Domini ac Salvatoris icona, cruci affixa, visa est ab ipsis speculantibus contra eundem virum Dei sese humiliter inclinare'*)¹¹⁷⁵. Such sign of empathy became already much more personal in the relation of Christ towards the faithful. Here, the focus is placed less on the ritualism or re-enactment of the Passion, but rather on the interior element of the faith, reinforcing the connection between Christ with every individual believer.

The miracles thus highlight the changing attitude towards the Crucifix throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. If the earlier stories focused on the miraculous behaviour of Christ on the Cross in the context of the liturgy of Passion, the later addressed to every believer in more personal circumstances. Even though in both cases the contemplation of the Crucifix provoked the compassion to Christ or the desire to imitate him, there was an obvious movement towards the empathy and the interior dialogue, which continually led to the changing perception of the Crucifix: from Christ in Majesty or in glory to the suffering Christ.

Moreover, Gerard of Cambrai underscores how the Crucifix should affect the human mind *'mens'*, arguing that the interior mind is excited by this visible image, so through the contemplation of the Crucifix (*'non enim truncus ligneus adoratur, sed per illam visibilem ymaginem mens interior hominis excitatur, in qua Christi passio et mors pro nobis suscepta tanquam in membrana cordis inscribitur, ut in se unusquisque recognoscat quanta suo redemptori debeat'*)¹¹⁷⁶. In this message the Crucifix acquires several crucial meanings: the increasing accent on the impact of interior contemplation on the vision of the Crucifix, the image as a reminder, so a tool of relieving the memory, and finally, the trope concerning the redemptive role of Christ, also transmitted to the Crucifix. These three tropes, essential for the Christological thought at the turn of the first millennium as well as the Carolingians before, put not only the Cross, but the Crucifix at the centre of narration of Christ. The *Passio Imaginis Domini* as a feast and as the Beirut legend thus also starts playing an important role in veneration and the medieval imagination.

1174 *Annales Barenses*, a. 1024, in MGH *Scriptores* 5, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannover, 1849), p. 57. J.-M. Sansterre, 'La vénération des images', p. 1046.

1175 *Vita S. Hugonis* (BHL 4003–4004), 11, in PL 11 (AASS Aprilis II, 1866), p. 754. J.-M. Sansterre, 'Le moine et le miles exaltés par l'humilité du Crucifié: à propos de deux miracles racontés au XI^e siècle', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 77/4 (1999), 831–42.

1176 *Gerardi Cameracensis Acta synodi Atrebatensis, Vita Autberti, Vita tertia Gaugerici. Varia scripta ex officina Gerardi Exstantia*, eds. S. Vanderputten, D. J. Reilly. CC *Continuatio Mediaevalis* 270 (Turnhout, 2014), p. 66.

Throughout the twelfth century several sources continued mentioning the visions of miraculous crosses and sensitive Crucifixes. It is noticeable that such thaumaturgical events happened in completely different regions. Rupert of Deutz pointed to the Christ's nod, kiss and embrace¹¹⁷⁷, also highlighting the personal, tender relations. The Ripoll chronicle bears witness to multiple crosses in flames (*et apparuit crux ignea in aere supra locum ubi nunc est altare beatae Virginis*), in the episode on Charlemagne taking Girona and liberating it from the Sarrasins¹¹⁷⁸. Finally, the Waltham crucifix leaned his head, according to the chronicle of the Waltham Abbey, after 1177¹¹⁷⁹. Certainly, these visions can be partially explained by the eschatological discourse at the beginning of the eleventh century: for instance, the years 1000 and 1033 left an echo in medieval sources for their eschatological significance as anniversaries of the birth and the Passion of Christ, and visions of the weeping Christ on the Cross were informed by the memory of these events¹¹⁸⁰. However, one should be wary of overinterpreting the eschatological moods of contemporaries, as suggested by recent historiographical studies¹¹⁸¹. Nevertheless, the eschatological discourse in religious culture and the analogical references to the millennium of the Passion might have been one of the reasons for the increasing veneration of the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*.

All these visions also mark the development of a new type of Christ. The apocalyptic references and visions project the image of the Christ-judge, the 'crucified Judge'¹¹⁸² who will come and exercise his judgement on all dead and alive people. This theme of the Last Judgement that expressed the necessary confrontation between the human suffering and the divine sanctity was developing from the ninth century onwards and led to the role of Christ as

1177S. Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages', *Speculum* 80/4 (2005), 1172–208, p. 1175.

1178'Chronica Rivipullense I', in *Catalonia Monastica. Recull de documents i estudis referents a monestirs catalans* (Montserrat, 1927–29), vol. I, p. 53.

1179J.-Cl. Schmitt, 'Translation d'image et transfert de pouvoir. Le crucifix de pierre de Waltham (Angleterre, XI^e–XIII^e siècle)', in id., *Le corps des images*, pp. 199–216, pp. 211–12.

1180See on this J. Fried, 'Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 381–473; R. Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, 1995); id. 'Rodolfus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, historiography, and the year 1000', *Revue Mabillon* 7 (1996), 57–77; *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. R. Landes, A. Gow, D. C. Van Meter (Oxford, 2003).

1181The recent scholarship, however, suggests to be more accurate in interpreting the turn of the first millennium by an apocalyptic context. See S. Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs de l'an mil. Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi?* (Paris, 1999). See also J.-M. Sansterre, 'Visions et miracles en relations avec le Crucifix dans les récits des X^e–XI^e siècles', pp. 394–96. On the eschatological discourse and the contemporary debates from around 1000 see A. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014), esp. pp. 189–226. For the Iberian context see the article of G. Bosseman on the eschatological discourse in Iberian monastic culture: G. Bosseman, 'Comment interpréter la tension eschatologique dans les sources monastiques du haut Moyen Âge ibérique?', *Revue Mabillon* 29 (2018), 27–44; and her thesis: G. Bosseman, *Eschatologie et discours sur la fin des temps dans la péninsule Ibérique (VIII^e–XI^e siècle)*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (École pratique des hautes études, 2019).

1182See more in R. Fulton, *Judgement and Passion. Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), p. 64 and then pp. 64–106.

Redeemer through the sacrifice of his shed blood¹¹⁸³. However, the Crucifix that engages more and more into a dialogue with a believer also demonstrates capability to sympathise and to feel emotions of the faithful. This changing attitude in the representation of the miraculous Crucifix in the narrative sources has an obvious parallel with the iconographical development of the types of the Crucifix.

1) *Iconography of the Crucifix and its Variety in the Catalan Region*

Two major types of the Crucifixion are *Christus triumphans* or *Majestas* (Majesty) and *Christus patiens* (dead Christ on the Cross). The *Christus patiens* gained in popularity after the end of the twelfth century and became even more dreadful and more suffering during the Late Middle Ages. The main difference between these types lies in their depiction of Christ: the first type depicts him as a living person, calm and spectacular on the Cross, manifesting his divine nature; Christ of the second type is, by contrast, dead with the emphasis clearly placed on the suffering human body¹¹⁸⁴. However, such a strict distinction between two iconographical forms is too simplistic, for we encounter both in different time periods and different regions. For example, the famous late tenth-century Gero Cross (Cologne) represented the dead body of Christ, and so did a miniature of the same type of the Crucifix in a British Gospel (probably, from Canterbury) copied in the 1060s¹¹⁸⁵, the first one is thus a very early example of the dead Christ¹¹⁸⁶. The Christ in Majesty is not a rigid form of representation either, it can combine the image of conquering Christ with the idea of His Passion. For instance, the scholars of the Carolingian thought assumed that the Carolingian crucifixions (as the Crucifixion in the Gellone Sacramentary) with the *Christus triumphans* affirmed the idea of perfect unity between the divine and human nature of Christ, exactly through the depiction of his majestic divine posture yet with the crucified bleeding human body¹¹⁸⁷. As notices Chazelle, Carolingian theology of the crucifixion enunciated in the context of critics towards the Spanish Adoptionism so they saw the Crucifixion as proof of

1183C. Treffort, *L'église carolingienne et la mort* (Lyon, 1996), p. 33–4. It can be attested through the funeral prayers, see the Aniane supplement, in *Le Sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. J. Deshusses, Spicilegium Friburgense 16 (Freiburg, 1971), 1 vol., pp. 573–75.

1184As attested by a particular case among other studies in I. Lorés, J. Paret, M. Marsé, M. J. Gracia, L. Domedel, 'La sculpture romane catalane sur bois: étude et restauration du Christ de Casarilh et de la Majesté de Beget', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 43 (2012), 101–11, 106.

1185New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 709, fol. 1v.

1186On the typology of Carolingian crucifixions and the complex development of both Christ-as-winner and Christ-as-victim types see more in M.-Ch. Sepière, *L'image d'un Dieu souffrant. Aux origines du crucifix* (Paris, 1994). On the history of the Crucifix see P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1959). In particular, Thoby describes the changes in the Crucifix on the eleventh-century English miniatures where the body of Christ becomes more contorted; the arms rise above the horizontal line, the head is represented either straight or slightly leaned, the eyes sometimes can be closed, with some representations of the dead Christ, though yet calm. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–76.

1187See in particular C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, p. 79 and pp. 91–3.

Christ's perfect union of two natures, his mediatorship between God and man¹¹⁸⁸. The distinction between two types, *Christus triumphans* and *Christus patiens*, thus needs to be reassessed more critically. From this perspective, the eleventh-century version of the Beirut legend played an important role in the changing perception of the Crucifix and contributed to the emerging veneration of the suffering Christ.

In Catalonia from the twelfth century onwards, the dominant model was Christ in Majesty with following peculiar features: dressed in a the sleeved tunic, with the open hands, the noticeably inclined head with a pronounced beard and the symmetrical hair that falls in three locks before shoulders¹¹⁸⁹. Such a solemn representation of the Majesty underlined the idea of the living Christ triumphing over death. This typology of *Christus triumphans* in big wooden Crucifixes spread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries over Italy (Toscana), Catalonia and over other European regions¹¹⁹⁰. These iconographical data assume that the prevailing visual model, also in the sense of religious sensibilities until the thirteenth century, was Christ in Majesty.

One of the well-known versions of these Majesties is the Volto Santo, the grand Crucifix representing the clothed *Christus triumphans* in Lucca. Taking into consideration several Crucifixes from Catalonia that do not have the same features in common with the Volto Santo from Lucca, M. Durliat nevertheless identifies several masterpieces that are the closest to the Lucca type. These are clothed Christs in Perpignan (Santa Majestat de La Trinité, Majestat de la Llagonne and d'Angoustrine) as well as the Catalan: (Majestat de Beget¹¹⁹¹, Majestat de Santa Maria de Lluçá, Sant Boi de Lluçanès, Maejstat d'Ellar, Majestat Battló, Majestat de Saderra)¹¹⁹². These examples confirm why the scholarship traditionally attested that the iconographic type of clothed Christ in Majesty was the dominant visual representation of the Crucifix in the Catalan region.

Nevertheless, P. Thoby in his monumental study on the Crucifix notices that the first change in the Crucifixes was brought by the Carolingian Gellone sacramentary, where the long *colombium* was replaced by a *perizonium*, whereas from sixth to eighth centuries the only two types of the Crucifix existed were Hellenic and Syrian types, both of the living Christ on the Cross¹¹⁹³. Furthermore, he unifies the Carolingian and Pre-Romanesque (as he calls them) Crucifixes from the tenth to the twelfth centuries; these ones get some new characteristics that could be globally estimated as slightly changing the attitude of Christ on the Cross, bringing more mobility to this posture¹¹⁹⁴. This iconographic change of the Crucifix

1188Ibid., p. 61.

1189J. Camps i Sòria, 'Romanesque majestats: a typology of Christus triumphans in Catalonia', in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. J. Mullins, J. Ní Ghrádaigh, R. Hawtree (Dublin 2013), pp. 234–47, p. 238.

1190M. Castiñeiras, J. Camps, 'El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180): idea de una exposición', in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)*, pp. 21–7, p. 23.

1191The great feast of Beget is also celebrated on 9 November. See J. Camps i Sòria, *art. cit.*, p. 246.

1192M. Durliat, *Christs romans du Roussillon et de Cerdagne* (Perpignan, 1956), pp. 8–28.

1193P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente*, pp. 11–35.

1194See *ibid.*, pp. 37–76.

cannot be ignored considering the immersion of multiple visionary crosses and crucifixes in the written sources analysed above. It is significant that the Beirut legend was increasingly disseminated exactly within this changing spiritual religious atmosphere. The Beirut legend brought with it a new attitude towards the Crucifix, neglected in the previous studies. While formed by the iconoclasm movement, and thus destined to promote the cult of religious image, it contributes to the forming of new religious sensibilities at the same time, via accepting and reinforcing new elements of the tenth and eleventh century *Zeitgeist*.

The narrative on the miraculous Icon from Beirut belongs to the forming tradition on different miraculous images that have been spread from the Middle East to the Western Mediterranean regions from the Early Middle Ages onwards. M. Bacci puts it along among the holy images of Christ and the Virgin, such as the Mandylion from Edessa, the Keramidion from Hierapolis, and the *acheiropoieta* icons of the Virgin in Lydda and in Jerusalem¹¹⁹⁵. The Beirut Icon creates also the bond with the Shroud of Turin, via the topos of Christ's humanity and the blood. The devotion developed around it spread however in the Late Middle Ages and Baroque period¹¹⁹⁶.

Another famous miraculous Crucifix that received widespread veneration, was the famous Volto Santo in Lucca. The historiography on the Volto Santo is immense¹¹⁹⁷, but there are two aspects on the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* especially relevant to this study: 1) connection of the Catalan Majesties to the Beirut crucifix; 2) the reliquary statue Volto Santo containing the Christ's blood, which drives the narration in the Beirut legend. The scholarship has demonstrated that the Beirut crucifix belongs rather to the type of the Volto Santo, which is important to this study because the Beirut legend in its eleventh-century version brings new interpretations of several aspects, in particular of the Crucifix, which demands a realignment of the established hypothesis.

Some scholars have highlighted the iconographical connection of the Catalan *Majestates* (Majesties) with the Crucifix from Lucca¹¹⁹⁸. M. Durliat, having analysed Romanesque Christs in Cerdanya and Rousillon, argues that there are two possible explanations of kinship between the Volto Santo in Lucca and Catalan Majesties: either, as suggests K. Porter, that the Volto Santo comes from the Pyrenean region, or that the Italian

1195M. Bacci, 'The Volto Santo's legendary and physical image', in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross*, pp. 214–33, p. 216.

1196The importance of the Beirut legend for the Turin Shroud is highlighted by G. M. Zaccone. Cf. G.M. Zaccone, 'Dalle acheropite alla Sindone: pietà e storia', in *Das Christusbild. Zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West. Akten der Kongresse in Würzburg, 16.–18. Oktober 2014 und Wien, 17.–18. März 2015* (Würzburg, 2016), pp. 211–21, p. 220.

1197See at least the following volumes of collected papers published in last decades: *Santa Croce e Santo Volto: Contributi allo studio dell'origine e della fortuna del culto del Salvatore (secoli IX–XV)*, ed. G. Rossetti (Pisa, 2002); *La Santa Croce di Lucca. Il Volto Santo. Storia, tradizioni, immagini. Atti del Convegno, Villa Bottini 1–3 Marzo 2001*, ed. V. Del Grande (Lucca, 2003); *Il Volto Santo in Europa: Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000)*, ed. M. C. Ferrari (Lucca, 2005).

1198E.g. R. Bastardes i Parera, *Les talles romàniques del Sant Crist a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1966); M. Trens, *Les majestats catalanes* (Barcelona, 1966); M. Durliat, 'La signification des Majestés catalanes', *Cahiers archéologiques* 37 (1989), 69–95.

Christ and the one from Catalonia both come from the common Oriental model that might have been the representation of the miraculous image of Beirut¹¹⁹⁹. In his multiple articles on the Beirut legend and the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*, M. Bacci also frequently outlines the possible connection between the ‘Volto Santo’ type of the Crucifix (Christ in Majesty) and the Beirut image as a possible archetypal crucifix, adopting old-fashioned features taken from eastern Mediterranean models¹²⁰⁰. The iconographical studies thus see in the Beirut Crucifix from the narrative source the protomodel of the Romanesque Christ in Majesty without taking into consideration the changes brought into the later version of the eighth-century text. These interpolations, however, place an emphasis on the Image surviving the Passion with an apocalyptic focus on miraculous blood and water coming out from the ‘body of the Image’.

Moreover, the legend on the arrival of the Volto Santo in Lucca is apparently connected to the dissemination of the relics of the Holy Blood. According to this legend, the Volto Santo was an image containing the relic of the Holy Blood, and the bishop Giovanni from Lucca decided to leave the Crucifix in Lucca but to give the ampulla with Christ’s blood to Luni¹²⁰¹. The first lost version of this narrative on the Volto Santo in Lucca was probably written in the ninth to tenth centuries. The second version was created at the end of the eleventh/beginning of the twelfth centuries. And only the twelfth-century text *Gesta de Vultu Lucano* by Gervais of Tilbury (1155–1234) mentioned the ampulla relic containing the blood¹²⁰². As a reliquary containing the blood of Christ, the Volto Santo represents a certain parallel to the Beirut Icon from the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon in the twelfth-century text of the *Gesta*.

Another fascinating novelty concerning the Volto Santo at that time became its attribution to Nicodemus¹²⁰³. Having compared different medieval legends on the arrival of the Volto Santo in Lucca, M. C. Ferrari argues that although only the latest, compiled around 1100, is conserved, the earlier one however underlined the role of bishop Giovanni I (780–801) and did not focus on the role of Nicodemus as creator of the Volto Santo¹²⁰⁴, suggesting that the emphasis on Nicodemus became significant only from the eleventh century onwards. M. Bacci in turn demonstrates that in some eleventh-century versions of the Beirut legend Nicodemus is named as the first possessor of the Beirut Icon that was transferred then in several generations to the ancestors of the unknown Christian who had it in his house in Beirut¹²⁰⁵. Therefore, the eleventh-century texts reinterpreted the earlier version of the

1199M. Durliat, *Christs romans. Roussillon, Cerdagne*, p. 38.

1200See M. Bacci, ‘The Volto Santo’s legendary and physical image’, 225. And also Bacci, “‘Ad ipsius Christi effigiem’: il Volto Santo como ritratto autentico del Salvatore”, in *La Santa Croce di Lucca. Il Volto Santo. Storia, tradizioni, immagini*, pp. 115–25.

1201M. C. Ferrari, ‘Il Vonto Santo di Lucca’, in *Il Volto di Cristo*, ed. G. Morello, G. Wolf (Milan, 2000), pp. 253–62.

1202J.-Cl. Schmitt, ‘Cendrillon crucifié. À propos du Volto Santo de Lucques (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)’, in id., *Le corps des images*, pp. 217–77, pp. 221–22.

1203See M. Bacci, ‘Nicodemo e il Volto Santo’, in *Il Volto Santo in Europa*, pp. 15–40.

1204M. C. Ferrari, ‘Identità e immagine del Volto Santo di Lucca’, in *La Santa Croce di Lucca. Il Volto Santo. Storia, tradizioni, immagini*, pp. 93–102, pp. 94–5.

1205M. Bacci, ‘Nicodemo e il Volto Santo’, pp. 23–4.

sermon, adding there the personage of Nicodemus who may have embodied a ‘real’ or at least an ‘imaginable’ line towards actual Christ and thus brought the necessary authority to the Beirut Icon and Beirut story.

Therefore, the connection made in the scholarship between the Beirut Icon and the *Volto Santo*¹²⁰⁶ needs to be realigned. Certainly, there is an obvious link between the iconographical development of the Crucifix (in particular the clothed Christ on the Cross¹²⁰⁷), the spread veneration of Christological relics, the dissemination of the Beirut legend and of the feast of the Saviour stressed within. However, I find that the interpolations in the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon made in the course of the eleventh century, in particular as demonstrated in the Roda text of BHL 4229c, refer much more to the new establishing image of Christ in Passion. The way of presenting the sufferings of the actual Christ as well as the following sufferings of the Beirut Icon makes the audience think more of the Crucifix representing *Christus patiens*, than the Christ in Majesty widespread at that time.

2) *Images of the Crucifix in Regional Manuscripts*

Several examples of the regional eleventh-century Crucifixes show the intrinsic correlation between images and written sources. Without being only an illustration of a text, the images always interacted with the non-visual sources. The social agency of the image and its performative nature made it a crucial witness for contemporary changes in religious sensibilities. The Beirut narrative, dedicated itself to the Image, thus has to be contextualised through the visual representations of the Crucifix from the eleventh century onwards. This analysis will better show which dimension the narrative Image takes from the Beirut legend and whether its eleventh-century iteration reveals anything new in the historical and iconographical comprehension of the Crucifixion.

Most of the Catalan *Majestats* are concentrated in the north-eastern triangle of Catalonia, which corresponds to the strongest iconographic ateliers that have been placed in such monastic and canonical centers as Ripoll, Cuixà, Sant Pere de Rodes, Vic and Girona already in the eleventh century¹²⁰⁸. As it was mentioned above, the numerous Catalan Majesties representing either clothed Christ depicted in the same tradition as the *Volto Santo* in Lucca or the Christs in *perizonium*¹²⁰⁹ are disseminated in the region from the twelfth century onwards. With regard to the manuscript iconography concerning the Crucifixes with

1206See J. Camps, ‘Romanesque Majestats’, p. 247. He also refers to M. Bacci, ‘Nicodemo e il Volto Santo’, pp. 15–40.

1207On the dissemination of the so-called ‘crucifijos vestidos’ in Catalonia see M. Trens, *Las ‘Majestats’ catalanas y su filiación iconográfica* (Barcelona, 1923).

1208A. Orriols Alsina, ‘La ilustración de manuscritos en Cataluña en el siglo XII’, in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa (1120–1180)*, pp. 207–13, 207.

1209Two common types of the representation of Christ on the Cross are known as Christ in *perizonium* (loincloth which covers the nakedness of Christ) or in *colobium* (the long tunica that covers *his whole body*). See P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente*, p.11.

Catalan and Aquitanian provenance, this representation also became much more frequent from the twelfth century. M. Trens notices that in the contrary to the popular form of veneration of clothed Crucifix, the Ripoll Bible and in general Catalan manuscripts represent Christ covered only by *perizonium*¹²¹⁰. This hypothesis is confirmed by the Crucifix from the Girona Gospel, which, according to G. Roura i Güibas, does not contain some particular Catalan features, such as Christ in *colobium*, which makes him suggest that this one belongs to the Carolingian model¹²¹¹. The accumulation of different representations and types of the Crucifix in Aquitanian and Catalan regions is thus also a counterargument to the direct connection between the dissemination of the Beirut legend and of the Volto Santo type of Crucifixion.

From the twelfth century onwards, the depictions of the crucifix refill more and more frequently the pages of the manuscripts for the Canon of the Mass and the *Te igitur* part. There are, however, some earlier examples of the Crucifixion, attested though at the traditional place according to the genre of sacramentary: at the Canon of the mass. I found particularly significant two early images which demonstrate a possible connection with the Beirut legend and the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon from Roda. The first belongs to another manuscript from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena (around 1000)¹²¹²; the second has a provenance from Limousin region (first half of the eleventh century)¹²¹³.

The first one represents a wonderful Crucifix nicely depicted on the whole page, with the main vertical piece of wood separating two columns with the text of the mass (Figure 31). The Christ is alive, with open eyes, yet his body posture corresponds to the changes described by P. Thoby in Carolingian and Pre-Romanesque crucifixes, with the head leaning to the right, the arms risen above the horizontal line and the left leg positioned a little forward rather than straight. He is still Christ triumphing over death with a Carolingian motif of a snake right under the Cross¹²¹⁴. This image is all the more interesting in its provenance from the same Cathedral chapter as the unique contemporary Catalan copy of the Beirut legend, although from another manuscript¹²¹⁵. This rare image in the extant Roda manuscripts shows, at least, an evident attention to the theme of the Crucifix at Roda d'Isàvena already at the turn of the tenth to the eleventh centuries.

1210See M. Trens, *Las 'Majestats' catalanas*, p. 39.

1211G. Roura i Güibas, 'L'evangeliari carolingi de la catedral de Girona, segle XI. Notes codicològiques i paleogràfiques', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 25/2 (1981), 349–71, p. 363.

1212Lleida, AC RC_0036, fol. 38r.

1213Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 8v.

1214Furthermore, from the iconographical point of view this manuscript is the earliest Peninsular Pontifical that illustrates this topic of Calvary scene in a bishop's book, as it is the case in the earlier tenth-century pontifical from Sherborne, BnF, Ms. lat. 943. See J. Planas, 'Sant Vicenç de Roda. L'escriptori de la catedral', in *Catalunya romànica* 16. La Ribagorça (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 441–44, esp. p. 443.

1215R. Swanson Hernández observes several palaeographical similarities between the lectionary and the pontifical of Roda, arguing that the first hand writing the lectionary was similar to the one who wrote Pontifical. See R. Swanson Hernández, *Tradicions i transmissions iconogràfiques dels manuscrits de la Ribagorça entre els segles X–XII*, II, pp. 146–47 and 153–54.

Moreover, another manuscript dated to the beginning of the twelfth century from the parochial church Sant Romà de les Bons represents Christ in Majesty too¹²¹⁶. This sacramentary from one of the churches in the medieval Urgell diocese contains a miniature which depicts Christ with open eyes and in a straight bodily position on the Cross, albeit with explicit emphasis placed on his five wounds. The illustration is pretty simple, made in ink and red colour marking the form of the Cross and the Christ's halo (Figure 32). He is not accompanied by any historical figure. This representation, though in a sketch form, follows the main patterns of Christ in perizonium from the Roda Pontifical. Swanson Hernández mentions how the Pontifical might have been compiled in Urgell during the forced exile of the Roda bishops after the destruction of the Cathedral chapter by Abd al Malik in 1006¹²¹⁷. If we accept the idea of Altés i Aguiló, developed by M. Tischler, that this manuscript from Sant Romà de les Bons was created based on the model from the Urgell Cathedral and even might have belonged to an important personality like the bishop of Urgell himself, who had some relation to this parochial church¹²¹⁸, this might explain the proximity between both types of the Crucifixion or at least a tendency to follow from the early eleventh-century depiction¹²¹⁹.

The second eleventh-century example from the Limousin found at the very beginning of the manuscript's main part, right after the calendar, is a depiction of the Crucifixion for the canon of the mass (Figure 33). It is a curious representation for, although it is an example of *Christus triumphans*, one can see Christ's lateral wound bleeding profusely. Considering that three folios earlier, the calendar contains the peculiar addition for the feast on November 9 (with a reference '*sanguis et aqua*' and not *Passio Imaginis Domini*¹²²⁰), this demonstrates a clear connection with the miraculous Beirut Icon. The accent on two main relics that, according to the Beirut narrative, are firmly associated with the miraculous Image of Christ, demonstrates that the sacrality of this image has already found its visual affirmation in the depicting of the Crucifix in Limousin in the first half of the eleventh century.

The extant iconographic representations of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* are attested from the twelfth century onwards. The earliest one belongs to the book production and is depicted in the initial letter within the Stuttgart Passionary¹²²¹. Over the years, the altar representations for the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* developed. J. Gudiol mentions that in Catalan churches the altars were consecrated to the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and connects the image of the clothed Christ (in *colobium*) with the liturgical tradition of this feast¹²²². The

1216 Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, fol. 105r. See the dating by Altés i Aguiló in id., 'El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra)', pp. 52–54.

1217 R. Swanson Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153–54, p. 147.

1218 F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons', p. 54.

1219 Altés i Aguiló considers the one from the Sant Romà manuscript to be archaic and refers to the older model of this representation in the *Missale Parvum* from Vic (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 71, fol. 3r, end 11th c.) and to the purposively 'archaisant' model from the missal from Arles-sur-Tech (Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 18v, 12th c.). See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

1220 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 5r.

1221 A. Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale* (Augsburg, 1923), fig. 109. See also M. Bacci, "Quel bello miracolo onde si fa la festa del santo Salvatore", p. 84.

1222 J. Gudiol, *Nocions d'arqueologia sagrada catalana* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 332–33.

earliest Catalan altar dedicated to the *Passio Imaginis Domini* is stated to be the thirteenth-century painted Altar of Vic¹²²³. Its contemporary analogy is the Berardenga Antependium from Siena¹²²⁴. The commemoration of the feast only increases over the course of the Middle Ages: together with fourteenth-century Catalan manuscript testimonies the famous late medieval Altar, containing the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and known as the Felanitx reredos, was created on Mallorca at the Sanctuary of Sant Salvador de Felanitx by Guillem Sagrera (1380–1456)¹²²⁵.

Therefore, the scholarship attests the growing devotion towards the Crucifix at the turn of the first millennium. Increasing references to the image of Christ on the Cross from the beginning of the eleventh century onwards in the written sources and the explosion of the big wooden Crucifixes placed in the church interior throughout the twelfth century point to the changes towards the Crucifix form as a specific image, being simultaneously an object and a reliquary. This corresponds to the famous definition suggested by J. Baschet that medieval images should be seen as ‘*images-objets*’¹²²⁶ or even ‘*images-objets-en-acte*’¹²²⁷ which assumes the active social relationships and agency of such images.

If the three-dimensional Crucifix raises these various issues, the Image of Christ from Beirut is wrapped in one more layer of symbolical interpretations, for it is an image as it *had to* be thought, perceived and devoted. The Beirut Icon thus can be also explored through its performative nature. The text deals with the image of suffering Christ, surviving again the same Passion (here again we are in the re-enactment model as in series of visions described above) with a particular accent on such material elements as wounds and blood. This focus makes the audience turn away from the Christ triumphant over the death in order to contemplate the wounded body of Christ on the Cross, the image, which forms and foretells the famous *Christus patiens* spread later in Western Europe in the Gothic period.

The main implicit intention of the Beirut text to promote the cult of the holy image is only the first step in the reconsideration of images at the beginning of the eleventh century. At this time the iconoclastic question has been already resolved, and the major thematic accents thus moved to the miracles and the conversion of unbelievers that followed them.

2. *The Miracle of the Shedding Blood and the Holy Relics*

Between the end of the tenth and the second quarter of the eleventh century together with the blossoming of the cults of saints, the explosion of relics invaded Eastern and Western Christendom. The transfers of relics as well as the fabrication of multiple hagiographic tales

1223E. Junyent, *La ciutat de Vic i la seva història* (Barcelona, 1976), p. 87.

1224See M. Bacci, ‘The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office’, 1–16.

1225On this late medieval reredos see C. Espí Forcén, *Recrucificando a Cristo: los judíos de la Passio Imaginis en la isla de Mallorca* (Mallorca, 2009).

1226Term coined by J. Baschet in his book: J. Baschet, *L’iconographie médiévale* (Paris, 2008), pp. 25–64.

1227J. Baschet, ‘Image en acte et agir social’, in *La performance des images*, eds. A. Dierkens, G. Bartholeyns, T. Golsenne (Bruxelles, 2009), pp. 9–14, esp. p. 10.

on their *translatio* and numerous pilgrimages became popular at this time. The tenth century was marked by the accumulation of relics in Constantinople. These multiple relics and holy images on the one hand reaffirmed the legitimacy of the Byzantine power, and on the other endowed Constantinople with glory and divine mercy¹²²⁸. In 944 the Mandylion was brought there from Edessa and in 967 the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969) brought the icon of Christ from Hierapolis from which emerged blood and water. Several years later Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) brought to the capital Christ’s sandals, John the Baptist’s hair and apparently the Image of Beirut¹²²⁹: ‘We found in Gabaon the Christ’s saint sandals in which he walked on his passage on this earth, as well as the image of Saviour, which was pierced by Jews in the latter days and from which immediately the blood and the water came out’¹²³⁰. This source demonstrates that in the middle of the tenth century the narrative on the miraculous bleeding Image with similar characteristics as the Beirut Icon was attested in Constantinople. It is one of the first witnesses of a real image which was considered to be miraculous in the Byzantine Empire: the Icon thus goes beyond the frames of the narrative story.

The increasing interest for the relics during the tenth and the eleventh centuries was obviously of particular importance for the developing veneration of the Crucifix, and the blood from Beirut’s *Imago Domini* became one of the major relics of Christ in Western religious thought. The text of the Beirut legend mentions the diffusion of the *ampullae* filled with the blood from the Crucifix over all possible lands (even continents), although only in its later versions (Table 33):

Table 33 – Roda Text. *Ampullae* with the Blood of Christ

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Absent	Denique ampullas praecepit fieri vitreas , in quibus portiones misit singulas de sanguine et aqua, quae de imagine Domini Salvatoris nostri decurrerunt: quas etiam per Asiam, Africam,	Precepit ampullas fieri eburneas seu christallinas in quibus singulas portiunculas introrsus mittens per quatuor direxit orbis climata annuncians universis sancte ecclesie fidelibus qualia et

1228B. Flusin, ‘Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem: Constantinople et les reliques’, in *L’Orient dans l’histoire religieuse de l’Europe. L’invention des origines*, eds. M. A. Amir-Moezzi, J. Scheid (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 51–70, esp. pp. 58 and 61.

1229B. Flusin, *art. cit.*, p. 56. Flusin mentions the source *Translatio sanguinis ex imagine Hieropoliana fluentis*, ed. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins*, pp. 255–60 (BHG 801n).

1230 See the letter by John Tzimiskès to Ashot III of Armenia (in *Matthieu d’Edesse*, transl. E. Dulaurier, Bibliothèque historique arménienne (Paris, 1858), pp. 16–25, p. 23).

	Europam , per suos nuncios dirigens ¹²³¹ .	quanta suis temporibus miracula fuerant divinitas ostensa ¹²³² .
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The translation of the Acts by Anastasius the Librarian (Mansi I) does not refer to the spreading *ampullae* with the Holy Blood. The later version (Mansi II), however, mentions the glass *ampullae* with portions of blood and water that came out from the Beirut Icon. The Roda text in its turn suggests the transformation of *ampullae* from the glass to either ivory or crystal material (in green). Both Mansi II and Roda contain the same important message: the relics were spread everywhere in the world, although the Mansi text names three continents, while the Roda mentions four corners of the world (in red). These two eleventh-century versions are thus, again, more eloquent in stressing the annunciation of the revealed divine miracles to all believers of the Holy Church. Considering that the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon focuses a lot on the conversion of the Jews and their baptism, this addition on the dissemination of the *ampullae* might not only appeal to the believers to remind them about divine glory but also transfer an implicit message on convincing the gentiles in the Christian truth and on evangelising them all over the world.

In partial conformity with the text of the Beirut legend, several written and archaeological sources bear witness to the dissemination of these *ampullae* with the blood from the Crucifix or the so-called Holy Blood. Nevertheless, the history of the Holy Blood transmission seems to be much more complex, for the Holy Blood from the Beirut Crucifix is apparently not the only one acknowledged. For example, a tenth-century manuscript from Reichenau, contains the text *De pretioso sanguine domine nostri*, which explains how Charlemagne brought the relic of the Holy Blood to the West and how it arrived at the monastery of St. Mary in Reichenau¹²³³. According to this text, after having sent gifts to Azan, prefect of Jerusalem, Charlemagne received back from him the *thesauro pretiosissimo* consisting of many relics, and among them the ‘*ampulla una ex lapide onichino de Salvatoris sanguine plena*’¹²³⁴. This relic kept inside of the Greek Crucifix was attested at Reichenau since 925, coming from the Holy Land and offered by Swanahild and Waltharius¹²³⁵.

But could this ampulla be the one shed from the Beirut Crucifix? It was unlikely to imagine that Reichenau was the first place to receive this relic, comparing to Constantinople. Very probably, there was also *another* Holy Blood. Through the prism of the story on the

1231Mansi II, col. 585.

1232Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 165va. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 100r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 126ra; The manuscript from Barcelona does not contain this part.
1233Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 84, ff. 124vb–135vb (BHL 4252). See W. Berschin, T. Klüppel, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie* (Heidelberg, 2015), p. 11. Already before 946 the rotunda of Holy Cross and Blood was erected in Reichenau Mittelzell as an outer crypt linked with the east choir of the abbey church from before 946. See E. Reisser, *Die frühe Baugeschichte des Münsters zu Reichenau* (Berlin, 1960), p. 71.

1234Aug. 84, fol. 128r. See W. Berschin, T. Klüppel, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie*, p. 44.

1235Ibid., p. 23.

Holy Grail in the Middle Ages, R.W. Barber demonstrates that the medieval sources consider the Holy Blood to be that collected in a vessel at the Deposition by Joseph of Arimathea¹²³⁶. The majority of these relics came to Western Europe during the era of the Crusades, but the earliest one was recorded in Mantua in 804, before it was lost and rediscovered only in 1048¹²³⁷. This Mantuan relic was likely to be divided into three parts in the eleventh century, with one part delivered to the Weingarten Abbey¹²³⁸. The story about the arrival of this relic to Mantua was produced even later, around 1200¹²³⁹. Barber also leaves aside the Reichenau relic, arguing it has not produced many legends in the Middle Ages and then focuses more on the Holy Blood from Bruges and Fécamp with the sources dated to the late twelfth or even to the thirteenth century¹²⁴⁰.

If one accepts, as Barber observes, this series of relics to be the relics of the Holy Blood (and again the prototype of the Grail vessel), one could then separate the Holy Blood relics into two types: the vessel with the collected blood of the actual Christ on the Cross, and the *ampulla* with the blood shed by the Beirut Crucifix. In the iconography of the Crucifixion there is often a chalice represented under the feet of Christ¹²⁴¹, presumably for accumulating Christ's blood (as a prototype for the Grail vessel). Enthusiastic for the anthropological aspect of the sacred images, J.-Cl. Schmitt argues that, notwithstanding the chalice and the *ampulla* were not represented on the images in the same way, they could be assimilated in their function to collect Christ's blood¹²⁴².

Medieval sources from the eleventh century onwards definitely point to the existence of both types of these blood relics. Their dissemination in material form and through multiple mentions in the textual sources demonstrates the crucial change in religious sensibilities concerning the Crucifix. The role of the Beirut legend focusing on the blood and water coming out from the miraculous Icon is crucial in this context of new reinterpretation of Christ on the Cross. Moreover, the eleventh-century Beirut narrative places a particular emphasis on the developing humanisation of Christ, and one of its aspects concerns the blood relic.

Two twelfth-century texts refer to the blood relic coming from the miraculous Image of Christ. The first one belongs to the *Liber Testamentorum*, which declared that this relic arrived at Oviedo Cathedral in the second half of the eleventh century. In the cartulary of the *Liber Testamentorum*, Pelagius, Bishop of Oviedo (1102–1130 and 1142–1143), mentioned

1236R. W. Barber, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 127–31.

1237See the recent article by R. Capuzzo, 'The Precious Blood of Christ: faith, rituals and civic and religious meaning during the centuries of Mantuan devotion', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 17/4 (2017), 228–45.

1238A. Nagel, 'Das Heilige Blut Christi', *Festschrift zur 900-Jahr-Feier des Klosters 1056–1956* (Weingarten, 1956), pp. 188–229.

1239 R. W. Barber, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief*, p. 128.

1240Ibid., pp. 129–31.

1241As on the eleventh-century ivory from the Musée de Cluny or from Tongres, see P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente*, PL. XXVII, n. 63 and PL. XXIV, n. 53.

1242J.-Cl. Schmitt, 'Cendrillon crucifié. À propos du Volto Santo de Lucques (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)', in *Le corps des images*, p. 246.

among other relics of Christ a vessel with blood, which flew from the Image of Christ abused by the Beirut Jews¹²⁴³. According to the text by Pelagius, the miracle happened in order to demonstrate the Jewish perfidy and to reinforce the faith of the Holy Church¹²⁴⁴. Such an interpretation of the Beirut miracle demonstrates Pelagius' perception of Jews in early twelfth-century Oviedo.

This text provides us with some new details on the perception of the Beirut legend in the eleventh/twelfth centuries, in particular concerning the materials used, namely the wax for the Crucifix and the crystal *ampullae*, rather than glass (which corresponds to the eleventh-century Roda version in contrast to the other texts). The wax material better explains the act of penetration of the Crucifix but until recently seems to have been the only case from all known descriptions of the Beirut Crucifix. P. Henriët has argued, that this *ampulla* may be the first one among the *ampullae* filled with blood and water by the bishop of Beirut that is attested in the Western Christendom¹²⁴⁵.

Later in the twelfth century, the chronicler Gerald of Wales (1146–1223) mentioned that four bishops (from Lucca, Luni, Mantua and Parma) went to Constantinople for receiving relics¹²⁴⁶. They took with them '*imaginem Salvatoris, quae vultus Lucanus appellatur, et sanguinem qui de iconia a Iudaeo crucifixa manavit a latere lanceato, in una ampulla, et aliam ampullam de aqua de eodem latere manante, et clavum quo pes Christi vel manus clavata fuit*'. Then these relics were distributed between Lucca, Luni (and then Sarzana), Mantua and Parma respectively¹²⁴⁷. Notably Gerald precedes this story by saying that he will talk about the Volto Santo, which suggests that he identifies the Volto Santo with the Beirut Icon. However his description of the Beirut Icon already contradicts to the Pelagius one. Pelagius mentions the wax miraculous crucifix filled out with Christ's blood, whereas Gerald pretends that the Beirut crucifix should be wooden. Furthermore, Gerald does not explicitly identify the Volto Santo with the miraculous bleeding Image: in his description the Image of Saviour called the Volto Santo and the Icon crucified by Jews could easily be two different objects. Nevertheless, the blood *ampulla* he mentioned, is again the blood of the Image of Christ, not the one from Golgotha. Even if we assume that Gerald might have identified the Volto Santo with the Beirut Icon, the features of blood and water emanating from the Image

1243P. Henriët, 'Oviedo, Jérusalem hispanique au XII^e siècle: le récit de la translation de l'Arca Sancta selon l'évêque Pélage d'Oviedo', in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*. eds. B. Chevallier-Caseau, J.-Cl. Cheynet, V. Déroche (Paris, 2006), pp. 235–48, p. 238. These relics were contained in the *Arca Sancta*, attested in Oviedo already in a charter dated to 1075.

1244'*Tenet enim cristallinam ampullam cum de cruore Domini, fuso videlicet a latere illius imaginis quam quorundam perfidia iudeorum ad pressionem veritatis crucifixi Christi ceream affigens ceree cruci, perforavit in latere de quo exivit sanguis et aqua, ad ipsorum iudeorum perfidiam convinciendam, et sancte Ecclesie fidem roborandam*'. See the edition of *Translatio de Arca Sancta* in P. Henriët, *op. art.*, p. 241.

1245Ibid., p. 245.

1246J.-Cl. Schmitt, 'Cendrillon crucifié. À propos du Volto Santo de Lucques (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)' in *Le corps des images*, p. 223.

1247Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera. Speculum ecclesie*, IV, 6, ed. J. S. Brewer. Series Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series) 21 (London, 1873), p. 279.

are an essential part of the Beirut legend, which undoubtedly influenced the Volto Santo narrative.

Curiously, if the textual sources might guide us towards the attribution of the blood *ampullae* to the one belonging either to the miraculous Image (the Volto Santo or the Beirut Icon) or to the real Crucifix on the Golgotha according to their material they were made of, the archaeological testimonies do not allow us to identify the source of blood. From the material testimonies of the Holy Blood relics there are several extant from the twelfth century onwards. Another glass vial from the collegiate church of Essen has the traces of dried red liquid and is dated to the eleventh century¹²⁴⁸. These material testimonies, in contrast to previously mentioned textual sources, do not help us to identify, whether this blood was considered to be the blood of Christ or of the Christ's Image. The later thirteenth century leap in the dissemination of the Holy Blood relics did not provide us with clear attribution of the blood relics either¹²⁴⁹.

It remains unclear, why there are no conserved evidences of the circulating blood *ampullae* relics in Catalonia, taking into consideration the traces of Catalan pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Instead, there is an interesting material testimony bearing witness to early Catalan connections with the Eastern Mediterranean. One *ampulla* probably produced in the East (Syria/Palestine) with the depicted Crucifixion¹²⁵⁰ was found in the main altar in Sant Pere de Casserres. According to recent studies, it was made from the eighth up to the tenth century and brought to the monastery Sant Pere de Casserres later, in between 1005 and 1153 (*terminus post quem* is the dating of the pilgrimage to Holy Land by Arnulf, bishop of Vic, and *terminus ante quem* being confirmed in the act of consecration)¹²⁵¹.

Other Christological relics, however, did make their way to Catalonia. Pieces of the True Cross are attested in Vic and in Sant Martí de Tost (Urgell) and were acquired in Lodi by Abbot Oliba (1040). Oliba manifested a particular interest in the relics related to Christ and Mary coming from Palestine via Byzantium and during his journeys to Italy (two to Rome, in

1248H. Röckelein, 'Essener Reliquienbehältnisse aus Blei', in *Wie das Gold den Augen leuchtet. Schätze aus dem Essener Frauenstift*, eds. B. Falk, T. Schilp, M. Schlagheck. Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift 5 (Essen, 2007), pp. 111–50, pp. 145–46.

1249At the very beginning of the thirteenth century the relic with the Holy Blood was brought to Venice from Constantinople. See M. Da Villa Urbani in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, eds. M. Bagnoli, H. A. Klein, G. Mann, J. Robinson (London, 2010), p. 92. In 1238 Louis XIII brought the Holy Blood relic to Paris and in 1240 King Henry III of England acquired a vial of the blood (K. B. Gerry, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–35). The statue of the Virgin with Child Enthroned with Angels from Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence dated to the second half of the thirteenth century also contained in the head a relic of Christ's blood in a tin seal. M. Ciatti, 'The Typology, Meaning, and Use of Some Panel Paintings from the Duecento and Trecento', *Studies in the History of Art* 61 (2002), 14–29, p. 26.

1250For helpful overview on the variety of the depicted Crucifixions in the material testimonies see F. Harley, *Images of the Crucifixion in Late Antiquity. The testimony of engraved gems*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Adelaide University, 2001).

1251L. Arad, 'The Holy Land ampulla of Sant Pere de Casserres – a liturgical and art-historical interpretation', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 15 (2007), 59–86, pp. 72–4.

1011 and 1016/1017, and perhaps others after Oliba became bishop of Vic) he might have had the opportunity to acquire more relics and bring them home¹²⁵².

Notwithstanding this distinction between the two types of the Holy Blood relics (from actual Christ and the Beirut crucifix), the veneration of both types was increasing from the eleventh century onwards, and this brings us back to the question on forming religious sensibilities. In this case the Beirut Crucifix could be seen as a new motif to reinforce the accentuation on the human nature of Christ. The blood that Christ shed for the humanity had a particular symbolico-theological meaning of salvation: Christ healed the humans' wounds with His blood and through His blood liberated His people from provocations of the enemy¹²⁵³. This idea of Salvation is also underlined in the text of the Beirut legend and particularly developed in the Roda version. Having explored the particular features the Beirut legend acquired in the eleventh century, as well as the iconographical and symbolical development of the Crucifix at that time, I argue that the veneration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* was much more focused on the 'humanisation of the divinity', and preceded the Gothic era of the suffering Christ on the Cross.

3. *Anti-Jewish Rhetoric and the Concept of 'Otherness' in the Beirut Legend*

The sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius and the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* raise another crucial question regarding eleventh-century religious sensibilities, namely concerning the notion of 'otherness' and the image of the Jew in the *champ de notions* of this narrative. As was mentioned above, the Roda text exhibits a more emotional anti-Jewish rhetoric, showing a more aggressive image of the Jews. Exploring the writings by Ademar of Chabannes, M. Frassetto argues that the origins of medieval antisemitism can already be found in the early eleventh century¹²⁵⁴. The *Passio Imaginis Domini* as a narrative, which received a particular dissemination from the end of the tenth century onwards, thus contributed to the anti-Jewish discourse that was being propelled by the religious educated circles at that time. However, a closer look at the context of Roda's compilation will demonstrate how the traditional direct accusation of the Jews was complicated with the new nuances of the moral and spiritual consequences of their acts towards the miraculous image.

1252M. Sureda i Jubany, 'Reliquari de la Vera Creu, teixits que l'embolcallaven, autèntica de relíquies i carta (Cat. 29)', in *Oliba episcopus. Mil·lenari d'Oliba, bisbe de Vic. Exposició al Museu Episcopal de Vic del 27 octubre de 2018 al 10 de febrer de 2019*, ed. M. Sureda i Jubany (Vic, 2018), pp. 132–33. On Oliba transmitting the relics of the True Cross, the Holy Sepulchre and the Virgin's garment for the dedication of the church of Sant Pere d'Àger in 1034 see A. Mundó i Marcet, 'Entorn de la carta de l'abat Oliba a Arnau Mir de Tost', in *Miscel·lània Anselm M. Albareda 1* (Montserrat, 1962), pp. 207–216 and plate 1.

1253See e.g. the Reichenau text: '*cruore suo vulnera nostra sanavit*'; '*ut sicut ille sui cruoris aspersione peculiarem quondam dei populum de vastatoris laesione liberavit*', Aug. 84, fol. 125r. See W. Berschin, T. Klüppel, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie* (Heidelberg, 2015), p. 36.

1254M. Frassetto, 'Heretics and Jews in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Anti-Semitism', *Church History* 71/1 (2002), 1–15, p. 2.

The Christian attitude towards the Jews deteriorated in the Post-Carolinian period, and a series of anti-Jewish episodes occurred at the end of the tenth/eleventh centuries, thus anticipating the massacres of 1096 in Rhineland and the following culmination of the anti-Jewish spirit of the Crusades¹²⁵⁵. Scholars highlight the heightened animosity towards Jews that was expressed annually in Latin Europe during the period of Easter: for example, in Toulouse an annual custom was to strike a Jew (the so-called *Colaphus Judaeorum*) in symbolic punishment for the Crucifixion¹²⁵⁶. Exploring cases of Jewish violence, E. Horowitz argues that this happened when Christian (Easter) and Jewish (Sabbath of Passover) feasts matched, reminding Jews of the difference between their resurrection narrative and that of the Christians, which undoubtedly added to the already tense and emotionally charged atmosphere that had prevailed for centuries during the days from Holy Thursday through Easter Sunday¹²⁵⁷. Jewish-Christian relations went through different stages, but the growing tendency for a more aggressive perception of the Jews in Christian society emerged at the beginning of the eleventh century. According to G. Langmuir, who determines three aspects of medieval anti-Judaism—doctrinal, legal and popular—it was exactly in the eleventh century when intense, popular anti-Judaism emerged¹²⁵⁸. For instance, according to D. Malkiel, both Latin and Jewish accounts mark the period from 1007 to 1012 as a tense one, when the Jewish texts worked out the development of the martyrological rhetoric which developed in a more eloquent form almost a century later, as a memory of the massacres of 1096¹²⁵⁹.

It is nevertheless important to consider that the growing attention to the image of the Crucifix goes beyond Jewish concerns. At the turn of the first millennium, the Crucifix was at the centre of debates concerning heretical movements who practised blasphemy over the Cross and the Crucifix. As it was shown above, in 1025 at the synod of Arras Bishop Gerald of Cambrai proclaimed the power of holy images and appealed to the redemptive power of the Cross and the Crucifixion¹²⁶⁰. Similar examples illustrate the changing attitude in eleventh-century sensibilities towards the role of Christ and the image of the Crucifix: as G. Langmuir puts it, by the end of the eleventh century many Christians had recently come to think of Jesus

1255 See more on this in D. Malkiel, 'Jewish-Christian relations in Europe, 840–1096', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), 55–83, p. 65.

1256 The account occurred during the reign of Count William III of Toulouse (950–1037). See more in K. Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton, 2016), pp. 173–74; D. Malkiel, 'Jewish-Christian relations in Europe, 840–1096', pp. 65–66. This tradition of 'colaphisation' is also mentioned in the *Vita Theodardi*, compiled around 1090. See F. Peloux, 'Remarques sur la présence (ou l'absence) des juifs et des musulmans dans l'hagiographie méridionale au Moyen Âge', in *Les rapports entre les religions, dans le Midi, des origines à nos jours*, ed. J. Faury. Congrès de la Fédération historique des Midi-Pyrénées: nouvelle série (Castres, 2019), pp. 63–76, esp. pp. 63–4.

1257 E. Horowitz, *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 160–62.

1258 G. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 58–59.

1259 D. Malkiel, 'Jewish-Christian relations in Europe, 840–1096', pp. 71–82.

1260 *Gerardi Cameracensis Acta synodi Atrebatensis*, CC Continuatio Mediaevalis 270, pp. 63–6.

as He had been in empirical reality, which, he underscores, contributed to the changing attitude towards the Jews¹²⁶¹.

The evidence of Jewish interest in the images of the Cross and the Crucifix increases from the end of the tenth century¹²⁶². These accounts, whether Jewish or Christian, are crucial for understanding sensibilities formed in eleventh-century Western Europe. As such an interesting testimony concerns a Hebrew account on the miraculous salvation of the Le Mans Jewish community from the wicked Sehok (992), which also contributed to the concept of the Jews defiling the Image. One episode in this account describes how Sehok wanted revenge against the Jews. He accused them before the lord of the land reporting that the Jews formed an image of the local lord from wax and pierced it with a goad three times a year, to (symbolically) destroy him, as their ancestors had killed Jesus; moreover, adds Sehok, they similarly defiled the image of Christ¹²⁶³. This episode is remarkable for several reasons. First, it places the Jews within a narrative of malicious magical experiments, undoubtedly unpleasant from the Christian perspective. Second, the emphasis here is on the threatening occult actions towards the lord, but the parallel with the similar blasphemous action towards the Image of Christ points to both the regular accusation of the Jews' deicide and to the force of this eloquent tool reinforcing Jewish fault: they pierced not only a Christian but also the Christian God. Langmuir defines this 'deicide accusation' as one of the non-rational Christian reactions to the Jews which constitute the core of Christian anti-Judasm¹²⁶⁴. Langmuir particularly stresses that this accusation lost significance with the fall of the Western Roman Empire and only to be reconsidered again by Western society in the eleventh century¹²⁶⁵. However, the Jewish account on Sehok shows a more complex and less radical shift in Christian attitudes towards the Jews. The third and final reason for the significance of the story is that this Jewish testimony bears witness to the awareness of the Jews themselves in being accused in blasphemy towards Christian holy images. This story thus is essential for understanding the perception of the Jews in Christian society and this society's expectations about the Jews at the turn of the first millennium.

The narratives of Jewish blasphemy towards Christian images became more and more frequent. Three decades later, elsewhere in Rome in 1020 or 1021, a number of Jews were accused of mocking a crucifix and savagely punished, and there is a reference to some unspecified hostility against the well-established community at Lucca around the same time¹²⁶⁶. In 1062 Jews were accused of blaspheming a holy image at Artemo, near Pescara,

1261G. I. Langmuir, *History, Religion and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 289.

1262There were, certainly, earlier testimonies such as the famous story told by Gregory of Tours on the Jew who stabbed the Holy Image and brought it home, but, later realised the Image was bleeding, the blasphemator was subsequently stained with blood both physically and metaphorically. See Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. XXII, PL 71, col. 724.

1263See D. Malkiel, 'Jewish-Christian relations in Europe, 840–1096', pp. 67–68.

1264G. Langmuir, *History, Religion and Antisemitism*, pp. 285–89.

1265Ibid., p. 289.

1266C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 72.

and in the following year the Jewish community was expelled from Benevento¹²⁶⁷. This repeating narrative of the Jews defiling holy images clearly increases throughout the first half of the eleventh century. The detailed description of the Jewish blasphemy of the Image of Christ in the Roda account thus perfectly fits contemporary attitudes.

At the same time, the Roda version should be seen not only in the context of anti-Jewish attitudes of Western society more generally, but also through the lens of this attitude in the Iberian Peninsula. Historically the Hispanic regions had maintained restrictive politics towards the Jewish population. Visigothic Spain saw abundant legislation that included restrictions towards the Jewish population: new visions of community beginning with the Third Council of Toledo (589) marked Jews as ‘other’ and added an exclusionary discourse to the identifications that formed an ideological basis for contemporaries and future generations to draw upon¹²⁶⁸. In addition, a strong anti-Jewish accent was present in Visigoth liturgy of the seventh century, in particular for the Marian liturgy and in the treatise of Ildefonsus of Toledo¹²⁶⁹. The Carolingian scholars of Hispanic origin revived the preoccupation with the Jewish problem too, following traditionally strong opposition to Judaism, which was an important feature of Visigothic ecclesiastical and royal policy¹²⁷⁰.

Influenced by the Carolingian peaceful politics towards the Jews Catalonia might be expected to be less hostile to the Jews. From the ninth century onwards the Jews, some of them called by Arabic names, appear sparsely in the north-east in places like Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa, as well as in the countryside; in the north in Puento Castro, Castrojeriz near Burgos, León, Sahagún and Belorado; in the west in Coimbra, Corunna, Mérida and Béja¹²⁷¹. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence concerning the Jewish communities in the Catalan region before the twelfth century, apart from some references that attest their existence and their financial operations in Barcelona and Girona¹²⁷². Considering

1267Ibid., p. 73.

1268E. Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnical Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700. From Romans to Goths and Franks* (Amsterdam, 2017), p. 79. On the Visigothic policy towards the Jews see also W. Drews, ‘Jews as pagans? Polemical definitions of identity in Visigothic Spain’, *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 189–208; id., ‘Barbarians and Jews in Early Medieval Spain: Shifting Constellations of Religion and Identity’, in *Barbarians and Jews: Jews and Judaism in the early medieval West*, eds. T. F. X. Noble, Y. Hen (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 47–68; and A. P. Bronisch, *Die Judengesetzgebung im katholischen Westgotenreich von Toledo: neue Thesen und Überlegungen* (Hannover, 2005).

1269K. Ilnat, ‘Liturgy against apostasy: Marian commemoration and the Jews in Visigothic Iberia’, *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2017), 443–465. p. 452–53.

1270B.-S. Albert, ‘*Adversus Iudaeos* in the Carolingian Empire’, in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, eds. O. Limor, G. G. Stroumsa (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 119–42, esp. pp. 120–21.

1271M. Toch, ‘The Jews in Europe 500–1050’, *The New Cambridge Medieval History I*, c. 500–c. 700, ed. P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 547–70, p. 552.

1272See *The Annals of St-Bertin*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Manchester, 1991), p. 74. On the Jewish community in ninth-century Barcelona see D. Romano, ‘Notes sobre l’activitat dels jueus a Catalunya l’any mil’, in *Actes del Congrés internacional Gerbert d’Orlhac i el seu temps: Catalunya i Europa a la fi del primer mil·lenni*, ed. I. Ollich i Castanyer (Vic, 1999), pp. 697–700, esp. p. 697. D. Romano. ‘Els jueus de Barcelona i Girona fins a la mort de Ramon Borrell (1018)’, in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (Segles VIII–XI)*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1991–1992), II, pp. 123–30.

that the manuscript evidence of tracts and texts with an anti-Jewish sentiment rather points only to the existence of Jewish communities in Catalonia, it is complicated to explore the nuances of anti-Jewish discourse within them.

Certainly, the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon in its classical version by Anastasius the Librarian and its further variations contain explicit accusations against the Jews. As pointed out above, the earlier versions of the sermon contained more detailed descriptions of the mocking acts of Jews towards the Image of Christ, compared to the Roda text. Nevertheless, this Catalan version from the beginning of the eleventh century depicts a more aggressive image of the Jews, demonstrating their hate and intolerance towards the Image of Christ several times throughout the narration. This hostile emotional tonality towards the Jews is to be expected in the context of eleventh-century anti-Jewish attitudes in the Christian West. However, another aspect is also accentuated more intensively in the Roda text: the concept of the conversion, which can be also explained by historical circumstances.

Table 34 illustrates the combination of these two key aspects, the emotional aggression towards the Jews and redemptive conversion of all non-Christians, in the Roda version:

Table 34 – Roda Text. Faithful and Unfaithful

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Nunc vero iterum in imagine crucifixus es, Domine, in redargutionem impiorum et omnium incredulorum , atque stabilitatem eorum qui veraciter in te credunt ¹²⁷³ .	Nunc autem in sancta imagine tua crucifigeris Domine iterum ad confusionem impiorum omnium infidelium et ad corroborationem omnium in te credentium ¹²⁷⁴ .	Ecce secunda iteratione pro humana salute permisisti te a viperina Ebreorum gente in Ymagine tua crucis patibulum excipere non solum ad correctionem infidelium verum, etiam ad corroborationem omnium tuorum fidelium ¹²⁷⁵ .

Two important elements in this passage concern the correlation between the Christians and the Jews or, more broadly, the faithful and the unfaithful or ‘others’. They illustrate the nuances relevant for eleventh-century society compared to the classical Latin ninth-century

¹²⁷³Mansi I, col. 27; Lamberz, p. 325.

¹²⁷⁴Mansi II, col. 582.

¹²⁷⁵Lleida, AC RC_0035, fol. 163va. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 99v; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 123va. The manuscript from Barcelona does not contain this part. However, in the Ms. 108 the word *correctio* is replaced by *correptio* which either means a scribal error, a deliberate accent by the copyist on *correptio* in the sense of rebuking process, rather than the less aggressive *correctio*, or points to the possible copying of this text from another source than those based on the Roda manuscript. See more on the interchangeability of these words in T. Chadwick, *‘Normanitas’ Revisited: Reconsidering Norman Ethnicity 996–1159*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Exeter, 2017), p. 65, n. 72.

version of the Nicæan Acts. First, the earliest version affirmed that the Image of God was for refuting the impious and all non-believers, whereas its later version changes ‘refuting’ (*redargutio*) for ‘shaming/troubling’ (*confusio*) of the impious and all unfaithful/betrayers. These unfaithful – *infideles* – might either carry the meaning of the Gentiles and thus ‘others’ as a religious Christian distinction or point more explicitly to the Jewish betrayal of Christ. The Roda version suggests one more modification: it is not refuting nor shaming the unfaithful but rather insists on improving (*correctio*) them¹²⁷⁶.

Second, the main message in this passage refers not only to the non-believers or unfaithful, but also to believers. Here again the versions show the variety of meanings. The earliest text says that Christ was crucified for the stability (*stabilitas*) of His believers; the second version and the Roda, however, reinforce the meaning of this sacred event, namely it happened for the strengthening (*corroboratio*) of believers. Lexically, the Roda texts even provides us with a pure dichotomy opposing the *infideles* to the *fideles*. This obvious counterweight of two categories depicts society divided into two groups, one of which is supposed to be reinforced in their faith and another ‘corrected’ enough to be able to get closer to this faith. This opposition of the groups and their spiritual capacities underscores the notion of the ‘other’, though this spiritual message represents the ideal and does not necessarily promise any practical potential integration of any group of ‘others’ into a real Christian society.

Although the main idea remains the same, these slightly different terms, such as refuting vis-a-vis improving in the first case and reassuring vis-a-vis fortifying in the second might imply the significance of accents brought to the texts in the course of time. Moreover, the Roda version specifies the scene of the Crucifixion depicting the ‘viperous peoples of the Hebrews’ which definitely adds to the emotional image of the Jews in the eleventh-century text. Therefore, the blaming of malicious Jews in the earliest account certainly receives more hostile and accusing rhetoric in the eleventh century. However, the symbolical meaning of Christ’s death on the Cross is seen not only as revealing the erroneous Jewish belief, but also as a possibility to bring them to repentance through conversion. This example thus shows the evolution in the treatment of the gentiles, with an emphasis on their improving (implying the compunction and the conversion) in the eleventh-century version copied in the Cathedral chapter of Roda d’Isàvena.

The discourse on conversion implies that the baptism of unbelievers existed from Late Antiquity and survived over the course of the Middle Ages. The possible means of bringing the Jews to baptism and on the age when the Gentiles should be baptised was always at the core of these debates. The forced baptism of Jews already took place in the seventh century, according to the conserved Visigoth laws¹²⁷⁷. As suggests J. Sherwood, the decretal of Leo

1276This very Carolingian message is discussed further in Chapter Five together with the aspect on the salvation through baptism.

1277Ibid., p. 456. On the forced conversion of Jews as a collective government policy in Spain in the 7th century and on the baptism forced upon whole communities in France and Germany throughout the 10th and 11th centuries see M. Toch, ‘The Jews in Europe 500–1050’, pp. 563–64. See also B. Ravid, ‘The Forced Baptism of

VII (937/939) together with the query of Friedrich Archbishop of Mainz were at the beginning of a shift of compulsory conversions¹²⁷⁸. A number of the accounts treating the conversion of the unfaithful, such as the Sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius, were undoubtedly produced and copied to underscore the voluntary conversion of Jews through recognising their failures. The Roda text clearly emphasises that the Jews are willingly to be brought to the baptism, being persuaded by the miracles that happened in front of their eyes. This focus on their voluntary baptism can be seen as a rhetorical tool convincing Christians on the prioritisation of their identity and community over not only Jews but all other ‘others’, including Muslims and even heretics, which was particularly relevant in society at the turn of the first millennium.

The politico-religious situation in the Roda diocese at the beginning of the eleventh century contributes to the relevance of this theme. The close frontier with the Muslims brought instability to the Christian regions for instance, in 1006, the son of Al-Mansur, Abd Al-Malik, occupied Roda and destroyed the Cathedral church of Sant Vicenç¹²⁷⁹. The destruction of the Cathedral chapter as well as the subsequent changes forced the canons to rebuild the Cathedral and to compile new books for the Chapter library, so that a new full lectionary for the liturgical year could have been compiled with both passions and lives within¹²⁸⁰. The idea of ‘others’ and ‘enemies’ was thus not foreign for the Roda canons who copied the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon less than two decades later.

In 1010 Muslims conquered Ribagorça in the south and Pallars in the north. Seven years later Sancho III annexed part of these lands and put the count of Pallars under his suzerainty¹²⁸¹. The Muslim intervention was thus not the only problem for the Roda diocese in the first half of the eleventh century. In 1017 the diocese was subjected to the Church of Urgell and with the arrival of the new dynasty from Pamplona the chosen bishop became obedient to the new metropolis in Bordeaux. Sancho III developed contacts with the Aquitanian region from 1010s, forged alliances with the Count of Barcelona Berenger Ramon I (1017–1035)¹²⁸² and contributed to the consolidation of the Christian territories regarding Islam. These years were turbulent for the Roda Cathedral chapter, and the text emphasising the spiritual victory over the gentiles might have been a model of inspiration to keep faith and stay resistant before the various potential ‘others’.

Jews in Christian Europe: An Introductory Overview’, in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. G. Armstrong, I. N. Wood (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 157–67.

1278J. Sherwood, ‘Interpretation, negotiation, and adaption: Converting the Jews in Gerhard of Mainz’s *Collectio*’, in *Jews in Early Christian Law: Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th–11th centuries*, eds. J. Tolán, N. de Lange, L. Foschia, C. Nemo-Pekelman. Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies 2 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 119–29, p. 128.

1279L. Carabasa i Villanueva, ‘Sant Vicenç de Roda’, in *Catalunya romànica* 16. La Ribagorça (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 387–444, p. 389.

1280The presence of such a full volume in the Chapter library explains why the later Roda inventory did not contain any passionaries. M. Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘L’inventari de l’antiga biblioteca de la catedral de Roda d’Isàvena’, *Revista catalana de teologia* 32/2 (2007), 339–56, p. 345.

1281A. Giunta, *Les francos dans la vallée de l’Èbre (XI^e–XII^e siècles)* (Toulouse, 2017), p. 43.

1282Ibid, p. 44.

F. Peloux argues that in the second half of the eleventh century Christianity was shaping its universal history by investing in its past and assigning its enemies, namely the Jews and to a greater extent the Muslims, in hagiographic texts¹²⁸³. The constant threat of Muslim attacks at the turn of the first millennium in the border regions of the Catalan counties with the Cordoba caliphate are reflected in hagiographic texts through depictions of the ‘other’. M. Bull demonstrates how texts portrayed the emotional character of Christian enemies, such as the eleventh-century *miracula* which underscore the Muslims as aggressive, cruel and animalistic enemies¹²⁸⁴. In the case of the Roda text the emphasis on the aggression and ‘otherness’ of the unbelievers reflects the frontier position of this religious community of Roda d’Isàvena and heavily hints at their Muslim and Jewish neighbours.

Finally, another relevant testimony which can contribute to a deeper understanding of the perceptions of Jews and their treatment in tenth/eleventh-century Catalonia in the Iberian context is the *Gesta graecorum contra Iudaeos*, preserved in a miscellaneous volume from the monastery of Ripoll¹²⁸⁵. C. Chandler identifies the manuscript as a monastic schoolbook and argues that the *Gesta* made the young monks familiarise themselves with the story of Christ’s redeeming power and victory over death, while also perhaps indicating a desire to stabilise local society by strengthening Christians in their own faith and even urging Jews to convert to Christianity¹²⁸⁶. As we have seen, the motif of Jewish conversion is also a crucial one in the Roda text. While the message that both texts transfer is by no means a new one in the long history of Jewish-Christian relations, it nevertheless receives a particular meaning in the Pyrenean region with its multicultural history of coexistence and conflict.

Chandler stresses that Spain was a key area for the early medieval transmission of the *Gesta* text¹²⁸⁷. The sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius at the Roda Cathedral chapter is also an important testimony to bear in mind in this context. The early implementation of different religious institutions in the Iberian Peninsula (at least in its Catalan part) into this anti-Jewish rhetoric in the tenth/eleventh centuries, at the very dawn of the medieval anti-Judaism, makes one think of a particular historical situation with the Jewish communities. J. Ray notices that during the period of Jewish resettlement in Christian lands (roughly from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries), life in the Iberian Peninsula had been dominated by warfare between Muslim and Christian lords and the Jews benefited from their positions as non-combatants during the constant religious and political conflict¹²⁸⁸. Chandler suggests that the *Gesta* and

1283F. Peloux, ‘Remarques sur la présence (ou l’absence) des juifs et des musulmans dans l’hagiographie méridionale au Moyen Âge’, pp. 63–76.

1284 M. Bull, ‘Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders’ motivation’, in *The Experiencing of Crusading. Western Approaches*, eds. M. Bull, N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 13–38, esp. pp. 36–37.

1285Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ms. Ripoll 106, ff. 122r–139v.

1286C. J. Chandler, ‘A New View of a Catalonian *Gesta contra Iudaeos*: Ripoll 106 and the Jews of the Spanish March’, in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in honor of John J. Contreni*, eds. C. J. Chandler, S. A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, 2013), pp. 187–204, p. 191.

1287Ibid., p. 197.

1288J. Ray, ‘Hispano-Jewish Society: An Introduction’, in *The Jew in Medieval Iberia (1100–1500)*, ed. J. Ray (Boston, 2013), pp. IX–XXIV, p. XIV. Jews, however, sometimes suffered for their strategic choice, for

the conversion of Jews should be considered in the context of struggling against a new Muslim faith to shore up the Christian faith and to convert those who did not yet share it¹²⁸⁹. He sees this text as the monks' defence of their religious practices against their neighbours¹²⁹⁰. Analysing the common narrative of the Beirut legend, M. Bacci remains convinced that this text was a common moral *exemplum*, often employed in anti-Jewish contexts¹²⁹¹. However, the explored comparison of the Roda text with other versions of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon demonstrates that the text perfectly fits the same strategy concerning the faith as the *Gesta*, observed by Chandler. Placing particular accents on the conversion and improving of the unfaithful, the Roda version serves as an eloquent tool with regards to the Christian faith in the Cathedral chapter which survived the Muslim attack less than two decades before the compilation of this sermon version.

Rather than being solely an accusatory text that has to be observed exclusively in the frames of the violent Jewish-Christian polemics, the Roda text also played a role in reminding the canonical community of the Jewish errors in their treatment of Christ. At this time in the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, right after the attack by Abd Al-Malik, it is unlikely that Jews might have been seen as the main enemy. The emotional increase in depicting the Jews in the sermon turns to highlight their spiritual weakness before the miraculous image. Their hate and anger are replaced by the compunction when they see the definitive victory of the Christian God. This rhetorical wordplay emphasises one of the main ideas of the sermon: bringing an 'other' (unbeliever, pagan or gentile) to conversion. The accent on the conversion and thus on baptism is thus not less significant than the increasing emotional degree towards the Jews and more present than simple religious accusations. In the context of this border region of the Iberian Peninsula, passing from Christians to Muslims and vice versa and experiencing regular changes and conflict, this faith in God, who protected his flock through miracles and the conversion of potential enemies, was crucial.

Conclusion

The *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast reveals several crucial issues related to changes in late tenth/eleventh-century Europe, and especially in the Aquitanian and Catalan area. Multiple liturgical testimonies show the implementation of the feast and thus point to connection between the Beirut legend and religious life. The Beirut narrative that presents the suffering of Christ is accompanied by numerous three-dimensional crucifixes in the liturgical space, which, as well as with numerous testimonies concerning miracles and visions of the Crucifix, simultaneously spread in different regions. The eleventh/twelfth-century sources

instance in 1063 during the campaign against the Muslims in Spain, the Jews after they were approaching their enemies were attacked too. See J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community: A Study of his Political and Economic Situation* (London, 1938), p. 58; E. Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), pp. 68–9

1289 C. J. Chandler, 'A New View of a Catalonian *Gesta contra Iudaeos*', p. 195.

1290Ibid., p. 200.

1291M. Bacci, 'Berardenga antependium', p. 10.

thus are evidence of the changing attitude in the representation of the miraculous Crucifix: it became more entertaining for a believer, influencing in turn the progressive iconographical development of the Crucifix that would lead to further accents on Christ's suffering.

The analysis of liturgical sources demonstrates that the feast might have arrived to Catalonia through different sources. The observed *formulae* in martyrologies focus on different aspects in the nomination of the feast which help to group them in two types, namely into the northern (Girona and Carcassonne) and the southern (Vic and Sant Cugat) geographical areas. The feast spread more intensively throughout the eleventh century, which also saw the proper of the mass entering the sacramentaries of both secular and regular religious communities. The earliest extant Catalan testimony of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon (BHL 4229c) from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena apparently influenced the later copies (such as two late medieval copies from Barcelona). Finally, this text can be seen in a broader perspective of the disseminated texts on Christ's miracles, such as the Gospel of Nicodemus. All these texts made a significant impact on contemporary religious sensibilities towards miraculous images and the development of Christology.

The comparative analysis of the Roda text with the ninth-century translation of the Nicaean acts demonstrates the significant changes in religious sensibilities. The eleventh century saw the diffusion of Christological literature, relics and new interpretations on Christ suffering on the Cross, changes which are reflected by the Beirut narrative. Already in its early versions it dealt with the crucial aspects of medieval sensibilities, such as the role of sacred image, the holy relics of Christ, the path to salvation, the affirmation of religious truth via contesting the 'others' and claiming their errors. The eleventh-century version brought new interpolations, which reinforced some traditional themes of the Beirut narrative, modified others and replaced the emphasis on the needs of contemporary society, contributing thus to the formation of new religious sensibilities. In particular, the Beirut Icon could be seen as a new motif to reinforce the human nature of Christ. The blood that Christ shed for humanity carries a particular symbolico-theological meaning of salvation, for it was through His sacrifice that humanity was saved. The blood relics, which received a particular diffusion with the dissemination of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, played an important role in the humanisation of Christ on the Cross through the increasing visualisation of his wounds.

The border context of the Iberian Peninsula may have influenced the interpretation of the Beirut narrative bringing new accents to the story on gentiles and their conversion. The eleventh-century text is more benevolent towards non-Christians, projecting a possible way to redemption through the compunction: it is built not on the accusation of Jews as a religious community (*Judaei*), but represents them as ethnic group (*Ebrei*) that can achieve salvation through recognising their errors. With the complex relations with the Muslim neighbours ever present in the background, the Catalan religious *milieu* thus combined the traditional anti-Jewish message with the more generalising image of the gentiles that should have been brought to conversion. The text can be addressed to any possible 'other' (different from the ideal narrative audience), which is a significant feature of Iberian multicultural society.

The Roda text as a product of the *réécriture* of the eleventh-century reinforces the potential sacrality of the Image (especially considering that the original version was created in the context of iconoclasm), exhibits a more emotional anti-Jewish rhetoric, and constructs a

more devoted character of Christians sharpening the fidelity of the Christian faith. Certainly, the global content of the Beirut legend does not change, but the aforementioned and analysed details point to those elements in the narrative that played a particular role for eleventh-century society. The fact that the text of the Beirut legend as well as the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast receives a wide dissemination from the late tenth century allows to see both texts as witnesses to changing religious sensibilities. This narrative and this feast promoted a new suffering image of Christ. Even though the images of the dead Christ occasionally occurred already in the tenth century, the emphasis on his wounds and his suffering was directly connected to the diffusion of the Beirut legend and the liturgical *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast.

Notwithstanding the notion of the Saviour brought by the *Passio Imaginis Domini* legend, the Beirut legend decreases the theophanic vision of the Christ, which had been accentuated under the Carolingians. The text stresses rather His humanity and His flesh to such a degree as to develop the idea of the corporeality of the image, which thus becomes the mouthpiece for, or one of the first signs of, the changing religious sensibilities to a new era of images and visualising devotion. However, the theophanic aspect of Christ remained significant and powerful at that time and was rather expressed through another liturgical feast which also received a broad veneration at the same time – the Transfiguration. This feast and its dialogue with the *Passio Imaginis Domini* is the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter Five. The *Transfiguratio*, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and Their Theology

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast received a widespread veneration from the late tenth-early eleventh century onwards in Italian, southern French and Catalan regions together with the second Christological feast – the Transfiguration of God. On the one hand, this points to the emerging devotion to the relics of Christ, while on the other it singles out the Catalan region as among the first that promulgated this feast. The first impression we get when comparing these two feasts might be that of a simplified version of the *Transfiguratio* (highlighting the divine nature of Christ) being used as a counterweight to the *Passio Imaginis Domini* (depicting the acts performed with the human body of Christ). However, this opposition can hardly withstand criticism, for theological symbolism and its medieval interpretation are very complex notions, and only the representation of *Christus triumphans* is embedded within controversial and complicated symbolic interpretation, as it has been shown in the previous chapter. Therefore, this chapter seeks to consider the overlap of these two feasts in terms of their contemporary interpretation and interaction in a more critical manner to explore the realities behind their connection.

The comparison of these two Christological feasts is the last stage in my case-studies analysis. This final chapter consists of two major parts. The first analyses the liturgical celebration of the *Transfiguratio* feast in the Catalan and its neighbouring regions; the second contrasts it with the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast, exploring the possible reasons behind the simultaneous increase in the celebration of both. I will show how these two feasts proclaim the indivisibility of the two natures of Christ, and argue that the theological connections and parallels in the exegesis between, as well as the liturgical celebration of, the *Transfiguratio* and *Passio Imaginis Domini* help to explain their simultaneous development. For this I will consecutively trace the origins of liturgical celebrations of the two feasts, the theological connotations of the Transfiguration in medieval thought, and several theological symbolic notions crucial for the accounts related to the *Transfiguratio* and *Passio Imaginis Domini* feasts, such as salvation, redemption and baptism. This chapter will demonstrate the mutual intertwining of both Christological feasts to explain their simultaneous development in the church province of Narbonne over the course of the eleventh century.

I. Origins and Scholarship on the Transfiguration

The feast of the Transfiguration was practised in Armenian and Syrian churches from the fourth century on and celebrated in Jerusalem by the seventh century¹²⁹². In the Byzantine

¹²⁹²See J. Tomagean, 'La fête de la Transfiguration, 6 août', *L'Orient syrien* 5 (1960), 479–82. R. de Féraud, *L' Icône de la Transfiguration*. Spiritualité orientale 23 (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1978), pp. 113–15, A. Guillou, 'Le monastère de la Théotokos au Sinai', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 67 (1955), 217–58 and the commentary to this opus in V. Grumel, 'Sur l'ancienneté de la fête de la Transfiguration', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 14 (1956), 209–10.

Empire Emperor Leo VI (866–912) is believed to make the Transfiguration a feast day, although there is evidence that the feast had already been celebrated there in the eighth century¹²⁹³. In Western Europe, according to the study of F. Bœspflug, the Transfiguration received the liturgical celebration in the ninth-century Iberian Peninsula¹²⁹⁴ and A.-G. Martimort argues that the feast was celebrated at the same time in Naples and in the Germanic lands before spreading into France in the tenth century¹²⁹⁵. P. Jounel points to the treatise *De pane eucharistico* known in the version of 845 and probably written by Bishop Ildefonso de Toledo, where this feast is mentioned on July 27 instead of August 6, and also referred to the liturgical fragments from Bari that attest to the liturgical celebration of the Transfiguration in the tenth century¹²⁹⁶. For England R. Pfaff has highlighted several eighth/ninth-century calendars and martyrologies that include the Transfiguration feast in July and for Germanic lands the martyrology of Wandelbert of Prüm (first half of the ninth century), which places this feast on August¹²⁹⁷. Moreover, there is also iconographical evidence from ninth-century Rome, as attested by Montgomery Labatt: two depictions of Transfiguration on the triumphal arch at St. Nereo ed Achilleo (around 816) and in the chapel of St. Zeno in the church of Santa Prassede (822), both inspired by the sixth-century iconography of the Transfiguration in the Sinai monastery¹²⁹⁸. Taking into account these early testimonies, there is nothing surprising about the later eleventh-century testimonies from Rome in the churches Santa Saba

1293 See more in A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome. A Laboratory of Images in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York/London, 2019), p. 99. She refers to the aforementioned article of V. Grumel, ‘Sur l’ancienneté de la fête de la Transfiguration’, 209–10 and to G. Podskalsky, R. F. Taft, A. Weyl Carr, ‘Transfiguration’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan (New York, 2005).

1294 F. Bœspflug, *Les théophanies bibliques dans l’art médiéval d’Occident et d’Orient* (Genève, 2012), p. 309. See also R. de Féraud, *L’Icône de la Transfiguration*, pp. 115–16; G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1966), vol. 1, p. 156.

1295 A.-G. Martimort, *The Church at Prayer. Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 (Minnesota, 1986) [1983], p. 98. For the Germanic lands we have a testimony from the martyrology of Wandelbert of Prüm for the day of August, which, however, does not mention the word *transfiguratio*: ‘*Idibus octonis mortem passura crucemque Christi sancta caro aetheream dedit ante figuram*’. *Wandalberti Prumiensis monachi martyrologium* in PL 121, col. 607 and *Wandalbertus Prumiensis, Synoptical Presentation of Digitised Manuscripts*, on the database Website monumenta.ch/latein/, accessed 9th August 2020, available at http://monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Wandalbertus_Prumiensis&rumpfid=Wandalbertus%20Prumiensis,%20Martyrologium,%2008&level=3&domain=&lang=0&links=&inframe=1&links=1&hide_apparatus=1. See also the critical edition in *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler. MGH Antiquitates, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1884), 569–622.

1296 P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977), pp. 184–85, also notes 42–43. For Ildefonso see his *Opusculum de Pane eucharistico*, PL 106 col. 886 and 888. For Bari see A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente*, Texte und Arbeiten 25 (Beuron, 1934), pp. 25–26. Jounel pointed out two missals, the Beneventan one, dated to the tenth/eleventh centuries from the Archives of the archbishopric of Benevento, Cod. VI. 33, and the missal of the Abruzzes Abbey (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4770).

1297 Although focusing on the liturgical feasts in the late medieval period, Pfaff provides us with a full overview of the feasts’ evolution from Late Antiquity throughout the Middle Ages. See R.W. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), p. 14, n. 2 (he named the calendar of St. Willibrod and martyrology of Oengus). These feasts are also placed in July and not in August.

1298 A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, p. 104.

and Santo Lorenzo¹²⁹⁹. In the same century the iconography of the Transfiguration was attested in Sant'Angelo in Formis and in the twelfth century it spread further to the south with the Capella Palatina and Monreale on Sicily, as well as to the north up to the cathedral in Puy-en-Velay and the priory Charité-sur-Loire in the same century¹³⁰⁰. Through exploring liturgical material, J. Vezin showed, in turn, that the Transfiguration was due to its promotion in Western Europe since the end of the eleventh century to the Cluny institution, and in particular Peter the Venerable (1092–1156)¹³⁰¹. Peter the Venerable compiled both a Sermon on the Transfiguration (the first of his nine sermons) and the Office of the Transfiguration, a feast which had an important place in his theology¹³⁰². According to Stevenson, Peter thus made an important transition from a sermon expanding the text in a Lenten context to a sermon on this new feast, albeit the first references to the transition from Lenten usage to the August feast may actually refer to a feast day on August 6 in a Lenten sermon by Bede (673–735)¹³⁰³. Altogether, this data demonstrates that the *Transfiguratio* feast was celebrated separately from the Lenten context, on August 6, and had already become a liturgical tradition in Western Europe by the beginning of the ninth century. Drawing upon the Italian material, P. Jounel argues for a Franco-Germanic influence in the dissemination of this feast but via a southern road through Latino-Byzantine Italy¹³⁰⁴. However, tracing the exact path of the feast's diffusion, and locating the first hotbed of veneration, is not easy. If we take a look geographically, it might have started in Rome and then spread to other regions, but until now there are no clear testimonies that allow us to be sure about its transmission.

A. Canty provides us with a succinct theological overview of an earlier tradition of the Transfiguration in his recent book on this feast by the mendicant orders¹³⁰⁵. The Transfiguration event is known from the Scriptures (Mt. 17.1–8, Mk. 9.2–13, Lk. 9.28–36). Its interpretations, however, differed with time. Canty argues that in the anti-Gnostic concept of the second century, Irenaeus of Lyons and Clement of Alexandria both emphasised the

1299P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican*, p. 184.

1300A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, p. 147.

1301According to J. Vezin, it was Peter the Venerable who developed this cult in Cluny. See J. Vezin, 'Problèmes de datation et de localisation des livres de l'office de Prime', in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. K. Schmid, J. Wollasch (München, 1984), pp. 613–24, p. 618. On Peter's fervent participation in this process see J. Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Saint-Wandrille, 1946), pp. 325–40 and on the office created by Peter the Venerable on 379–90 and P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican*, pp. 268–69.

1302Peter the Venerable also addressed several letters to the Cluniac community established on the Tabor Mountain. See more in the article by K. Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny', in *The Serious Business of Worship: Essays in Honour of Bryan D. Spinks*, eds. S. Jones, M. Ross (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 78–87. See also R. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 17.

1303K. Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable', p. 79. Stevenson mentions two Peter's contemporaries who also discussed the Transfiguration: Peter of Celle (1115–1183), Abbot of St. Remi and Bishop of Chartres and Peter of Blois (1134–1204), Archdeacon of Bath. For Bede see Homily 1.24 on the Gospels, in PL 94, col. 96–101. K. Stevenson, "'Rooted in Detachment": Transfiguration as Narrative, Worship and Community of Faith', *Ecclesiology* 1/3 (2005), 13–26, p. 21.

1304P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican*, p. 185.

1305A. Canty, *Light and Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ in Early Franciscan and Dominican Theology* (Washington DC, 2011).

importance of the Incarnation and the fact that Christ brought salvation to the temporal order through vision according to the flesh¹³⁰⁶. In the third century, Origen accented the spiritual capacities of those able to see the Transfiguration and by the fourth-century, Eastern theologians had developed the concept of Christ's divinity through the Transfiguration. According to the commentaries of the Western Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries, namely Leo the Great, the power of the body with which Divinity was clothed was most important. Thus, for the Occident, the revelation of Christ's divine nature is made possible because of his human nature¹³⁰⁷. Surprisingly, Canty neglected the evidence of the liturgical Transfiguration feast in Western Europe from the ninth century to the eleventh centuries, which made him switch from the early medieval exegesis directly into the twelfth century¹³⁰⁸. In a more detailed analysis of the early Christian interpretation of the Transfiguration, the book of J. A. McGuckin offers a structured study accompanied with the texts of Greek and Latin Church Fathers, suggesting multiple connotations for the Transfiguration in the theological context. In particular, he distinguishes three aspects in the Patristic exegesis of the Transfiguration: the wonder of the theophany, the soteriological role in treating the event as a salvific act of God and epiphany as a paradigm of the resurrection. Considering that in the patristic age the Transfiguration was read during Lent, this was the promise of Easter Transfiguration for the church universally¹³⁰⁹.

It is worthwhile briefly recalling the major elements of the Transfiguration feast from the Early to High Middle Ages. From the liturgical point of view, the Transfiguration feast traditionally had two periods of celebration in the liturgical year: the earliest one fell on Lent, and the later one, starting from the eighth/ninth century, fell on August 6, which demonstrates that the feast received a proper day for the liturgical celebration (in some regions firstly in July and then in August). The theological overview allows us to see that, even taking into consideration multiple nuances in the theological interpretation of the Transfiguration, the Western Church in the late antique and early medieval periods connected both the divine and human natures of Christ in his Transfiguration on the Tabor Mountain. The Transfiguration feast thus has two important characteristics that allow for my comparison with the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast. First, it is centred on revealing Christ's 'deified flesh', an important point for understanding Christ's role in the salvation of humanity, crucial for the medieval Christianity. Second, this feast was meant to remind the faithful about the Passion of Christ and to comfort them with the promise of his inevitable Resurrection.

The aim over the pages that follow is to structure and complete the data on liturgical evidence of the Transfiguration feast in the Trans-Pyrenean zone. This evidence shows us that, by the turn of the millennium, the Transfiguration from the Gospel narrative had become

1306A. Canty, *Light and Glory*, pp. 11–12.

1307 *Op. cit.*, pp. 12–15.

1308 *Ibid.*, p. 16. For a short commentary on Bede's interpretation of the transfiguration, see B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, vol. 4. L'Occident latin de Léon le Grand à Bernard le Clairvaux (Paris, 1990), pp. 220–24.

1309J. A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Lewiston, 1986), pp. 99–125.

an independent liturgical feast in this region. This contribution will then allow us to relate this evidence to the celebration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and to explore several common features between these two feasts, closely related to the development of Christological sensibilities in Western society around the year 1000.

II. Liturgical Testimonies of the Transfiguration Feast

The Catalan region was among the earliest to develop persistent liturgical traditions for the *Transfiguratio* feast celebrated in August. Yet in his article from 1928, J. B. Ferreres mentioned the martyrologies from Vic, which bear witness to the celebration of this feast already in the tenth century¹³¹⁰. Further, he also referred to several eleventh-century French sacramentaries containing the eulogies for the Transfiguration feast¹³¹¹. F. Bœspflug traces the dissemination of this feast to Monte Cassino, as attested in eleventh-century liturgical books from there, and suggests that the feast might have been transmitted from Monte Cassino to Cluny, which transferred it to its affiliated houses from 1132¹³¹². Even if we accept this hypothesis, it is still not clear whether the *Transfiguratio* feast came to Monte Cassino from the East (for example through Greek monks) or from the West (from religious institutions in the Iberian Peninsula), for, as it has been mentioned above, it is unlikely that we can identify the path of dissemination of the Transfiguration feast with any degree of certainty. Nevertheless, the liturgical evidence from the North-Eastern region of the Iberian Peninsula does help us to realise the extent to which the celebration of this feast reached.

The following Table 35 demonstrates the references to the Transfiguration feast in the calendars and martyrologies in the Catalan region and southern French territories (T – in the main text, M – in the margin).

Table 35 – *Transfiguratio*. References from Calendars and Martyrologies

N	Date	Genre/place in the text	Place	Formula
1	993–1010	Martyrology (T) ¹³¹³	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>
2	11 th c., beginning	Calendar from sacramentary (T) ¹³¹⁴	Monastery of Saint-Martial de Limoges	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>

1310J. B. Ferreres, ‘La Transfiguration de Notre Seigneur. Histoire de sa fête et de sa messe’, *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* (1928), 630–43, p. 632.

1311Ibid., pp. 635–37.

1312F. Bœspflug, *Les théophanies bibliques dans l’art médiéval d’Occident et d’Orient*, p. 310. R. de Féraud, *L’Icône de la Transfiguration*, p. 115.

1313Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (VicM₁), fol. 84v.

1314Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 5v.

3	1061	Martyrology (T) ¹³¹⁵	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>
4	11 th c., middle or second half	Martyrology (M) ¹³¹⁶	Cathedral chapter of Carcassonne	<i>Eodem die in monte [Tabor] transfiguratio D[omini] nostri Iesu Christi</i> ¹³¹⁷
5	11 th c.	Calendar-obituary (T) ¹³¹⁸	Monastery of Santa Maria de Serrateix	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
6	11 th c., end	Martyrology (T) ¹³¹⁹	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Transfiguratio Domini in monte Tabor</i>
7	1096–1134	Calendar from the breviary of St. Ramon (T) ¹³²⁰	Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena	<i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri</i>
8	12 th c., beginning	Calendar from sacramentary (T) ¹³²¹	Cathedral chapter of Albi	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
9	12 th c., second quarter	Calendar from <i>miscellanea</i> (T) ¹³²²	Parochial church in Gironès ¹³²³	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
10	12 th c.	Martyrology (T) ¹³²⁴	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>In monte Tabor transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>
11	12 th c.	Martyrology (M) ¹³²⁵	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>
12	12 th c.	Martyrology (T) ¹³²⁶	Priory of Cassan	<i>Eodem die transfiguratio Domini</i>
13	before	Calendar from	Parochial church Sant	<i>Transfiguracio Domini</i>

1315Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B (VicM₂), fol. 68v.

1316Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256 (CarcasM), fol. 84r.

1317The right edge has been cut off removing the name of the mountain and letters after 'd' from God.

1318København, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. NKS 1794 (SerratM), fol. 181v.

1319Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat 22 (StCugM), fol. 76v.

1320Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0029, fol. 9r.

1321Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 4v.

1322Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10401, fol. 6v.

1323On the provenance and the dating of the calendar in this manuscript see F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'Un singular calendari provinent d'un sacramentari gironí de Castelló d'Empúries', p. 41.

1324Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 62v.

1325Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 3 (GirM), fol. 76v.

1326Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (CassM), fol. 148r.

	1133 ¹³²⁷	sacramentary (T) ¹³²⁸	Romà de les Bons	
14	12 th c.	Calendar from breviary (T) ¹³²⁹	Cathedral chapter of Girona	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
15	12 th c., fourth quarter	Calendar from missal (T) ¹³³⁰	Monastery of Arles-sur- Tech	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
16	12 th /13 th cc.	Calendar from sacramentary (T) ¹³³¹	Monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadeses	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
17	1190–1228	Chants from the <i>Liber consuetudinum</i> (T) ¹³³²	Cathedral chapter of Vic	<i>In festo Transfiguracionis Domini</i>
18	12 th /13 th cc.	Calendar from sacramentary (T) ¹³³³	Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès	<i>Transfiguratio Domini</i>
19	Modern script	Martyrology (M) ¹³³⁴	Monastery of Santa Maria de Serrateix	<i>Ipsa die in monte Tabor transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>

The earliest reference to the *Transfiguratio Domini* feast can be found in the Vic martyrology compiled at the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh centuries (Figure 34). Moreover, in this martyrology the feast was already mentioned in the main text, as the first eulogy for this day. This evidence is a very important witness for the entrenchment of the Transfiguration feast in the liturgical life of the Vic canons at the turn of the millennium. The data from Table 35 above demonstrates a progressive implementation of the feast in liturgical books of different religious institutions on both sides of the Pyrenees throughout the eleventh century. Comparing a handful of marginal additions to the presence of *auctaria* in the text (3

1327See the dating suggested by F. X. Altés i Aguiló in id., ‘El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra)’, pp. 52–54.

1328Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 6.

1329Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 99, fol. 108v.

1330Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 12v.

1331Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 68, fol. 3v.

1332 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 134, fol. 32r. See the dating suggested by M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol in id., ‘El *Liber consuetudinum Vicensis ecclesie* del canonge Andreu Salmùnia – Vic, Museu Episcopal, Ms. 134 (LXXXIV)’, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 7 (1996), 175–294, p. 178.

1333Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 8v.

1334København, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. NKS 1794 (SerratM), fol. 96r.

of 18) underscores the entrenchment of the feast within different communities, with the copyists adding the feast directly in the main text. According to the table data, the dissemination of this reference to this new Christological feast entered the secular and regular communities at relatively the same pace, a typical feature of feasts in Catalan religious institutions, as we saw in the previous chapters.

This chronological development does not, however, suggest any geographical nor institutional logic behind the dissemination of the feast: it appears almost simultaneously at the Limoges monastery and Vic chapter at the beginning of the eleventh century, and in the second half of the eleventh century both canonical (Vic, Carcassonne) as well as monastic (Serrateix, Sant Cugat del Vallès) religious institutions mention it in their texts. The presence of this feast in the parochial church of Sant Romà de les Bons is a nice example of the hierarchical spreading of the new feasts' liturgical celebration from the centre of dioceses (in this case Urgell) to smaller churches. The books compiled for these churches contained all of the recent liturgical changes and were important media in the transmission and implementation of feast celebrations throughout the dioceses¹³³⁵.

Some references (possibly Carcassonne¹³³⁶, Vic and Sant Cugat del Vallès) provide us with a historico-geographical suggestion of the location of the transfiguration, namely the Mount Tabor, which is also its location according to the early medieval Christian accounts¹³³⁷ (Figures 35 and 36). McGuckin argues that patristic exegesis identified the mountain where the Transfiguration happened with Tabor because of Psalm 89:12 ('Tabor and Hermon jously praise your name'), but the Gospel narratives did not specify the place¹³³⁸. Byzantine sources bear witness that in the tenth century the Transfiguration was also associated with Tabor, since Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976), describing his military campaign, mentioned, among different holy places, Mount Tabor and specified that it was where 'Christ, our God

¹³³⁵Providing us with an incorrect date to the Gospel book from the monastery Sant Miquel de Cuixà, R. Amiet explains his dating with an argument that at the turn of the first millennium the Transfiguration feast already arrived in Central Italy. Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1 (12th c., second quarter). See R. Amiet, 'Les livres liturgiques du diocèse d'Elne', *Revista catalana de teologia* 7 (1982) 279–302, p. 291. However, even if this Gospel contains the feast day for the Transfiguration in the second quarter of the twelfth century, the later thirteenth-century breviary from Cuixà nevertheless does not mention this feast. See P. Pujol i Tubau, 'El Breviari de Cuixà', *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 6 (1920–1922), 329–341.

¹³³⁶The margins of the folio have been cut down, so that the name of the mountain is not visible any more.

¹³³⁷See e.g. the following: Anastasius the Sinaite in B. D. Bucur, 'Exegesis and Intertextuality in Anastasius the Sinaite's Homily *On the Transfiguration*', in *From the Fifth Century Onwards (Greek Writers)*, vol. 16, ed. M. Vinzent. *Studia patristica* 68 (Leiden, 2013), pp. 249–60; Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Saviour Jesus Christ* (Assemani, *Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, Greek and Latin 2:45B–C); see other homilies (Anastasius of Antioch, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Leon VI the Philosopher etc.) available in English translation in the *Light on the Mountain. Greek Patristic and Byzantine Homilies on the Transfiguration of the Lord*, transl. B. E. Daley. Popular Patristics Series 48 (Yonkers, NY, 2013).

¹³³⁸There was another possible association with the mountain theophany on the Mount Horeb, where God appeared to Moses and Elijah. See J. A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 53–4.

was transfigured'¹³³⁹. These sporadic nominations in Catalan and southern French liturgical manuscripts help us to approve the established tradition of relating the Tabor mountain with the Christ's Transfiguration in eleventh-century Western Europe.

A special mass developed for the *Transfiguratio* feast day on August 6 confirms the implementation of its liturgical celebration in the archbishopric of Narbonne from the eleventh century on. In his edition of the Ripoll sacramentary, A. Olivar noticed the increasing veneration of the Transfiguration during the eleventh century¹³⁴⁰. He meant very likely the presence of this feast in the Ripoll sacramentary as well as in other sacramentaries from Vic, pointed out earlier by Ferreres¹³⁴¹. The following Table 36 demonstrates the increasing implementation of the *Transfiguratio* in the regional liturgical tradition:

Table 36 – *Transfiguratio*. Proper of the Mass

Manuscript	Vigil (August 5)	Feast day (August 6)
1) Sacramentary from the Cathedral chapter of Vic (1038) ¹³⁴²	<i>Coll. Deus qui nos sacrum transfigurationis tue diem deuotis hodie laudibus preire concedis, tribue nobis quaesumus ad tuam contemplationem pertingere, qui nostre humanitatis dignatus es fieri particeps. Qui uiuis.</i> (CO 1922) ¹³⁴³	<i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter transformatum celitus utriusque testamenti patribus reuelasti, da nobis quaesumus beneplacitis tibi actibus ad eius semper contemplandam pertingere gloriam, in quo tue paternitati optime complacuisse testatus es. Per eundem.</i> (CO 1674) ¹³⁴⁷
	<i>Scr. Ecclesie tue domine quaesumus tua benedictione dona sanctifica, nosque per hec a culpis expediens illi configurari tribue, qui olim suis discipulis gloriose</i>	<i>Scr. Suscipe domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus munera, que pro gloriosa filii tui transfiguratione deferimus, et concede propitius, ut per hec et a temporalibus liberemur incommodis, et gaudiis connectamur</i>

1339 *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse continuée par Grégoire le Prêtre*, ed. E. Dulaurier. Bibliothèque historique arménienne I/XVI (Paris, 1858), pp. 19–20.

1340 *Sacramentarium Ripollense*, ed. A. Olivar (Madrid/Barcelona, 1964), p. 25.

1341 Their signatures changed but according to the description and the mentioned folios these are, first, the Sacramentary of Vic (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 66, dated to 1038); second, the Sacramentary of Ripoll (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, ff. 133v–134r); and, third, the *Missale Parvum* from Vic (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 71, fol. 24v).

1342 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 66, ff. 9v–10r. See also A. Olivar, *El sacramentario de Vich*. Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra. Serie litúrgica 4 (Barcelona, 1953), pp. 74–76.

1343 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (further CCSL) 160 B (Turnhout, 1993), p. 103.

	<p><i>transfiguratus apparuit [Iesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster. Qui tecum]. (CO 2403)¹³⁴⁴</i></p> <p>Pref. VD. <i>Aeterne deus. Qui Iesum Christum deum et dominum nostrum excelso in monte transformatum tuum sacris testibus filium hostendisti, eumque audiendum fore paterna celitus uoce professus es, et ut legis ac prophetarum auctor et dominus, necnon ab utrisque testimonium habens claresceret, hic inde inter astantes uates precipuos, Moysen scilicet Heliamque, in gloriam perstitit medius. Solis nanque fulgore suam splendentem detegens faciem, niuei uestem candoris uertit in spetiem. Illorum etiam in hac tue prolis solempnitate laudibus precipuis sublime attollendum est meritum, quibus illud in mundo te tribuente uidere concessum est, quod non est creditum in mundo, sed mundi post terminum solis seruatum constat electis ad praemium. Et ideo. (CP 1006)¹³⁴⁵</i></p>	<p><i>eternis. Per eundem. (CO 5836)¹³⁴⁸</i></p> <p>Pref. VD. <i>Per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui tribus hodierna die assumptis discipulis, inter Moysen Eliamque transfiguratus, uates praecipuos diuinitatis suae gloriam uoluit mirabiliter esse conspicuam. Ob mentes namque credentium ad desideria claritatis supernorum agminum erigendas, faciem suam instar solis uirtute rutilantis splendidam, et niueo uestimenta candore hostendit fulgentia. Quem, ut tue diuinitatis consubstantialem panderes ueritatem, tam prius praecursori eius celis patentibus in Iordanis baptisate, quam denuo duobus ac tribus testibus patria eum uoce de nube testatus es dicens: Hic est filius meus, in quo bene complacui, ipsum audite. Cuius diuine natiuitatis potentiam, quia ingenite tue uirtutis genuit magnitudo, semper eundem filium et ante tempora genitum. Eo quod tibi pleno atque perfecto aeterni patris nomen non defuit, praedicamus. Honore etiam et uirtute equalem tibi cum sancto spiritu confitentes, in trino uocabulo unius essentiae credimus maiestatem. Et ideo. (CP 1265)¹³⁴⁹</i></p>
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1347 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 354.

1344 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 C (Turnhout, 1994), p. 10.

1345 *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 310.

1348 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 H (Turnhout, 1996), p. 154.

1349 *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 390.

	<p><i>Ad compl. Da quaesumus, omnipotens deus, aeterne uite refectis muneribus ei nos concorporari in celestibus, quem tuum dilectum filium in monte transformatum ipsumque audiendum esse helectis discipulis intimasti. Qui tecum. (CO 1007)¹³⁴⁶</i></p>	<p><i>Ad compl. Deus qui hunc diem incarnati uerbi tui transfiguratione tueque ad eum missa paternitatis uoce consecrasti, tribue quaesumus, ut diuinis pasti alimoniis in eius mereamur membra transferri, qui hec in sui memoriam fieri praecepit. Qui tecum. (CO 1709)¹³⁵⁰</i></p> <p><i>Alia. Fac nos quaesumus domine ad illam tue claritatis uisionem pertingere, quam tuis hodie discipulis in monte transfiguratus hostendisti. Qui uiuis et regnas. (CO 2592)¹³⁵¹</i></p>
2) Sacramentary from the Monastery Santa Maria de Ripoll (1040) ¹³⁵²	Absent	<p><i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter (CO 1674)</i></p> <p><i>Scr. Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater (CO 5836)</i></p> <p><i>Pref. VD. Aeterne Deus, Quia nostri saluatoris hodie. (CP 1315)¹³⁵³</i></p> <p><i>Require in Natale domini.</i></p> <p><i>Ad compl. Deus qui nunc diem incarnati uerbi (CO 1709)</i></p>
3) Sacramentary from Gellone (11 th c., first quarter) ¹³⁵⁴	<p><i>Coll. Deus qui nos sacrum transfiguracionis tue (CO 1922 but with slightly different ending) ‘quam electis utriusque testamenti patribus revelasti. Qui uiuis et regis’.</i></p> <p><i>Scr. Ad ecclesie tue quaesumus domine tua</i></p>	<p><i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die hunigenitum tuum mirabiliter (CO 1674)</i></p> <p><i>Scr. Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater (CO 5836)</i></p>

1346 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 72.

1350 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 B (Turnhout, 1993), p. 3.

1351 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 C (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 102–03.

1352 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, ff. 133v–134r. See *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, p. 165.

1353 *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 403.

1354 Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 18, ff. 116v–117v. The dating is suggested by M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, see id., ‘El sacramentari II de Gellona (Montpellier, Bib. Mun., ms. 18)’, pp. 57–8.

	<p><i>benedictione dona sanctifica, nosque per hec a culpis expediens illi configurari tribue, qui holim suis discipulis gloriose transfiguratus apparuit Iesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster. Qui tecum.</i></p> <p>Pref. Absent</p> <p>Ad compl. <i>Da quaesumus, omnipotens deus, aeterne uite refectos</i> (CO 1007)</p>	<p>Pref. Absent</p> <p>Ad compl. <i>Deus qui hunc diem incarnati uerbi tui transfiguratione</i> (CO 1709)</p>
<p>4) Collectary-ordinary from the monastery of Lagrasse (11th c., third quarter)¹³⁵⁵</p>	<p>Absent</p>	<p>Coll. <i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter transformatum</i> (CO 1674)</p> <p>Alia. <i>Concede nobis quesumus domine ad contuendam super caelos tuae celsitudinis spetiem pervenire qui tuam tuis hodie in monte transfiguratus discipulis gloriosam pre solis claritate faciem declarasti. Qui vivis.</i></p> <p>Alia. <i>Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui nova. Require retro in Natale Domini.</i> (CO 1029)¹³⁵⁶</p> <p>Alia. <i>Fac nos quesumus domine ad illam tuae claritatis</i>¹³⁵⁷ (CO 2592)</p> <p>/// Added later between temporal and sanctoral¹³⁵⁸:</p> <p>Lec. <i>Karissimi: Dabo operam me frequenter habere vos post obitum ...</i> (2 Pt. 1.15–16)</p>

1355Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, ff. 68v–69r. For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El Collectari-Ordinari de l’Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa (París, BnF, Ms. lat. 933)’, pp. 207–08.

1356*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 A (Turnhout, 1993), p. 85.

1357According to Gros i Pujol, for two first prayers there is the word ‘non’ added in the margin in the script of circa 1200. The two following prayers are added in one script from the middle of the 12th century. See M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El Collectari-Ordinari de l’Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa’, pp. 280–82, n. 184 and 185.

1358M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El Collectari-Ordinari de l’Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa’, p. 267, and n. 159.

		<p><i>Alia.</i> <i>Audivimus vocem de celo allatam cum essemus cum ipso in monte ...</i> (2 Pt. 1.18–19)</p> <p><i>Or.</i> <i>Quesumus omnipotens deus ut plebs tua toto tibi corde deserviens ...</i> (CO 4900)¹³⁵⁹</p>
5) <i>Missale Parvum</i> from the Cathedral chapter of Vic (11 th c., end) ¹³⁶⁰	Absent	<p><i>Coll.</i> <i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674)</p> <p><i>Scr.</i> <i>Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836)</p> <p><i>Pref.</i> <i>Quia per incarnati</i> (CP 1322)¹³⁶¹</p> <p><i>Ad compl.</i> <i>Fas nos quaesumus domine ad illam</i> (CO 2592)</p>
6) Sacramentary from the Cathedral chapter of Albi (12 th c., beginning) ¹³⁶²	Absent	<p><i>Coll.</i> <i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674)</p> <p><i>Scr.</i> <i>Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836)</p> <p><i>Pref.</i> Absent</p> <p><i>Ad compl.</i> <i>Deus qui nunc diem incarnati verbi</i> (CO 1709)</p>
7) Sacramentary from the Cathedral chapter of Albi (12 th c., first half) ¹³⁶³	Absent	<p><i>Coll.</i> <i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674)</p> <p><i>Scr.</i> <i>Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836)</p> <p><i>Pref.</i> Absent</p> <p><i>Ad compl.</i> <i>Deus qui nunc diem incarnati verbi</i> (CO 1709)</p>
8) Sacramentary from the cathedral of	Absent	<p><i>Coll.</i> <i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO</p>

1359 *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J. M. Clément, CCSL 160 F (Turnhout, 1995), p. 292.

1360 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 71, fol. 24r. For the dating see M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El “Missale Parvum” de Vic’, *Hispania sacra* 21 (1968), 313–77, pp. 313–14.

1361 *Corpus praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCSL 161 C (Turnhout, 1980), p. 404.

1362 Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 5, ff. 90v–91r.

1363 Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 6, fol. 4v and fol. 100rv.

Girona/Collegiate church Sant Feliu de Girona (12 th c., first half) ¹³⁶⁴		1674) <i>Scr. Suscipe quesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836) <i>Ad compl. Deus qui hunc diem incarnati verbi tui transfiguratione</i> (CO 1709)
9) Ritual and sacramentary from the Cathedral chapter of Urgell for the parochial church Sant Romà de les Bons (before 1133) ¹³⁶⁵	Absent	<i>Transfiguratione Domini. Apparuit gratia Dei. Apparuit benignitas</i> ¹³⁶⁶ .
10) Sacramentary from the collegiate church Santa Maria de Vilabertran (12 th c., third quarter) ¹³⁶⁷	Absent	<i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674) <i>Scr. Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836) <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Deus qui nunc diem incarnati verbi</i> (CO 1709)
11) Missal from the Monastery of Arles-sur-Tech (12 th c., fourth quarter) ¹³⁶⁸	Absent	<i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674) <i>Scr. Suscipe quaesumus domine sancte pater</i> (CO 5836) <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Deus qui nunc diem incarnati verbi</i> (CO 1709)
11) Sacramentary from the Monastery	Absent	<i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO

1364On the dating see M. Sureda i Jubany, M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El sacramentari de Sant Feliu de Girona (Girona. Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 17 (2009), 83–210, pp. 88–9. Girona, Museu Diocesà, Ms. 46, fol. 81rv. For the shortened version of this mass see *op. cit.*, p. 149 (616–18).

1365Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 314.

1366See F. X. Altés i Aguiló, 'El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra), (Biblioteca de l'Abadia de Montserrat, ms. 72)', *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 13 (2005), 47–277, p. 239.

1367Paris, BnF Ms. lat. 1102, ff. 138v–139r.

1368Perpignan, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 4, ff. 96v–97r.

Sant Cugat del Vallès (13 th c.) ¹³⁶⁹		1674) <i>Scr. Suscipe quaesumus domine munera</i> (CO 5836) <i>Pref.</i> Absent <i>Ad compl. Deus qui hunc diem incarnati verbi</i> (CO 1709)
12)Sacramentary from the Monastery Saint-Martial de Limoges (added in the margin in late medieval cursive) ¹³⁷⁰	Absent	<i>Coll. Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum mirabiliter</i> (CO 1674)

The first thing we can take from this data is that, contrary to the feasts of St. Michael and *Passio Imaginis Domini* analysed in the previous chapters, the *Transfiguratio* had static prayers for the mass in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions. The explored texts thus demonstrate a harmonious unity in the choice of prayers for the Transfiguration day and have only few variations (suggested as *alia* in the Vic and Lagrasse volumes). Only two eleventh-century manuscripts, from Vic and Gellone, provide us with the developed liturgy on the vigil day, for the rest, the vigil celebration had not been securely established yet. Furthermore, not all of the observed manuscripts include a reference to the *Transfiguratio* feast: one of the sacramentaries from Limoges and another from Figeac¹³⁷¹ both fail to mention this feast. The mass continued to develop over the course of the eleventh century but it was not until the twelfth century that it became consistent, which goes hand in hand with the chaotic correlation between the geographical location of the explored manuscripts and the chronological feast entries.

It is interesting that the prayers on the vigil of the Transfiguration day (the preface CP 1006, the secret CO 2403 and the post communion CO 1007) correspond to the mass on the Transfiguration in the extant liturgical fragment from Bari¹³⁷². The main preface (CP 1265) for the feast day on August 6 is also attested in two other Italian manuscripts, apparently compiled earlier than the Catalan ones¹³⁷³. This suggests that the first prayers of the mass

1369Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 47, fol. 98rv.

1370Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 822, fol. 71v.

1371Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821 (11th c., first half) and Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 2293 (11th c. third quarter) respectively.

1372For the prayers see *Corpus praefationum* CCSL 161 D, p. 485; *Corpus orationum* CCSL 160 C, p. 10; and *Corpus orationum* CCSL 160 A, p. 72 respectively. The fragments are found in Peterlingen, Kommunalarchiv, s.n., 10th/11th cc. See the edition in A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente*, Texte und Arbeiten 25 (Beuron, 1934), pp. 25–6.

1373The first manuscript is the Beneventan missal from the 10th/11th centuries housed in Benevento, Archivio arcivescovile, cod. VI 33, ff. 116v–117r, and edited in S. Rehle, 'Missale Beneventum (Codex VI 33 des Erzbischöflichen Archivs von Benevent)', *Sacris erudiri* 21 (1972–73), 323–405, p. 376. See also *Beneventan Script. A history of the South Italian Minuscule*, eds. E. A. Loew, V. Brown, Sussidi Eruditi 33 (Rome, 1980), p.

attested in the Catalan region might have found their archetype in the liturgical production from southern Italian religious communities. One more testimony that demonstrates the clear connection with the Beneventan liturgical book concerns the prayer mentioned as *alia* in both the Vic and Lagrasse collection of mass prayers for August 6. This prayer (CO 2592) is listed as *oratio ad vesperum* in the Italian volume¹³⁷⁴. Furthermore, as observed in Chapter Two, a Beneventan liturgical book includes the preface for the May feast of the Archangel Michael, which thus reinforces the connection with Benevento and the influence of southern Italian liturgy on, as well as the arrival of cults and feasts in, the Catalan area.

A closer analysis of these liturgical books demonstrates a curious connection between the mass for the *Transfiguratio* and the mass for the Nativity, a correlation that can be identified in four cases: Ripoll, Lagrasse, Vic and Sant Romà de les Bons. In the first two cases, the allusion to the Christmas liturgy can be found directly in the text with the reference to ‘*Require in natale Domini*’¹³⁷⁵. Remarkably none of these four testimonies are identical in their reference to the Nativity. Ripoll and Vic (*Missale Parvum*) contain it for the preface of the mass, Lagrasse suggests this reference for an optional prayer, while in Sant Romà the prayer ‘*Apparuit benignitas*’ repeats the vigil for Nativity in the same manuscript¹³⁷⁶. According to the liturgical testimonies from other regions, the collect for the main day frequently used elements from the Nativity mass or the mass for St. Trinity, for the Transfiguration was a more recent feast¹³⁷⁷. However, this liturgical correlation seems particularly interesting from a theological point of view since the Transfiguration as a manifestation of Christ’s deity is symbolically intertwined with the demonstration of his humanity. As the human nature of Christ is particularly expressed through his Nativity, this emphasis on Christ’s human and divine natures might thus have underscored the choice of liturgical prayers for different feasts of the year. For example, the preface of the mass in the Vic sacramentary underscores his divine nature, with the voice of God declaring Christ as his Son (CP 1265), while the preface in the contemporary sacramentary from Ripoll borrowed the prayer from the Nativity liturgy.

The Lagrasse manuscript contains another curious piece of evidence of the important role of the *Transfiguratio* for this monastic community. Aside from a number of optional prayers for the day of the Transfiguration, there are a series of liturgical texts added a little later, on the folio between the temporal and the sanctoral, which had been left blank at the

21. The second is a *Missale plenarum* dated to the end of the 10th century from Abruzzes, in Central Italy, now in the Vatican Library (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4770, ff. 179v–180r). See the preface in *Corpus praeafationum* CCSL 161 D, p. 619.

1374 *Corpus orationum* CCSL 160 C, p. 102.

1375 For Ripoll see Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 67, fol. 134r. See *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, p. 165. For Lagrasse see Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 933, fol. 69r. M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El Collectari-Ordinari de l’Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa’, p. 281. For Vic see Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 71, ff. 10r and 24r. M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, ‘El “Missale Parvum” de Vic’, pp. 325 and 338.

1376 Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, p. 303. F. X. Altés i Aguiló, ‘El llibre místic de Sant Romà de les Bons (Andorra)’, p. 233.

1377 See the first note in *Corpus orationum* CCSL 160 A, p. 354.

time of the compilation of the manuscript¹³⁷⁸. On the one hand, it shows the variety of mass prayers for the feast; on the other it highlights the growing celebration of the *Transfiguratio*. According to the palaeographical analysis by M. Gros i Pujol, this part with the liturgical texts was apparently added after the compilation of the manuscript, around 1100¹³⁷⁹, which could prove the increasing symbolical meaning of the Transfiguration feast for religious communities by that time. Moreover, these complementary optional prayers suggested in the Vic and Lagrasse books demonstrate that the liturgy of the mass prayers for the Transfiguration feast had evolved by the eleventh century.

It remains difficult to determine whether there was any difference between the implementation of new feasts at the secular or regular religious communities in Catalonia. The evidence concerning Lagrasse described above could be a nice illustration of a particular emphasis on the *Transfiguratio* in a monastic house but this single case is not enough evidence upon which to base such a broad conclusion on the better implementation and development of the Transfiguration in regular religious communities compared to canonical ones. Several decades later, during the 1130s, Peter the Venerable wrote a sermon on the Transfiguration, which, according to Stevenson, was destined for monastic circles because of its focus on contemplation¹³⁸⁰. Could this be as a result of the emphasis in the twelfth century on post-Gregorian or Cluniac religious thought? J. Leclercq has argued that Peter the Venerable synthesised the feelings of contemplation, admiration and desire into the Cluniac liturgy at that time¹³⁸¹. Yet the Catalan and southern French religious material cannot provide us with a more concrete answer as the data demonstrates that it was disseminated throughout all sorts of religious communities. Even if we suggest that the Vic Cathedral chapter was closely connected to Ripoll monastery, which may explain how this monastic emphasis might have been transmitted to the canons, there is other evidence from parochial churches such as Sant Romà de les Bons, probably closely connected to the Urgell cathedral, that hardly suggests the canons were seeking to emulate monastic ideals. Moreover, Vic was also at the core of religious network with Italian centres, and, in 970–971, was even seeking to receive a promotion from the papacy and form a centre opposing the Archbishopric of Narbonne¹³⁸². A number of secular religious communities celebrating this feast in the region clearly show its importance in canonical liturgical life. Concerning the scripture reading for a mass on this day, Stevenson has pointed out that there were, as of yet, no readings in the Vic sacramentary but some contemporary eleventh-century fragments of liturgical texts from southern Italy do bear witness to existing readings for the Transfiguration from the New Testament (Phil. 3.19–

1378M. dels Sants Gros i Pujol, 'El Collectari-Ordinari de l'Abadia de Santa Maria de la Grassa', p. 267, and n. 159. Together with these texts for the Transfiguration, a number of prayers for the recently canonised St. Thomas of Canterbury was also added there.

1379Ibid.

1380K. Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny', p. 79.

1381J. Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable*, p. 329.

1382See the *bullae* of Pope John XIII (965–972) to Catalan and Aquitanian bishops on the promotion of Odo Bishop of Vic in H. Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, 2 vols (Vienna, 1984–1989), vol. 1 (896–996), nn. 206–210. See also P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 2006) [1987], pp. 32–3.

4.1 and Lk. 9.28–36)¹³⁸³. However, from my data on the manuscripts from the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne, there is only one testimony from the canons of Carcassonne cathedral. CarcasM contains a reference to the ‘*lectio VII*’ right after the added *auctarium*, which clearly refers to the tradition of the reading on this feast day, although without providing any concrete text. Moreover, this reference is found in the martyrology and not in the sacramentary, which demonstrates two important facts: first, that this martyrology was in active liturgical use during the mass; second, that the Transfiguration feast is supposed to include readings. While we should be wary of taking this as evidence that this was being practised in all canonical communities, the Carcassonne case is nevertheless a very important example of developing liturgical traditions of the Transfiguration feast in the region.

Finally, one more musical testimony supports the aforementioned hypotheses. An antiphonary from the canonical community of Sant Pere d’Àger, dated to the end of the eleventh/beginning of the twelfth century, contains several chants for the Transfiguration day¹³⁸⁴: ‘*Ecce advenit*’/ ‘*Sacerdotes eius*’/ ‘*Timete Dominum*’/ ‘*Alleluia te martyrur candidatus laudat exercitus*’/ ‘*Laetamini*’/ ‘*Signa eos qui in me credunt*’¹³⁸⁵. This again demonstrates that the liturgy for the Transfiguration feast was developing in canonical communities at least as much as in monastic circles. Moreover, the connections between Sant Pere d’Àger and Vic might have played a particular role in this development¹³⁸⁶. The integration of the Transfiguration feast in the liturgical life of Vic might thus be transferred to the church of Sant Pere. Furthermore, it highlights a connection of the Transfiguration feast to Italian sources once more. According to P. Kehr’s study of charters from Cluny, Count Arnau Mir de Tost (1000–1072) hoped to turn Sant Pere d’Àger into a Benedictine cloister affiliated with Cluny. However, it did not work out, and the community finally became one of Augustinian canons dependent on the Roman See, receiving privileges from Pope Nicolas II in 1060¹³⁸⁷. These connections between Sant Pere d’Àger and Vic as well as Sant Pere d’Àger and Italian centres might also explain how the Transfiguration was disseminated throughout Catalonia and Aquitaine.

1383K. Stevenson, “‘Rooted in Detachment’”: Transfiguration as Narrative, Worship and Community of Faith’, p. 20. He points to the fragment discussed by Pfaff in R. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 15. For Bari see A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente*, Texte und Arbeiten 25 (Beuron, 1934), pp. 25–26.

1384Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1147, fol. 142r.

1385The list of chants for the feast in this manuscript is well presented in the database [Musica Hispanica. Spanish Early Music Manuscripts Database \(SEMM\)](http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20246?page=15), accessed on 9th August 2020, available at <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20246?page=15>.

1386On the relations of Count Arnau Mir de Tost with Bishop Oliba and on the relics Oliba transmitted to the count for his church Sant Pere d’Àger, see A. Mundó i Marcet, ‘Entorn de la carta de l’abat Oliba a Arnau Mir de Tost’, in *Miscellània Anselm M. Albareda* 1 (Montserrat, 1962), pp. 207–216 and plate 1; and E. Junyent i Subirà, ‘Guillem Ramon, abat d’Àger’, *Boletín arqueológico* IV 113–120 (1971–1972), 269–281, esp. p. 270 and n. 3, and p. 271.

1387P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1 (Berlin, 1926), p. 26. On Cluniac activity in Catalonia see K. Stöber, ‘Cluny in Catalonia’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9 (2017) 241–260, and especially p. 244 on the unfortunate attempts of Arnau Mir de Tost with Sant Pere d’Àger.

In her study, Montgomery Labatt points out that the Transfiguration was more popular and widespread than the existing monuments might have us believe¹³⁸⁸. The evidence presented in the tables above supports her theory by addressing this gap on its liturgical dissemination in at least one region, namely Southern France and the North-Eastern Iberian Peninsula. I thus agree with Labatt's broader conclusions, for these sources demonstrate several reasons why this might be the case: they help us to reconstruct the widespread pace at which the feast was diffused; they suggest that various processes were developed for the implementation of this feast; and imply that both more evidence may have once existed and may still exist in other regions.

Both tables thus demonstrate an elaborate liturgical model for the Transfiguration that became established in different religious communities in the Trans-Pyrenean zone over the course of the eleventh century. The sacramentaries demonstrate that the prayers for the mass spread in a chaotic manner all around the region in different forms until becoming more stabilised in the twelfth century. Over the course of the eleventh century, the manuscript testimonies of optional prayers and vigils (Vic, Gellone), readings (Carcassonne), musical chants (Sant Pere d'Àger), and new added prayers (Lagrasse) clearly demonstrate the growing pace of the developing liturgy for the Transfiguration feast. This led to the Transfiguration having received an established celebration for its independent day on August 6 around 1100 in different regions of the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne. The entrenchment of the feast in all types of religious communities—including monasteries, cathedral chapters, canonical communities, and parochial churches—shows the deep level of its dissemination in liturgical life. This liturgical data is of primary importance for understanding the symbolical interaction and interweaving of two feasts, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the Transfiguration, both proclaiming the celebration of Christ's human and divine nature and mutually complementing each other.

III. Symbolical Interaction between the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*

From a historical point of view, looking back at the centuries, we might assume that the simultaneous propagation of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and *Transfiguratio* feasts points to several common features that unify them. Both feasts focus on Christological values and emphasise the events of Christ's life demonstrating his growing role in medieval devotional practices. This expectation further suggests a theological connection between these two Christological feasts. Certainly, there are possible theological connotations and aspects linked to these feasts, such as salvation, redemption and baptism, which are pivotal symbolic elements in both and significantly influenced the developing religious sensibilities of the tenth/eleventh centuries. In this part of the chapter, I will combine the historical approach with the theological to determine the extent to which theological meanings of these two feasts can help us to analyse the feasts' dissemination in medieval Europe. Having clarified their

1388A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, p. 145.

symbolical meanings in contemporary ecclesiastical thought, it is then necessary to observe them in the context of developments within the Church at the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century.

1. Liturgical Calendar for Both Feasts: Intertwining Correlation through Salvation

According to the liturgical sources analysed in Chapter Four and here, in the Central Middle Ages the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* was celebrated on November 9, whereas the Transfiguration fell on August 6. Both dates have a particular story behind their creation: the first one shared the feast day with the dedication of the Lateran basilica, while the second carried its theological meaning through the connection to the Christ's Crucifixion. Touching upon the origins of the liturgical celebrations of these two days will help us to connect both feasts.

During the eleventh/twelfth-century the *Passio Imaginis Domini* was commemorated on November 9 alongside another liturgical tradition that was closely connected, which concerned the feast of the dedication of the basilica to Christ the Saviour. According to H. Quentin, the martyrology of Bede from the Gaeta region, dated to the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh centuries, contains the earliest reference to the dedication to Christ the Saviour¹³⁸⁹. In Rome, the cult of St. Saviour was spread even earlier for an older St. Saviour's basilica of Lateran already existed in the ninth century, though it was destroyed by an earthquake in 896 and was replaced by the church of St. John Baptist¹³⁹⁰. This origin can explain the great celebration of the St. Saviour's feast in the Lateran throughout the eleventh century, as P. Jounel has argued using Italian sources to point out that this feast was known as the dedication of the Lateran basilica in the second half of the twelfth century¹³⁹¹. This demonstrates that, for the *Passio Imaginis Domini* at least, the Roman liturgical tradition differed from the earlier Catalan one, although the Beirut legend was already known in Rome in the second half of the eleventh century. The Santo Ciriaco martyrology from Rome, copied between 1024 and 1043, is the first to mention the Beirut legend among other miracles under the title *Miracula domini Salvatoris*¹³⁹². These miracles contain several stories of the miraculous images: 1) stolen by a Jew from Constantinople, the image of Christ also started

1389The fragment of martyrology survives in Rome, Biblioteca Barberini, Ms. XIV, 19, ff. 9r–44r. See H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge. Étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris, 1908), pp. 31–34. Quentin noticed though that this feast was added by an Italian hand, which means we cannot be sure of the exact dating of this addition.

1390See R. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 118.

1391P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle*, pp. 141, 145 and 305. In his twelfth-century tract, John the Deacon unified the dedication of Constantine's basilica by the Pope Silvester I with the image of the Saviour appearing to the Roman people and brought these two events together under the same feast day: '*Imago Salvatoris infixata parietibus primum visibilis omni populo Romano apparuit*', Jean Diacre, *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae*, 1, eds. R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, p. 333. See P. Jounel, *op. cit.*, p. 305, n. 262.

1392Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F 85 (1024–1043), see P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 49 and 305.

bleeding; 2) two miracles by the miraculous image of the Virgin in Libya; 3) the image of the Saviour from Edessa; 4) the *Passio Imaginis Domini* from Beirut¹³⁹³. Jounel noticed that in the Lateran these two feasts became intertwined in the twelfth century, while in the case of the Catalan region it happened much later, as observed by G. Llombart¹³⁹⁴. The Beirut legend in Rome thus appeared to be only *one story* among others dedicated to the miraculous images, and not a central narrative of the festive day. By paying less attention to the St. Saviour's feast in the Lateran, the Catalan liturgical evidence demonstrates that there were alternative strategies to the Roman liturgical choice.

Jounel's study demonstrates the connection between two liturgical traditions that might have received several names depending on the region. According to the liturgical sources analysed above in Chapter Four, the tradition of *Passio Imaginis Domini* was more commonly practised in the Pyrenean region than that of the Saviour. This is interesting because it demonstrates that, in this case, the Roman influence was not crucial on the development of this tradition as it was for that of other cults of saints in the Catalan region.

However, the dissemination of churches dedicated to St. Saviour took place in the Southern French and Catalan lands too. Alongside famous religious institutions named after Christ, such as St. Saviour of Gellone (newly inaugurated around 1000) or the St. Saviour's churches in Aniane and Figeac (founded respectively in the late eighth and in the ninth century), there are a few references from the Catalan region according to the consecration acts¹³⁹⁵. R. Ordeig i Mata's study of church dedications sheds light on several church and altar consecrations to St. Saviour in the Catalan region over the course of the tenth to the twelfth centuries: Sant Salvador at the monastery of Mata (Berga) in 900; Sant Salvador at the Ripoll monastery in 924¹³⁹⁶; Sant Salvador de Guardiola (Urgell) in 1038¹³⁹⁷; Sant Salvador, Sant Jordi i Sant Ponç in Àger (Noguera) in 1048¹³⁹⁸; Sant Salvador de Breda (Girona) in 1068;

1393See Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F 85, ff. 216r–218v, see P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, p. 307.

1394P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, p. 306. G. Llombart, 'Longitudo Christi Salvatoris. Una aportación al conocimiento de la piedad popular catalana medieval', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 40 (1967), 93–115, pp. 99–100.

1395In Catalan lands one of the earliest known institutions dedicated to the Saviour was a monastery of Sant Salvador de la Vedella, founded in 835 by the monks of Sant Sadurní de Tavernoles, according to the Carolingian precept. See R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolíngia: 2. Els diplomes carolíngis a Catalunya*. Memòries de la secció històrico-arqueològica II (Barcelona, 1926–1950), 1, pp. 246–48.

1396R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes: 1. Anys 833–950', *Revista catalana de teologia* 4 (1979), 123–65, acts 23, 47 pp. 140, 154–55 respectively. Gros i Pujol mentions that in 977 during the construction of the new church of Ripoll the older church of St. Saviour was destroyed with the altar of St. Saviour transferred into an apse of the new church in between the main altar of the Virgin and the one of St. Michael. See M. Gros i Pujol, 'Le culte des trois Archanges et de la Trinité à l'abbaye de St-Michel de Cuxa', in *Le Moyen Âge dans les Pyrénées catalanes: art, culture et société. Actes du colloque de Prades, Pyrénées-Orientales, 23–24–25 mai 2003*, eds. M. Zimmermann, P. Bonnassie et al., *Études Roussillonaises* 21 (Perpignan, 2005), pp. 93–8, p. 96.

1397A. Benet i Clara, 'Sant Salvador de Guardiola', in *Catalunya romànica* 11. El Bagès (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 478–79. He also mentioned priests of the chapel Sant Salvador de Fonollosa around 1080s, together with a hill and a rock of Sant Salvador. Id., 'Sant Salvador de Fonollosa', *op. cit.*, p. 36.

1398R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes: 3. Anys 1000–1050', *Revista catalana de teologia* 8 (1983), 403–56, act 177, pp. 449–50.

Sant Salvador d'Arraona (Barcelona) in 1076¹³⁹⁹; Sant Salvador i Sant Bartolomeu at the castle of Calassanç (Ribagorça) in 1103; Sant Esteve i Sant Salvador de Saüll (Besalú) in 1119; and Sant Salvador de Polinya (Vallès) in 1122¹⁴⁰⁰. There is also evidence that Viscount Guillem de Castellbó and Viscountess Sancia de Urgell made bequests for Sant Salvador in Mari (possibly near Marseille) in 994 and 1116 respectively¹⁴⁰¹. On the one hand, this evidence shows that there were a limited number of churches and altars dedicated to St. Saviour from 900 to 1120s (nine, even if one of those, Sant Salvador de Breda, was a very prestigious Benedictine monastery). On the other, their geographical location is notable, for they are spread throughout the provinces from near the Pyrenees in Catalonia to the south in the province of Barcelona. This demonstrates an extensive rather than intensive dissemination of this cult. However, none of these acts of consecration occurred around November 9 or point in any way to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini*, and thus do not provide any evident correlation between these churches and the liturgical celebration of the Passion of the Image¹⁴⁰².

Nevertheless, these few cases are remarkable considering the narrative of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon. The Beirut legend emphasised the creation and dedication of churches to the Saviour as one of the consequences of the Beirut miracle and the conversion of the Jews. The last part of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon handles the Jews' conversion and the following conversion of the ancient synagogue into the church of Christ the Saviour. The earlier Limousin version of the sermon, which reproduced the Acts of the Nicaean Council, points to a similar dedication of one synagogue (thus without providing the reader with the globalising perspective of the later Roda version): '*atque sinagoga eorum in honore sancte aecclesie Salvatori nostro Christo Iesu dicavit*'¹⁴⁰³). If all of the versions agree with this, they, however, differ in describing the consecration of other synagogues. Table 37 below shows the differing narratives on this consecration in the different versions.

Table 37 – Roda Text. Consecration of the Synagogue/Synagogues

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
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1399R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes: 4. Anys 1051–1100', *Revista catalana de teologia* 9 (1984), 117–82, acts 214 and 223, pp. 148 and 154–55 respectively.

1400R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes: 5. Anys 1101–1125', *Revista catalana de teologia* 13 (1988), 387–430, acts 274, 310 and 314, pp. 391, 415, and 417–29 respectively.

1401J. Gudiol, 'De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 3 (1927), 92–120, p. 108.

1402It is also important to bear in mind the development of the cult of the Virgin in the High Middle Ages and a certain amalgamation between the Saviour and the Virgin cults, so that the churches previously dedicated to St. Saviour were later rededicated to the Virgin thus changing their *patrocinium*. See more on this phenomenon in M. M. Tischler, *Die Christus- und Engelweihe im Mittelalter. Texte, Bilder und Studien zu einem ekklesiologischen Erzählmotiv*. *Erudiri Sapientia: Studien zum Mittelalter und zu seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte* 5 (Berlin, 2005), pp. 70–5.

1403Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 740, fol. 129r.

<p>Episcopus [...] synagogam eorum ecclesiam sancti Salvatori nostro Christo dicavit¹⁴⁰⁴.</p>	<p>Rogabant sanctum virum ut synagogam suam ecclesiam consecravit in honorem sancti Salvatoris mundi; quorum petitionem minime aspernatur, synagogam illorum [...] in nomine unigeniti Filii Dei redemptoris mundi consecravit. [...]</p> <p>Mos inolevit ut basilicas plurimas vel oratoria pontifices Christianae legis in honorem sancti Salvatoris mundi condere et dedicare non desinant¹⁴⁰⁵.</p>	<p>Post hec magnis precibus eundem rogaverunt presulem ut synagogas eorum que Iudaismo situs qualebant in honore Dei et eius Christi videlicet Salvatoris mundi basilicas dedicaret. [...] De cruore videlicet Dominice imaginis et altaria consecrans et conventicula reconcilians. [...]</p> <p>Mos inolevit non solum in honore Domini Salvatoris oratoria edificent verum etiam et aras dignissimas erigant¹⁴⁰⁶.</p>
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While the earliest version of the sermon (Mansi I) and the later version (Mansi II) refer to the conversion of the synagogue into the church dedicated to the Saviour, the eleventh-century Roda version explicitly underscores the conversion of numerous synagogues into churches dedicated to Christ called *Salvator mundi*. Moreover, Mansi II, which also represents a later variation of the Acts of Nicaean Council, underscores the idea of the conversion: people asked the bishop to convert the synagogue and he satisfied their ‘*petitionem*’. This double focus on the conversion serves as rhetorical tool reinforcing the main message of the text. Furthermore, both Mansi II and the Roda text augment the number of consecrated churches adding the creation and dedication of ‘*oratoria*’ in honour of the Saviour. The Roda text thus emphasises two main elements: 1) the conversion of many synagogues, which suggests a deliberate and strategic Christian policy of targeting Jewish places of worship; 2) the dedication of these converted churches to the Saviour, thus with possible reference to Christ as an addressee of the consecration church act and further emphasising the Jewish error in refusing to accept Christ as the messiah. Curiously, in his article on the depictions of *Christus triumphans*, J. Camps i Sòria assumes that there may be a

1404Mansi I, col. 30. See the recently published edition by Lamberz, *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV–V*, ed. E. Lamberz, vol. 3 part 2, p. 329.

1405Mansi II, col. 584.

1406Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 165rb. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 100r; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 125vab; The manuscript from Barcelona with the same BHL 4229c version does not contain this part. Another Vatican manuscript also refers to the consecration of churches to St. Saviour: ‘*ut synagogas eorum que maior esse videbatur in honorem sancti Salvatoris mundi ecclesiam consecraret. Quorum petitionem minime contemnens eandem synagogam in nomine Unigeniti Dei felii redemptoris mundi consecravit. [...] mos inolevit [...] ut Christiane legis pontifices basilicas plurimas sive oratoria condere non solum presumant sed et reconciliare non desinant in honore Domini Salvatoris*’. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 322vb.

relationship between the interest in Catalonia in the *Christus triumphans* and the cult of Christ in Beirut¹⁴⁰⁷. The iconographical witnesses of the increasing interest to Christ in Majesty (as possible *Salvator mundi*) thus gracefully complement the Roda sermon narrative. The dedication of the Beirut basilica seems to come in line with the spread of numerous churches in honour of Christ the Saviour, notwithstanding the converted synagogues.

Furthermore, the eleventh-century Roda text unifies both names of the feast in the passage on its celebration (see Table 38).

Table 38 – Roda Text. Celebration of the Feast

Mansi I	Mansi II	Roda
Absent	In mense Novembri, [...] nono die ipsius mensis, id est, quinto Idus Novembris, non minori reverentia, quam natalis Domini, vel paschalis, ista dies praecipua observatione colatur. Haec est vera et vehementer credula ratio de cruore lateris Domini nostri Salvatoris, qui profluxit de sancta imagine ipsius, quae crucifixa est in Syria, in Beryto civitate ¹⁴⁰⁸ .	In mense novembrio [...] nono scilicet die ingrediente eodem mense quod est V. Idus Novembris per omnes ecclesias ob reverentiam passionis Dominice Ymaginis celebretur a cunctis fidelibus populis non cum inferiori reverentia sollempnitas Sancti Salvatoris mundi quam natalis Domini vel precipuus dies paschalis ¹⁴⁰⁹ .

Mansi's second version of the sermon emphasises the significant place of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast among other crucial feasts for every Christian, such as the Nativity and Easter, but notably does not connect it with the St. Saviour's one. The Roda version, however, suggests that, with reverence to the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, all devoted people should celebrate the feast of St. Saviour on November 9 with the same respect as they celebrate the Nativity of God or Easter. As far as I am aware, this seems to be the only reference to a possible liturgical interpretation of November 9 as the feast of St. Saviour and not the *Passio*

1407J. Camps i Sòria, 'Romanesque majestats: a typology of Christus triumphans in Catalonia', in *Envisioning Christ on the cross. Ireland and the early Medieval West*, eds. J. Mullins, J. Ní Ghrádaigh, R. Hawtree (Dublin, 2013), pp. 234–47, p. 247.

1408Mansi II, col. 585.

1409Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 165va. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 944, fol. 100rv; Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 108, fol. 126rab. The manuscript from Barcelona does not contain this part. The second Vatican manuscript also unifies both nominations: '*in mense novembrio quod est apud Hebreos nonus apud nos vero undecimus die nono ipsius mensis id est quinto Ydus novembris festivitas Sancti Salvatoris non cum minori reverentia observetur quam natalis Domini vel resurrectionis Dominice paschali dies precipua qui sunt observatione colendi*'. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 586, fol. 323ra.

Imaginis Domini in the Catalan region. The calendars, sacramentaries and martyrologies only name the *Passio Imaginis Domini* as the feast on November 9. Thus both names of the feast became intertwined with, but did not replace, one another. Without any concrete reference to Rome or Roman tradition, this eleventh-century text emphasises the feast of the Saviour (*Salvator mundi*) not only in relation to the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, thus marking a new tendency in the liturgical devotion.

The coexistence of these two major events—the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the solemnity of *Salvator mundi*—on the same feast day confirms the correlation between the iconographic *Christus triumphans* and the Crucifixion, for both embody the liturgical veneration of Christ's passion and Christ's glory. However, the correlation between the Catalan iconography of Christ in majesty and the Crucifixion from the Beirut narrative, as suggested by Camps i Sòria, might only partially explain the increasing devotion to Christ at the turn of the first millennium. Nevertheless, studying the Transfiguration feast alongside this evidence lends further weight to this correlation.

To reiterate, it would be too simplistic to take the *Transfiguratio* as a counterweight to the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, for the first one shows Christ in his divine form, whereas the second emphasises his death on the Cross. Such an analogy of His two natures is a seductive trap. The aforementioned connection of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the feast of St. Saviour relies heavily on the combination of both the humanity and divinity of Christ in the one feast. The miracle that happened to the bleeding Crucifix demonstrated the divine will and crucified Christ as God, not man. The same controversial changes happen with the Transfiguration feast. Yet from Late Antiquity it was entirely bound to the Crucifixion. Then, the theological exegesis enhanced this interpretation revealing the deified body of Christ through his humanity, and thus emphasising His human nature. This mirrored play on the two natures of Christ, which simultaneously reinforces both of them, marks a particular theological tendency in orthodox Catholic thought of Christ being both God and man, as well as testifying to the increase of Christ's feasts as separate and independent liturgical days in the liturgical calendar.

In the Early Middle Ages, Leo the Great preached the Gospel on the Transfiguration (Mt. 17.1–8) on the Lenten Ember Saturday¹⁴¹⁰. R. Pfaff has noticed that there was a medieval tendency to transfer commemorations falling in Lent to another time¹⁴¹¹. Beyond the Lenten context, the independent liturgical celebration of the *Transfiguratio* feast became directly bound with the Crucifixion, to follow the Gospels' narrative with the Transfiguration happening forty days before the Crucifixion, which was assigned to September 14¹⁴¹².

1410Leo the Great, 'Sermo 51', in *Léon le Grand: Sermons 38–64*, ed. R. Dolle, *Sources chrétiennes* 74 (Paris, 1961), pp. 14–21. For 'standard' and 'earlier' gospel series see W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, vol. 2, *The Roman Lectionary* (Oxford, 1934), p. 7, §67. See R. W. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), p.13, n. 4.

1411R. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts*, pp. 13–14.

1412K. Stevenson, "'Rooted in Detachment": Transfiguration as Narrative, Worship and Community of Faith', p. 20.

Traditionally, in the Eastern Church the Transfiguration feast was thus calculated by subtracting forty days from the Exaltation of the Cross/Triumph of the Cross feast on September 14¹⁴¹³. This symbolical correlation explains the chosen date for the later elaborated liturgical celebration of the Transfiguration, which fell on August 6. By the year 1000, as shown above, the feast of the Transfiguration was being celebrated in Summer (July or August) in different European cities and regions, such as Naples, Toledo and England, possibly due to some Eastern influence.

For the theological interpretation of the Transfiguration, the Western authorities, in particular Leo the Great, argued that the revelation of Christ's divine nature was made possible because of his human nature, for it was the power of the body within which Divinity was clothed that was most important¹⁴¹⁴. In his Sunday Sermon on the Transfiguration, Leo the Great drawing on the Matthew Gospel focused on the humanity of Christ¹⁴¹⁵. In the early medieval Pseudo-Ephrem's *Sermon on the Transfiguration*, the Transfiguration is destined to every group of witnesses with a particular goal: 'The Prophets rejoiced when they saw his humanity, which they had not known. The Apostles also rejoiced when they saw the glory of his divinity, which they had not known¹⁴¹⁶. Thus, if we take the Transfiguration as an event where Christ could reveal his divinity through his humanity, as A. Montgomery Labatt suggests, we observe a similar process for the *Passio Imaginis Domini*. In the Beirut narrative, we can see Christ's divinity (his miracles of His Image) through his humanity (his death on the Cross).

Therefore, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast was connected in the liturgy to both the Saviour and, taking it one step further, to the notion of *Salvator mundi*. The *Transfiguratio*, in its turn, was tied to the Crucifixion. Theologically, both represent a peculiar combination of the two most significant events in the life of Christ, his Crucifixion and Resurrection. If each feast refers to both the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the two feasts taken together underscore them both even more strongly, thus reinforcing the death of Christ as man and His resurrection as God with this mutual infusion of his human and divine nature in the interaction between the liturgical celebration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*.

2. Salvation through Baptism

The *Transfiguratio* and *Passio Imaginis Domini* narratives are also bound together through the sacrament of Baptism. The sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius has two important

1413A.-G. Martimort, *The Church at Prayer. Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 (Minnesota, 1986) [1983], p. 98 and n. 2 on J. Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*. *Theologie historique* 7 (Paris, 1967), pp. 276–77.

1414A. Canty, *Light and Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ*, pp. 12–15.

1415A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, pp. 132–33. Leo the Great, 'Sermon 51', in *Léon le Grand: Sermons 38–64*, ed. R. Dolle. *Sources chrétiennes* 74 (Paris, 1961), pp. 14–21.

1416See B. D. Bucur, 'Exegesis and Intertextuality in Anastasius the Sinaite's Homily *On the Transfiguration*', p. 259. For the Greek text, see *Οσίου Ἐφραίμου τοῦ Σοῦρου Ἔργα*, 7 vols, ed. K. G. Phrantzolas (Thessaloniki, 1998), 7:13–30.

references to the baptism: first, it emphasises the baptismal scene of the converted Jews, and second, it reveals the notion of miraculous water emanating from the bleeding Image of Christ. The latter reference, as I will show, creates a connection to the symbolical reference to the baptism in the narrative on the Transfiguration. By exploring the notion of Baptism highlighted in both feast narratives, we can thus demonstrate how harmoniously they were intertwined in the eleventh century.

By the beginning of the fourth century, the Early Christian Church accepted the necessity of both baptism and participation in the Eucharistic communion¹⁴¹⁷. Holy Fathers, in particular Tertullian and Augustine, saw the principle effects of the baptism in the forgiveness of sins and the salvation¹⁴¹⁸. Carolingian scholars, such as Alcuin, Paschasius Radbertus and Hrabanus Maurus further reinforced the notion of baptism by attributing strong theological and political accents to it. Paschasius identified the baptism and the Eucharist, together with the Holy Scriptures, among the most important gifts of Christ to the Church; he thus argued that Christ's *sacramenta* in the Church are baptism, chrismation, and the body and blood of the Lord¹⁴¹⁹. Alcuin saw in the *sacramentum* of baptism the principle tool of Carolingian expansion and integration of new peoples¹⁴²⁰ (among these we should not forget the Carolingian campaign against adoptionist controversy in the Spanish March¹⁴²¹), and Jonas of Orléans centred baptism in the combat against moral laxity rather than on the conversion of pagans¹⁴²². In his study on the Carolingian perception of the baptism, Phelan underscored that this *sacramentum* helped Carolingian authors to organise their thoughts on polity, which often intertwined secular and theological ideas, and carried broad implications for Carolingian understanding of social and political life¹⁴²³. The Carolingian preoccupation with the conversion of new subjects of the Empire clearly brought politics and theology together. As J. Smith points out, under the pen of Carolingian writers the word *correctio* implied both an

1417J. Patout Burns, 'Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20 (2012), 407–438, p. 413.

1418Although Patout Burns points out that Augustine's conviction that the baptism is necessary for the salvation reflected the belief and practice of African Christians. See *ibid.*, p. 414. In general, he shows how his ideas shaped due to the controversy that had developed in Africa.

1419'*Nihil enim Christus ecclesiae suae maius aliquid in mysterio reliquit quam hoc baptismique sacramentum, necnon et Scripturas Sanctas*'. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini, cum appendice epistola ad Fredugardum*, ed. B. Paulus, CC Continuatio Mediaevalis 16 (Turnhout, 1969), *De corpore* 1, p. 17. '*Sunt autem sacramenta Christi in ecclesia baptismus et chrisma, corpus quoque Domini et sanguis*'. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore* 3, *op. cit.*, p. 24. See O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014), p. 39.

1420See among Alcuin's letters his *Epistola* 99, ed. E. Dümmeler, MGH Epistolae IV (Berlin, 1895), pp. 143–44, and other epistles. More on this O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism and the Imperium Christianum*, p. 97, n. 10 and 11.

1421On the adoptionism see more in C. J. Chandler, 'Heresy and Empire: The Role of the Adoptionist Controversy in Charlemagne's Conquest of the Spanish Marc', *The International History Review* 24 (2002), 505–27.

1422Jonas, *De institutione laicali*, I, XIX, PL 106, col. 158 See also Jonas d'Orléans, *Instruction des laïcs*, ed. O. Dubreucq, Sources Chrétiennes 549–550 (Paris, 2012–2013), vol. 1, pp. 280–91. See more in O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 222, n. 78 and 79.

1423O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 44.

ideology and a program in which ruler and bishops strove together to enhance Christian observance, foster Christian ethics, and overhaul Christian institutions. *Correctio* thus resonated with authority and established normative practice, and, according to Smith, explained ‘Christianisation’ as the ongoing effort to redefine behaviour and mores, which was the long, slow aftermath of baptism and conversion to Christianity¹⁴²⁴. Both the moral and political aspects of conversion are no less eloquently expressed in the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, in particular in the Roda version, where the pivotal scene concerns the Jewish conversion and their baptism which was described as ‘*correctio infidelium*’¹⁴²⁵.

Three centuries later, in the twelfth century, both Peter of Lombard († 1160) and Hugh of St. Victor († 1141) prioritised theology of baptism over its application: the baptism was considered less through the lens of mission and society than through its efficacy shifted by theological reflection¹⁴²⁶. Their contemporary Peter the Venerable († 1156) developed the theological connection between the baptism and the transfiguration in his Sermon written in purpose for the *Transfiguratio* feast. To better understand this connection, it is worth identifying the main milestones that demonstrate this development, namely how baptism touches upon both theological (in the connection to transfiguration through the Baptism of Christ) and ecclesiastical (conversion of unfaithful) aspects.

From the theological point of view, both the Baptism and Transfiguration belong to the Theophany, a divine manifestation followed by God’s intervention¹⁴²⁷. In the synoptic Gospels the revelation of Jesus by God refers to the scene of his baptism in the Jordan (Mt. 3:16–17, Mk. 1:10–11, Lk. 3:21–22) and the Transfiguration on the mountain (Mt. 17:5, Mk. 9:7, Lk. 9:35). In both cases the voice from heaven declares Christ as Son of God. Late antique and early medieval accounts revealed the Christological interpretation of the theophany and thus connected the Old Testament theophany with the Transfiguration scene. Both Irenaeus and Tertullian believed that the synoptic Transfiguration should be understood not as a vision that the disciples have of Christ, but as a vision of Christ granted to Moses and Elijah, witnessed by the disciples¹⁴²⁸. The identification of God giving Law to Moses on Sinai with God transfigured on Tabor continued in the Eastern orations and hymns of the Transfiguration, such as those by Pseudo-Leo of Rome, Pseudo-Ephrem of Syria, Anastasius

1424J. Smith, “‘Emending Evil Ways and Praising God’s Omnipotence’: Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs’, in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, eds. K. Mills, A. Grafton (Rochester, NY, 2003), pp. 189–223, pp. 189–90. See more on the meaning of ‘*correctio*’ and ‘*reformare*’ in Carolingian writings in id., p. 192 and n. 15.

1425 See the analysis of the Roda text in Chapter Four on the correction of the unfaithful as well as the fortifying of the faithful (‘*non solum ad correctionem infidelium verum etiam ad corroboracionem omnium tuorum fidelium*’ Lleida, AC_0035, fol. 163va.

1426O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 274 and n. 38.

1427See F. Bøspflug, *Les théophanies bibliques dans l’art médiéval d’Occident et d’Orient*, p. 263–67; A. Puig i Tàrrach, ‘La gloire sur la montagne: l’épisode de la transfiguration de Jésus’, *Revista catalana de teologia* 37 (2012), 203–45.

1428Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* IV 20.10–1; Tertullian, *Against Praxean* 14.7; *Against Marcionem* IV 22.14–5. See *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre IV*, eds. A. Rousseau et al. Sources Chrétiennes 100 (Paris, 1965); *Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem*, ed. E. Evans (Oxford, 1972); *Tertullian, Adversus Praxean*, ed. E. Evans (London, 1948).

the Sinaite, and John of Damascus¹⁴²⁹. The Transfiguration thus played an important role from early on in the rise of Christianity in the interpretation of the Old Testament through the lens of a Christological approach.

Much later, Peter the Venerable in his Sermon on the Transfiguration particularly emphasised the role of Christ as the Incarnate Son, revealing his ‘deified body’¹⁴³⁰. Extending his devotional commentary on the Transfiguration account, Peter underscored the parallel between the baptism and the transfiguration in his interpretation of Christ’s clothes¹⁴³¹. Exploring this sermon, Stevenson focuses on the monastic and pastoral accents that Peter the Venerable developed with the image of fire, water and herbs as three elements which identify Christ’s clothing as the life of faith¹⁴³². However, another passage here is curious, namely the one on the role of the water in the preaching of Peter the Venerable. Referring first to the Acts of Apostles (‘John baptised with water but you will be baptised with the Holy Spirit’, Acts 1.5), Peter then discusses the water ‘of baptism’ and ‘of tears’ (*baptismatis et lacrymarum*) referring to the Gospel (Jn. 3.5) and psalms (Ps. 6.6)¹⁴³³. He further claims that, he who will be washed with the water, and be restored as a new man, in new white garments, white as well in his spirit [symbolising his innocence], and renewed will appear ready, in the garments of Christ’s body (*Abluitur aqua illa quicquid sordium animae adhaeserat, redditur homo novus, albis novisque induitur vestibus, ut et ipse in spiritu candidatus, et renovatus, aptus appareat in Christi corporis vestimento*¹⁴³⁴). The particular role of baptismal water comes from this context, so that the person being washed in baptism receives the promise of resurrection. The baptised are also clothed with white garments, as underscored in theological tracts¹⁴³⁵. Among the sanctifying effects of baptism, Augustine mentions that the baptism would be fulfilled when the Christian really—rather than symbolically—entered into the death of Christ, was freed from mortality in resurrection, and secured in salvation¹⁴³⁶. The analogy between the baptised man with the transfigured Christ (appeared in the white shining clothes according to the Gospel) is thus evident.

In a similar way, the water plays a particular role in the narrative of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, for it is used in several symbolical senses. At first, it is mentioned

1429See B. D. Bucur, ‘Exegesis and Intertextuality in Anastasius the Sinaite’s Homily *On the Transfiguration*’, p. 259.

1430K. Stevenson, ‘The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny’, in *The Serious Business of Worship: Essays in Honour of Bryan D. Spinks*, eds. S. Jones, M. Ross (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 78–87, p. 83. *Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis noni sermones. Sermo primus de Transfiguratione Domini*. PL 189, cols. 953–972, here cols. 967–972.

1431*Sermo primus de Transfiguratione Domini*, cols. 958–962.

1432K. Stevenson, ‘The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny’, p. 82.

1433*Sermo primus de Transfiguratione Domini*, col. 960.

1434*Sermo primus de Transfiguratione Domini*, col. 961.

1435See e.g. the Book of the Sacrament of Baptism (written in 812) in Leidrad of Lyon, *Liber de sacramento baptismo* 9, col. 865. On the interpretation of white clothes see P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200 – c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 164.

1436J. Patout Burns, ‘Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine’, pp. 430 and 432, Augustine, *Sermones*, *Serm.* 164.6 (PL 38, col. 897), *Serm.* 361.14 (PL 38, col. 1606–07), 362.26–27 (PL 38, col. 1629–31).

together with blood as miraculous liquids coming out from the *Imago Domini*, which explicitly refers to the Gospel of John (Jn. 19:34), where Christ on the Cross was pierced by a spear causing blood to flow out along with water. This miraculous water might be seen as the purifying water, for its influence on Jews, according to the narrative, was so strong that they were ready to convert to Christianity. This powerful water becomes a sign of Christ's divine nature, which is in the perfect parallel to the Transfiguration account of the deified body of Christ¹⁴³⁷. This deification of the flesh defines the soteriological message of the Transfiguration¹⁴³⁸.

Secondly, after the healing miracle happens, the water appears in other narrative constructions, for instance in the passage concerning the baptism of the newly converted Jews: '*regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto*'¹⁴³⁹. This immediately reminds us of the reference to the Gospel (*Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto*, Jn. 3:5), which Peter the Venerable would use in his Transfiguration sermon a century later, stating that 'no one will enter the kingdom of God unless he is born of water and the Holy Spirit'¹⁴⁴⁰. In the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, the Jews are thus regenerated with the baptismal water and become similar to Christians, much as Augustine preached about the Christian fleeing through the water of baptism and being liberated by the power of Christ¹⁴⁴¹. This careful transition from one substance to another—from the miraculous liquid which later became a relic to the purifying water that purges sin—stresses the idea of the salvation and purification through Christ and the Crucifix.

Furthermore, Pseudo-Athanasius's sermon focuses on the idea of salvation, and the episode with the baptism following the conversion is particularly eloquent in this sense. The baptism is an important stage among Christian rituals, for it allows one to become a part of Christianity, a member of the body of Christ. This tendency of baptism to bring the individual into the community was particularly important under the Carolingians. Phelan underscores that Carolingian thinkers used the ideas associated with baptism as their principal tools to organise and analyse questions of community identity¹⁴⁴². Patout Burns consistently stresses that according to Augustine, the baptism leads to the moral transformation of the Christian¹⁴⁴³. Carolingian thinkers, developing Augustine's ideas, repeatedly described three main issues of baptism: the establishment of faith in the newly baptised, their incorporation into a single unified community, and the new moral obligations incumbent upon the baptised¹⁴⁴⁴. The Carolingians extrapolated guidelines for the real community concerning the responsibilities of

1437See K. Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny', p. 82.

1438See more on soteriological message of the Transfiguration in J. A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, p. 115 and pp. 117–19.

1439Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 165ra.

1440*Sermo primus de Transfiguratione Domini*, cols. 960 and 962.

1441E.g. in *Sermones*, 363.2–3 (PL 39, col. 1635–1638). See more in J. Patout Burns, 'Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine', p. 425, n. 69.

1442O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 49.

1443See J. Patout Burns, 'Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine', p. 426, n. 78, pp. 427 and 434.

1444See on this O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, pp. 42–47.

its new members towards the body of the Church from Augustine's ideas on the moral community of Christians.

This communal context received a special resonance in the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, where the converted Jews from the *'incredulis'* became part of the Christian community, through the salvation of the water. Baptism is a ritual renewal of community¹⁴⁴⁵, and the newly converted Jews, since being baptised, join this community. The Roda text defines the water as providing salvation twice. The first instance, the salvation *'per aquam salutaris lavacri'*, appears in the scene of the conversion and baptism of Jews¹⁴⁴⁶. Curiously, a relatively contemporary act concerning the consecration of a church contains similar language. In 1050 Guislabert, bishop of Barcelona, consecrated the church Sant Quirze de Terrassa, and the act contains the following text: *'discernitur ut ad Christi Dei alti troni nutum basilice per universum fabricarentur telluris orbem et in eisdem regenerare aquam sacrosanctam ac Salvatoris lavacris animae fidelium per eundem Dominum ac Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum adipisci mererentur regis celorum'*¹⁴⁴⁷. The holy water and the 'bath of the Saviour' (*Salvatoris lavacrum*), presumably the baptismal font, regenerate the souls of the faithful which underscores the main goal behind the creation of numerous churches. Hence theological notions of salvation and baptism were intrinsically connected in the ecclesiastical context of the time.

In the second instance from the Roda sermon, the water of the saving bath comes again in the prayer to God who, through its power, forgives human sins (*per aquam salutaris lavacri remissionem originalis peccati*¹⁴⁴⁸). The baptismal ritual assumes that the washing of the body is in fact the washing of the soul. Other versions following the prototypes collected by Mansi were not so eloquent upon this theme, which again demonstrates that the Roda eleventh-century text was addressing issues relevant to contemporary society as it was shown in Chapter Four. The improvement of *gentiles* through purification and bringing them to the baptism seems to be a rhetoric tool for the religious communities in the border regions, possibly used to create a discourse on self-protection. C. L. Tieszen, exploring the Christian identity in the multi-cultural and multi-religious Iberian Peninsula, frames the treatises by the gentiles converted to Christianity within the reflected self-image. He argues that the discussion of those who lay outside their religious borders allowed various Christian authors in Spain to describe those whom they welcomed inside of them¹⁴⁴⁹. It is certainly more sophisticated to apply this method to the liturgical and hagiographical texts, but the interpolations in the Roda text may demonstrate a particular emphasis that define the ideas

1445See P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 114.

1446*'petentes se purificari unda salutaris lavacri'*, Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 165ra.

1447R. Ordeig i Mata, 'Inventari de les actes de consagració i dotació de les esglésies catalanes: 3. Anys 1000–1050', act 181, pp. 453–55.

1448Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 164ra.

1449C. L. Tieszen, *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 4–5. Tieszen refers to W. J. van Bakkum and P. M. Cobb, 'Introduction: Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity' in *Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity: Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, eds. W. J. van Bakkum, P. M. Cobb, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series (Leuven, 2004), pp. 3–4.

and religious sensibilities in eleventh-century Iberian society of the borders. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Roda religious community was under Muslim attack, thus the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon in the version found in the Roda lectionary has a strong accent on the conversion of the unfaithful: in the context of this border region, which often passed between Christian and Muslim rulers, this text aimed at asserting faith in the God, who can protect from and convert any and all potential enemies.

Alongside with the baptism, the emphasis placed on the salvation is also closely connected to the image of Christ as *Redemptor*. The discussions within the Carolingian Eucharist Controversy in the middle of the ninth century grounded this theology in the Christian history of redemption through the cross¹⁴⁵⁰. P. Jounel notices that the dissemination of the feast of Christ the Saviour (the dedication of Lateran basilica in Rome) highlights how important the contemplation of the redemption mystery was for society over the course of the tenth to the twelfth centuries¹⁴⁵¹. Coming back to the copy of the *Gesta graecorum contra Iudaeos* in the Ripoll monastery, discussed in the previous chapter, this text offers a detailed narrative on the Crucifixion act. The monks using this text for educational reasons would have learned about the power of the Cross as a symbol of redemption, as Chandler argues¹⁴⁵². The Cross is emphasised as a symbol of salvation, and the episode of the adoration of the cross plays a particular role here. Chandler mentions that only the manuscripts with the Spanish origin included the episode of Leucius and Charinus adoring the cross, which may indicate that the presence of Jewish and Muslim communities was a factor in the story's transmission¹⁴⁵³. Therefore, he also argues that there is a direct bond between the interpolations into the text and the interpretation of the salvation aspect they brought into the region where these texts were spread.

The Pseudo-Athanasius sermon explicitly refers to the Image of God being crucified in all versions, but the Roda testimony also highlights how 'Behold the second iteration for the salvation of all humankind, You [God] allowed Yourself to be taken, in Your Holy Image, from the gibbet of the Cross away from the viperous Hebrews' (*Ecce secunda iteratione pro humana salute permisisti te a viperina Ebreorum gente in Ymagine tua crucis patibulum excipere*¹⁴⁵⁴). This reference to the '*crucis patibulum*', which was reproduced in many medieval prayers, is also the central motif in the hymn *Vexilla Regis* by Venantius Fortunatus: '*Vexilla regis prodeunt: / Fulget crucis mysterium / Quo carne carnis conditor, / Suspensus est patibulo*'. Venantius Fortunatus' texts were hardly unknown in Catalan religious institutions; one of his hymns, *Pange lingua gloriosi*, compiled for the arrival of the relic of the True Cross in Poitiers is found in an eleventh-century manuscript from Ripoll¹⁴⁵⁵. This

1450C. Chazelle, 'The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, eds. I. C. Levy, G. Macy, K. van Ausdall (Leiden, 2011), pp. 205–50, pp. 240–49.

1451P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican*, p. 184.

1452C. J. Chandler, 'A New View of a Catalonian *Gesta contra Iudaeos*', p. 199.

1453Ibid., p. 198.

1454Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC_0035, fol. 163va.

1455Barcelona, Arxiu de la Coroná d'Aragó, Ms. Ripoll 116, fol. 99bis-r: *Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis et super crucis trophaeo dic triumphum nobilem, qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit*.

hymn was copied in an apparently hurried manner on what is possibly the last folio of the manuscript, suggesting it may have been written down as an aid to memory for the melody. The text of this second hymn is also consecrated to the Cross and describes its importance for the veneration of the Christ's passion. The circulation of texts interpreting the Cross and the Crucifix in eleventh-century Catalonia underlines how the Crucifix bringing redemption from sins thus receives a crucial meaning in the eleventh-century Roda text.

Finally, both feasts, the *Transfiguratio* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* are mutually intertwined and connected to the Eucharist. The Transfiguration reveals to us that the metamorphosis or transformation (the post communion prayer CO 1007 on the vigil of the Transfiguration in the Vic sacramentary even uses this word – ‘*filium in monte transformatum*’) happened to Christ, the passage from his humanity to divinity through the deification of his body, whereas a similar analogical process occurs with the bread and wine which become body and blood of Christ under the transubstantiation¹⁴⁵⁶. From observing materialistic substances we thus move to contemplating Christ's sacrifice on the altar¹⁴⁵⁷. For the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, we observe the same scenario on two levels: first, for the unbelieving Jews the simple image becomes miraculous, which is a sign of God (we have to take into consideration that the narrative is purely Christian, so the argumentation is also Christian and far from being convincing from the Jewish point of view). Second, for the Christians who are aware of the divine power of Christ in the image, the emphasis is rather put on the image's miraculous agency, with the blood and water reaffirming Christian belief. To some extent this also refers to the Eucharist: the contemplation of Christ's blood brings us again to the contemplation of the Eucharist. In his *Libri Carolini*, Theodulf pointed out that, through the blood from the Eucharist, the faithful gain remission of sins and are protected from diabolical attack¹⁴⁵⁸. A similar idea of the remission of sins thanks to the baptismal ritual is present in the Pseudo-Athanasius narrative via the saving water, as shown above.

To conclude, the Transfiguration is destined to reassure the disciples concerned about the Crucifixion, since they had become witnesses of Christ's secret majesty, so his forthcoming Passion should not confound their faith¹⁴⁵⁹. McGuckin highlights how other Patristic treatises also develop this element of the hope given to the apostles in the

1456In the early medieval church, the latin ‘*transfiguratio*’ was close to the Greek ‘*metamorphosis*’ pointing to the transformation of the Eucharist bread and wine into body and blood of Christ. See O. G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Princeton, 1987), p. 47 and n. 37. A. Wilmart, ‘*Transfigurare*’, *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911), 282–92; J. Brinktrine, ‘*Die Transformatio [transfiguratio] Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in den alten abendländischen Liturgien*’, *Theologie und Glaube* 8 (1916), 311–18.

1457Montgomery Labatt argues that the mosaics of the Transfiguration in the apse of the church of Santi Nereo e Achilleo and in the chapel of San Zeno in the basilica Santa Prassede drew attention to the Eucharistic sacrament in the ninth-century Rome. See more in A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, pp. 130–32.

1458Theodulf, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, MGH Leges 4, Conc. 2, Supplementum I, eds. A. Freeman, P. Meyvaert (Hannover, 1998), 2.27.290–296, 2.29.301–302, 4.2. 492. C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, p. 32, n. 63.

1459Leo the Great, ‘*Sermo 51.3*’. in *Léon le Grand: Sermons 38–64*, ed. R. Dolle, *Sources chrétiennes* 74 (Paris, 1961), pp. 14–21.

Transfiguration scene¹⁴⁶⁰. This thought binds the Crucifixion and the Transfiguration together, and makes one see, in a particularly curious way, the simultaneous and active dissemination in the Catalan region of both the *Transfiguratio* and *Passio Imaginis Domini*. As Stevenson underscored, from the ecclesiological point of view, the Transfiguration is directed towards the Church as a community of faith, journeying towards the cross¹⁴⁶¹. Thus, in the celebration of the Transfiguration there already lies an expectation of the Passion, whilst in the veneration of Christ's Passion there lies an expectation of His Resurrection. Both feasts, the *Transfiguratio* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* (which is fixed on the Crucifixion), emphasise the crucial place of Christ for the redemption of souls of every member of the Christian community. The increasing liturgical celebration of these feasts thus reinforces the social firmness of Christian society as the body of Christ and of a unique Church, struggling against heresies and aiming to bring all unbelievers under the Christian doctrine. This call of the Church was particularly necessary at the turn of the millennium, in the wake of new Muslim attacks and social violence in society on the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Conclusion

In conclusion, from the early sporadic liturgical celebration and iconographic evidence attested in different regions of Western Europe from the eighth/ninth centuries onwards, the *Transfiguratio* feast received an independent day for its commemoration on August 6 over the course of the eleventh century. The liturgical manuscripts from the archbishopric of Narbonne demonstrate the process of implementation of the Transfiguration into the liturgical life of various institutions and show how it was integrated into the developing corpus of mass prayers by 1100. From the early entrenchment of this feast in the Vic cathedral for Catalan communities around 1000, and in the Abbey of Limoges in the early eleventh century, the feast spread throughout both canonical and monastic religious institutions in Catalan and Aquitanian regions during the following decades. Liturgical testimonies, in particular prayers for the mass, suggest a likely connection to southern Italian communities demonstrating further important evidence for the existence of networks between Catalan and Italian religious institutions. For the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, the connection with Rome seems to be slightly weaker, for in Rome it was known instead as the feast of the Saviour, which was not celebrated under the same nomination in the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula. Having said that, the role of southern Italian communities in the transmission of several feasts to Catalonia should not be underestimated.

The liturgical parallels between the *Transfiguratio* and *Passio Imaginis Domini* feasts and the Nativity and the feast of the Saviour respectively, highlight the intertwining

1460Anastasius the Sinaite, Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome. See J. A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 115–16.

1461See the interpretation of the Transfiguration feast by Stevenson in the quoted article “‘Rooted in Detachment’”: Transfiguration as Narrative, Worship and Community of Faith’, p. 24.

symbolisms of these two Christological feasts and emphasise how they proclaim the indivisibility of two natures of Christ, his divine and human sides constantly supporting, reinforcing and justifying one another. Further theological parallels in the exegesis on the Transfiguration, and the celebration of both feasts, underscore the connection between the *Transfiguratio* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini*, which both received a simultaneous wave of dissemination. Moreover, the analysis of baptismal notions, which are so crucial for understanding both feasts, demonstrates their mutual connection and reaffirms the logic of their simultaneous spread in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions.

The prominence of the two natures of Christ is, however, only one side of the coin and I feel it is necessary to underscore how the human nature of Christ also received a more specific emphasis within both feasts. If we look at the interpretation of the Beirut legend through a narrative lens, the Christian audience¹⁴⁶² of the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon observed the story as being destined for the Jews to convince them that Christ was truly the messiah and Saviour. On this level, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* refers to the divine nature of Christ. But the actual Christian audience does not need any reaffirmation of Christ's divinity; instead, it absorbs evidence of his humanity. The same happens with the message of the Transfiguration feast, which aims to show that Christ could have become God because he was Man. This image of Christ, emphasising him eternally surviving the Passion, and Christ-as-man who achieved Transfiguration, remains very human centric. Might this be a tendency of the eleventh century? The spread of miraculous images and the increasing role of these images' agency must have been due to their appeal to contemporary culture. Eleventh-century society, struggling with heresies, surviving social crises¹⁴⁶³, and probably seeking the renewal of church doctrines, needed a mighty God and Saviour who would, at the same time, be a God close to them, an empathetic God saving them through his human suffering and receptive to those who uphold the ideals of *Imitatio Christi*.

Therefore, by applying theological exegesis to the argument for a possible historical connection between the Transfiguration and Passion of the Image has revealed itself to be a useful approach for understanding the dissemination of both feasts at the turn of the millennium. Using this theological perspective alongside historical analysis has demonstrated that the feasts of the Transfiguration and Passion of the Image have evident, close theological connections that go some way to explaining the similarities in their celebration in the Catalan region. These connections include the soteriological message to the faithful, the accentuation on the baptism as a means to receive the forgiveness of sins and, what is even more crucial for a Christian society, the need to become part of the body of the Christian community of the faithful, who can then hope for the resurrection of their flesh through their imitation of Christ.

1462To remind the notions of 'narrative audience' and 'actual audience' from Chapter Three: To use Rabinowitz's concept, there are 4 types of audience: the actual (flesh-and-blood audience), the authorial audience (hypothetical ideal audience for the author), the narrative audience (imaginary audience for narrator), and the ideal narrative audience. See P. J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca, 1987).

1463As shown above in Chapters Three and Four.

While these connections represent a theological ideal that may not have been adhered to in practice, or understood by every Christian or potential convert, this does not limit the historical insights into the religiosity of the Catalan region that we can uncover from them. The increase in the dissemination of these two feasts at the turn of the millennium points to a deepening of the Christological doctrines, growing attention to the human nature of Christ (with the suffering Image of Christ in the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon and glorified humanity of Christ in the Transfiguration account) and a growing reassurance to the faithful on an eschatological level. The applied methods for exploring two Christological fields thus allow us to see the liturgical data in a refreshing and innovative perspective through their influence on Catalan religious sensibilities at the turn of the millennium.

Conclusion

This thesis has proposed an innovative approach that explores medieval martyrologies and the feasts and cults incorporated into them in terms of the ideals, changes and aspirations they embodied and disseminated within Catalan religious communities at the turn of the first millennium. It has considered martyrologies through the lens of their structure for the first time, as opposed to simply their contextual changes, which has allowed us to reveal significant insights into these texts. First, this thesis has considered the structural varieties of martyrological books, and second, the typological and statistical analysis of their additions in order to define which were the most common cults and feasts circulated in the region. This, in turn, has helped us answer several key questions posed by this research, namely concerning the reasons and factors behind the dissemination of these feasts in the region. Did these feasts arrive only because of the circulation of liturgical books within religious networks? Or did they carry particular meanings for contemporary society? To what extent do these reflect the concerns of the elites who included, influenced and shaped them and how do they reflect their search for new ideals and improved morals? This thesis suggests that we look at the transmission of these feasts through their influence on the shaping of religious ideals and sensibilities in Catalonia during the Central Middle Ages. Thus, the investigation of Catalan and Septimanian martyrologies and the added feasts sheds light on several crucial questions for the study on liturgy and hagiography, as well as the history and sensibilities of medieval religious institutions. Moreover, this approach allows us to see what role the Catalan region took in broader major developments of Western European society in the late tenth/early twelfth centuries. These tendencies have been revealed through the analysis of those saints' cults which were added to the martyrologies: the second feast of the Archangel Michael on May 8, the feasts of St. Alexius and St. Gerald and two Christological feasts, *Passio Imaginis Domini* and *Transfiguratio*.

Martyrological Structure: a Window to the Life of Religious Communities

The martyrologies explored in Chapter One all belong to the martyrology of Ado and were produced between the second half of the tenth to the twelfth centuries in the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne. In order to investigate the similarities between all of them, these volumes were analysed from three major approaches both through their structure and their content. The first approach considers these texts as 'martyrological compendia' and, as such, analyses them in terms of each of their varying structures. These compendia contain several other texts that embraced the martyrology itself: the prefaces and *Libellus* of Ado, the *Breviaria apostolorum*, the hymn and the additions on popes. The thorough study on these structural parts demonstrated how various the martyrological compendia are, how mobile are they within Ado's version of martyrology and even allow us to suggest which texts were preferred by various communities. This innovative investigation has demonstrated that all analysed volumes belong to the second recension of the first family of Ado's martyrology, which was apparently the most popular in the Narbonne region. The second approach considers these texts in terms of their structural position within the books of chapter – a

specific genre of medieval books within which the martyrology was integrated. It demonstrates that five out of the six martyrological compendia (the sixth being the one from Cassan) were integrated into a book of chapter at their institutions, being placed alongside rules, patristic and homiletic texts and being used for the office of Prime. This process demonstrates the active use of the martyrology during everyday liturgical services and reveals the rapid integration and veneration of the added feasts within these religious communities. The third approach considers the martyrological compendia through an analysis of their content, namely the added eulogies (*auctaria*) which reveals the frequency and the popularity of the arrived cults and feasts. This thesis has combined these three approaches as its primary methodology to explore in what circumstances the added feasts spread in the Catalan region, an innovative methodological approach that has revealed several important insights into the martyrological texts: the multiplicitous uses of martyrologies in secular and regular communities; the variety of texts that were indispensable for the compilation of a martyrology; and the wide circulation of other religious sources that informed the martyrologies through the further addition of feasts.

This structural analysis of the martyrologies as compendia and as a part of the book of chapter in Chapter One has produced fascinating results. First, this analysis has born witness to a clear correlation between the two monastic martyrologies in contrast to the canonical ones. As martyrological compendia, the monastic volumes have the most developed series of texts preceding the main text of the martyrology as well as the '*Breviaria apostolorum*', which is absent in all extant canonical copies. As books of chapter, the monastic copies contain the Benedictine Rule and the homiliary, whereas the canonical copies include epistles and sermons (the exceptional Carcassonne volume contains two rules). However, the third approach, regarding the analysis of the added eulogies, shows that, unlike the structural analysis of the volumes, the monastic martyrologies from Serrateix and Sant Cugat do not represent such a unanimous and consistent tandem vis-a-vis canonical copies. Any correlations between the added feasts thus blur the borders between the canonical and the monastic martyrologies and thus depend on completely different factors. The *auctaria* originate from different sources and possibly through different channels of communication. More than one third of the added feasts find their origins in other Carolingian martyrologies (largely those of Raban Maur and Usuard); the addition of several saints can be explained by their considerable veneration in the surrounding regions. Finally, few Hispanic feasts point to the possible existence of the *Pasionario Hispánico* in these religious institutions. Possibly, the circulation of these sources in all sorts of religious communities had an impact on the veneration of particular feasts and saints and thus, the variations in content of the martyrologies equally entered both monastic and religious communities. It might also be the case that the structural analysis shows us a rational constructive work on the liturgical books based on the tradition, promoted by the Carolingians, that deliberately differentiated between the genres of books for monastic and canonical institutions. By contrast, the veneration of saints is a factor influenced more by exterior elements that depend less on the structural compilation of the volumes than on the political or spiritual reasons of their reinforcement of particular cults.

The analysis of the martyrologies in terms of their individual structures as elaborated copies of Ado's martyrology, and, more broadly, as a part of the book of chapter, demonstrates that the culture of martyrological books was very rich and mobile in tenth/eleventh-century Catalonia. The Catalan martyrologies were influenced by other martyrological traditions (Usuard and Raban Maur), and also by the second family of Ado's martyrology (in the case of Serrateix martyrology). Their receiving saints from different sources and of various origins thus shows us how they function as a form of media between the tenth-/eleventh-century Hispanic liturgical traditions and the post-Carolingian Frankish world, while also absorbing Italian feasts and saints. These books and the religious communities that used them contributed to the network of circulating texts and books on both side of the Pyrenees. Thus, if medieval Catalonia is considered to be 'an important node in a European network of knowledge'¹⁴⁶⁴ for transmitting scientific treatises from the Middle East to Europe, it also plays the same intermediary role for the liturgy through combining and absorbing various feasts (such as Sts. Mancius, Alexius, Geraldus, Facundus et Primitivus etc.) and rooting them in local traditions. This also demonstrates the depth of these martyrological books for the modern researcher who can challenge them with questions on the book culture of monastic and canonical libraries, the transmission of texts, cults and books of different origin, the networks between secular and regular religious communities, individual houses and congregations, and finally on the relevance of particular cults for contemporary mentalities.

Furthermore, this three-level analysis of the martyrological compendia highlights the connections between two groups of religious institutions. The first group includes Sant Cugat and Vic, which have several *auctaria* in common and have similarities in structure (regarding the patristic texts). These similarities might point either to the possible exchange of manuscripts or to these texts as the more frequent choice for being read *ad capitulum*. Another key component to this connection might be the copyist and judge Bonsom (950s–1024), who came from Vic to Sant Cugat and arrived later to Barcelona, which attests to at least one of several possible connections between these religious institutions already at the end of the tenth century¹⁴⁶⁵. The second group includes the Serrateix and the Carcassonne volumes, both compiled in the third quarter of the eleventh century, which have striking similarities in their added eulogies for they reproduce not only the names of the deceased but also the lists of added saints for different days of the year. As in the case with Bonsom, several factors support the ideas that these two institutions had particular connections between them. Examples include the solid personal networks between counts, abbots and bishops of Cerdanya, Serrateix and Girona respectively and the connections between the monastic communities of Sant Hilari of Carcassonne and Cuixà in the tenth century, as well as between Sant Hilari of

1464A. Kosto, 'Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Histories of Iberia, ca. 1000–1200', in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, eds. T. F. X. Noble, J. H. van Engen (Notre-Dame, 2012), pp. 93–116, pp. 104–05.

1465 A. M. Mundó, 'El jutge Bonsom', in *Liber iudicum popularis ordenat pel jutge Bonsom de Barcelona*, eds. J. Alturo i Peruchó et al. Textos jurídics catalans 23 (Barcelona 2003), pp. 101–17.

Carcassonne and Serrateix in the eleventh. Another possible explanation might be the compilation of both volumes from a lost martyrological prototype that had been used in both institutions. The three-level approach that this research applies has established certain correlations between the martyrologies and, more broadly, between the religious institutions that housed and used them.

Therefore, the exploration of the martyrologies in Chapter One reveals the potential of this thesis' methodology to provide further insight into the sources and deepen our knowledge of Catalan religious life. The analysis of the martyrologies' structure and the structural and typological view on the additions highlights several important facets of life in religious institutions: the interests of secular and regular communities in particular texts within the martyrological compendia; the rich textual heritage that exists contextually behind the shaping of commemorative lists and the active intellectual effort required for updating them; and the possible, numerous and active connections between religious communities through similar martyrological structures or similar additions of feasts. Altogether this approach enriches our comprehension of martyrologies as sources that reflect the constructive life of religious communities, the relevance of their interests, their capacity for the renewal of older material and their active spiritual imaginations.

The New Feasts in the Catalan Context

Chapters Two to Five focused on the most common feasts added to the Catalan and Septimanian martyrologies, namely the feasts of St. Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*. The study of these five feasts demonstrates their progressive implementation in various liturgical books in the Catalan and Aquitanian regions throughout the eleventh century. The earliest references to two feasts out of five—to St. Gerald and the *Transfiguratio*—are found in the main text of the first martyrology from Vic (993/1010), whereas three other feasts are added in the main text only in 1061, which demonstrates that it was the eleventh century which saw the flourishing of the feasts' dissemination. We have also seen how almost all of these five feasts were additionally mentioned in calendars, sacramentaries, lectionaries, and antiphonaries circulated in different secular and regular communities in the Catalan, Septimanian and Aquitanian regions. In order to explore in-depth the dissemination of the most common feasts, these case studies were analysed through several angles: their geographical dissemination; the types of religious communities adapting them; the different genres of sources to which they were added; and the pace of their implementation into religious life.

Chapter Two explored the second feast of St. Michael on May 8 which, in addition to his traditional feast on September 29, bears witness to the expansion of the Archangel's cult in Catalan lands. Finding its roots in the veneration of the Archangel on Monte Gargano in Southern Italy, this feast has a certain connection with the narrative known as *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*. The analysis in Chapter Two of liturgical data from the tenth to the twelfth centuries demonstrates that the second feast of St. Michael in May correlates with the diffusion of the Monte Gargano legend. Furthermore, the meticulous investigation of the nominations for the May and the September feasts in the

Catalan and Aquitanian sources demonstrates how these *formulae* differed with time. Having observed them in the calendars and martyrologies, I suggest that different nominations (*'inventio'/'revelatio'* vis a vis *'dedicatio'*) were purposely developed to distinguish the two feasts. The May feast thus referred to the creation of St. Michael's church on Monte Gargano (according to the narrative from the *Liber de apparitione*) whereas the September feast keeps the traditional commemoration initially referring to the basilica on Via Salaria. The liturgical sources thus demonstrate the progressive implementation of the Monte Gargano narration in the liturgy, while forming a second independent feast of the Archangel.

Moreover, a specific liturgy for the celebration of the second feast of St. Michael on May 8 became common in the Catalan and border Pyrenean region from the twelfth century on, with the sacramentaries using the same name distinctions between the two feast days (*'inventio'/'revelatio'* for the May feast, *'dedicatio/sancti Archangelis'* for September) that we found in the calendars and martyrologies. However, while the liturgy for September is consistent, the texts for the May liturgy are notably different from one another. In some cases the prayers refer to the vigil celebration for the September feast (in Ripoll), whereas in others they are simply repeated. This variety highlights the dynamic in the liturgical celebration of the two Archangel's feasts and allows us to observe the shaping of the liturgy for the second feast of St. Michael, connected to the cult of Monte Gargano. All these testimonies demonstrate the mobility of medieval liturgy, the formation processes of feasts' implementation and a tendency to create new feasts regardless of how many alternative dates and saints were already being celebrated.

Furthermore, this research has uncovered five fragments of the *Liber de apparitione*, which were extant in Catalonia, that have allowed me to define three groups of texts with three different prototypes circulating in the region. The analysis of these five fragments in Chapter Two demonstrates the intensive dissemination of the *Liber de apparitione* throughout Catalonia over the course of the eleventh century. The fact that one group of fragments points to the date of May 8 as the feast of the Archangel on Monte Gargano thus provides chronological evidence for the correlation between the *Inventio in Monte Gargano* and the new feast of the Archangel. Finally, the existence of the relics of St. Michael from Monte Gargano in the monastery Sant Miquel de Cuixà and the data from the chronicles of Ripoll demonstrates that the Gargano cult could have been transmitted in Catalonia from Cuixà to the Ripoll monastery and then, probably under the abbot Oliba, to the Vic Cathedral chapter. The manuscript evidence shows increasing references to May 8 in the texts produced at Vic throughout the eleventh century. The veneration to the Archangel was already taking place in Vic in the tenth century when the funerary church was built under Bishop Guadamir (948–956), but the manuscript data on the second feast of the Archangel and the clear connection to the Gargano cult becomes more visible in the eleventh. Therefore, the variety of liturgical and hagiographical sources explored demonstrates the progressive implementation of the Gargano cult in the Catalan religious communities throughout the eleventh century. This cult particularly emphasised the warrior and healer features of the Archangel, as underscored in the *Liber de apparitione archangelis Michaelis in Monte Gargano*, which were of particular relevance for medieval society at the turn of the first millennium.

Finally, as explored in Chapter Two, traces of the Gargano cult in the Catalan region can also be found in documentary and iconographic sources. The *Liber de apparitione* particularly stressed the healer and warrior dimensions of the Archangel. Extant Catalan sources referring to several pilgrimages to Italy and to Monte Gargano highlight a number of bequests for the sanctuaries of St. Michael and provide multiple testimonies concerning the dedications of the Catalan castle chapels in honour of St. Michael, demonstrating the preferences of local elites for the Archangel to be their holy patron. In the battle of Torà in 1006 the Archangel was appealed to as protector and *defensor* and in the battle of Escornalbou on 8 May 1162 he is considered to have miraculously appeared during the battle. The Catalan iconography fosters the symbolical images of archangel-advocates as well as archangels in the Apocalyptic context, thus providing St. Michael with protective and defensive functions as well as encouraging eschatological dimensions. A widespread illumination of St. Michael weighing souls is also important to understand in a funerary context, which accompanied the cult of St. Michael in medieval Catalonia. The Altar Frontal of the Archangels (1225/1250) reproduces the scene from the *Liber de apparitione*, which is named '*Inventio sancti Michaeli*', and demonstrates how liturgical and hagiographical sources influenced the imagination expressed in the iconography of the Gargano cult in Catalonia.

The analysis of the liturgical testimonies of the cult of St. Alexius in Chapter Three demonstrates its slow implementation in the Catalan region and that it is not attested in Aquitania during the eleventh century. A probable hypothesis might be that the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès played an important role as the first centre of the veneration of St. Alexius, which then spread the saint's veneration further. Considering that the single extant copy of the *Vita sancti Alexii* belongs to the Roman and not Spanish version, we can assume that it was sent to Catalonia from Rome due to the active contacts of Catalan bishops and abbots with Italian religious institutions. Roman religious communities and Monte Cassino were among the first to add the feast of St. Alexius on July 17 in their calendars. This feast in particular stresses the arrival of the feast from the East and not from the West even though the Spanish *Vita sancti Alexii* is considered to be older than the Roman one. By contrast, in the case of St. Gerald, his cult is distinguished by a high frequency of references in both monastic and secular religious communities in both Catalan and Aquitanian regions. Moreover, the sacramentaries from the Catalan and southern French regions demonstrate the uniformity of the proper of the mass for the feast of St. Gerald in the eleventh century and a wide circulation throughout these regions from the tenth century on. The vigil prayers seem to be exceptional and are found only in the sacramentary from Figeac. These stable prayers can be explained by the earlier dissemination of St. Gerald's cult in the region. Other explored feasts spread over the Catalan region throughout the eleventh century, whereas St. Gerald was seemingly already known there in the tenth century. That is why the number of references to his feast, which are found in the text and not in the margin, are higher, compared to the other analysed feasts. The uniformity of the mass demonstrates its deeper entrenchment in the Catalan region by the eleventh century.

Furthermore, the use of narratological methods in the analysis of the *vitae sanctorum* of Gerald and Alexius in Chapter Three demonstrates the saints' special features that were of particular importance for society at the turn of the first millennium. The saints represent an

ideal model of a layman who, through his behaviour, becomes close to a cleric, especially through his tendency towards eremitism. For instance, the accent on noble birth, which is a common *topos* in many medieval hagiographies, can be seen here in two facets: as an appeal to the nobility to protect the church and the people; and as an antipode for the saints to their ideal and desired ascetic life, which hints at the new wave of ascetic monasticism, which played an important role in tenth-century Mediterranean society. These ideas were aimed at an audience that included both religious and secular elites and thus underscore the crucial messages at the time of the Peace and Truce of God movements. Similarly, the accents in the texts on the active promotion of Rome, the growing role of pilgrimages to sacred spaces, the role of miraculous images and the accents placed on pious and generous behaviour of the virtuous person rather than on heroic deeds shed light on contemporary political and ecclesiastical changes and needs in the central Medieval West. As I have shown, the unique application of narratological methods while comparing two *vitae sanctorum* in Chapter 3 reveals major structural patterns in the shaping of contemporary perceptions of sanctity at the turn of the first millennium, refreshing our perspectives on, and our understanding of, hagiographical texts.

Both hagiographic accounts also provide clues concerning the attitudes of Catalan religious and secular elites towards their Muslim neighbours across the border as well as the papacy at the time of the forming of the universal Roman church inflamed by developing ideas of Christendom and defence of the Christian faith. These texts existed within, and contributed to, a context that shaped the image of the religious Other, whose very existence questioned and threatened the order of the Church, thus stressing the necessity to defend it. Both lives, when read in this context, present their audiences with two significant messages to encourage those of different vocations to become either a Christian knight, protecting the Church and the truth, or an ascetic, retiring from the secular world and living a pious life to protect the one's soul. If we accept the *vitae* as only exercises in rhetorical dialogue for the secular elites, encouraging them to be good knights through simpler overtures to their own ideals, the texts might be seen as more practical guidance for the religious elites, instructing them either to tighten their style of life (expressed in the texts through the ascetical and the hermitage) or, perhaps, to become not only metaphorically but really the *miles Christi* by providing a grey middle ground within which militant clerics can operate.

Finally, both accounts represent the saints as models for laymen, which is reminiscent of the 'mirror for princes' genre. However, due to the focus on saintly behaviour they are meant more as broader rhetorical tools, media transmitting the concerns of the religious elite about contemporary society, rather than guidelines of practical advice. The complex model of the saint in a world balancing between the secular and the religious styles of life within both accounts reflects the complexity of secular and religious interactions at the turn of the millennium. The texts underscore the constant, mutual intermingling of the religious and secular worlds and the idealistic emphasis on the spiritual over the material. These concerns are partially expressed in the meta-narrative insertions on the notion of the sanctity which offers the understanding of a saint's nature as a binary combination. The correlation between material and spiritual, their mutual influence and effective agency only through constant interaction, on the one hand, reflect the contemporary religious mentality seeking to find a

compromise for better interactions between the secular and religious worlds. On the other hand, it singles out the shaping of new religious sensibilities through the re-evaluation of the human side of sanctity, thus potentially creating parallels to the changing perception of the humanity of Christ.

Chapters Four and Five show how the two Christological feasts, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and *Transfiguratio*, received a widespread veneration in the Catalan region from the eleventh century onwards. They are attested in various calendars, martyrologies and sacramentaries and are intrinsically connected together through such aspects as salvation, redemption and baptism, which had particular meanings for religious sensibilities in eleventh-century society.

The *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast is bound to the account called the Beirut legend, or the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius, which recounts the story of the miraculous Icon of Christ from Beirut that was crucified by the Jews. This account was reproduced for the first time during the Second Council of Nicaea and as such attested to the power of miraculous sacred images in the context of the iconoclasm. The eleventh-century lectionary from the Cathedral chapter of Roda d'Isàvena contains a later version of the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasius. This Roda text, alongside other texts of this version, emphasises several features that were relevant to society at the turn of the first millennium. For instance, between the notions of *Judaeus* and *Hebreus*, the text slightly changes the emotional accents of typical pejorative messages about the Jews while still serving as an ideological tool that reinforces contemporary negative images of them. At the same time it underscores the Christian faith in two ways: first, through emphasising the particularly strong devotion of a Christian character also called *Christicola* (used as a term to contrast the Christians vis-a-vis the pagans), and second through the constant opposition of the Christians to the 'other', which includes the Jews but can be also understood more generally. Finally, the text highlights the idea of comparison and attribution of the Image of Christ to its real prototype and thus further singles out the role of the veneration of the sacred images. The discovery of late medieval copies of the same version in the Cathedral chapter in Barcelona suggests that this version became widely disseminated in the region. In addition, in parallel to the increasingly entrenched Pseudo-Athanasius sermon in the region was the Gospel of Nicodemus, another piece of Christological literature, attested in Ripoll and in Roda d'Isàvena slightly earlier than the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon. These texts from the cluster of the Gospel of Nicodemus serve as another example of the increasing interest towards Christological veneration/sensibilities, the Passion of Christ, His miracles and His miraculous images and allow us to see the Beirut account in the context of the dissemination of Christological thought.

The calendar sources include similarly brief and concrete references to this feast (*Passio/Festivitas Imaginis Domini/Domini Salvatoris*), while the martyrologies provide us with two nominations that are deployed very differently. These two martyrological nominations allow us to identify two groups; one unifies the martyrologies from Vic and Sant Cugat, while the other covers two martyrologies, from Girona and from Carcassonne. The first group insists on the solemnity of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and accentuates its commemorative character, while the second group puts the accent on God the Saviour and contains the formula verbatim from the Beirut narrative, in particular in its Catalan version

from Roda d'Isàvena: '*De passione Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris que crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate, tempore Constantini Iunioris et Irene uxoris eius*'. Although no extant copy survives from the religious communities of Girona and Carcassonne, this connection again hints at the relationships between these institutions.

Moreover, the Beirut narrative recounts the conversion of the synagogue to the church of Christ the Saviour and the following creation of the churches dedicated to the Saviour as a consequence of the miracle with the Beirut Icon. The Roda version also emphasises this accent on the salvation and the Saviour (*Salvator mundi*). Regarding this aspect of the Roda text, the nominations from the second group of martyrologies appear to be harmonious and to refer to an Italian tradition connected to this feast, often called '*dedicatio basilicae Salvatoris Domini*'. Thus both names of the feast, *Passio Imaginis Domini* and *Salvatoris Domini*, in the Catalan manuscripts became intertwined with, without necessarily replacing, one another. This distinction of the nominations in the sources points to the possibility of multiple methods of transmission and different textual traditions of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast.

An elaborate liturgical model for the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and *Transfiguratio* became established in different religious communities in the Trans-Pyreanean zone over the course of the eleventh century. The mass prayers are formed simultaneously, with the earliest testimony in the Ripoll sacramentary (1040) for the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and in Vic (1038) for the *Transfiguratio*. If for the first feast the proper of the mass was uniform already in the eleventh century, the sacramentaries demonstrate that the mass prayers for the *Transfiguratio* became more stabilised in the twelfth century. The Transfiguration received an established celebration for its independent day on August 6 in different regions of the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne around 1100.

Therefore, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* feast was connected in the liturgy to the *Salvator mundi*, while the *Transfiguratio* through theological connotation is tied to the Crucifixion. Theologically, both represent a peculiar combination of the two most significant events in the life of Christ, his Crucifixion and Resurrection. If each feast refers to both the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the two feasts taken together underscore them both even more strongly, thus reinforcing the death of Christ as man and His resurrection as God with this mutual infusion of his human and divine nature in the interaction between the liturgical celebration of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*. Thus, in the celebration of the Transfiguration there already lies an expectation of the Passion, whilst in the veneration of Christ's Passion there lies an expectation of His Resurrection. Both feasts, the *Transfiguratio* and the *Passio Imaginis Domini* (which is fixed on the Crucifixion), emphasise the crucial place of Christ for the redemption of souls of every member of the Christian community. The increasing liturgical celebration of these feasts thus reinforces the social firmness of the Christian society as the body of Christ and of a unique Church, struggling against heresies and aiming to bring all unbelievers under the Christian doctrine. This call of the Church was particularly necessary at the turn of the millennium, in the wake of new Muslim attacks and social violence in the society on the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula.

At first glance, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* tells us about the Crucifixion and the suffering Christ on Cross reconstructing and repeating His Passion, whereas the *Transfiguratio* shows us Christ as God in His divine powers. However, both the Beirut legend

and the Gospel episode of the Transfiguration in reality proclaim the indivisibility of the two natures of Christ. The Beirut legend connects the image of the suffering Christ, bringing the unfaithful to conversion, with the glorious and majestic God the Saviour in honour of whom churches are erected and synagogues converted. The Transfiguration's representation of the deity of Christ is only possible because Christ was Man and could save humanity from their sins through His sacrifice.

This interconnection between both feasts and the emphasis on the divine and human natures of Christ intertwined are supported by other parallels, such as the liturgical correlation between the Nativity and the Transfiguration in liturgical texts; the image of Christ as Redeemer, coming to save humanity as Man and to judge it as God (thus functioning as the 'crucified Judge'); and the sacrament of Baptism, which plays an important role in both accounts. If theologically the Baptism of Christ is connected to the Transfiguration as theophany, revealing the 'deified body' of Christ and the promise of resurrection, the baptism in the Beirut narrative carries out relevant ecclesiastical concerns through the emphasis on the conversion of the unfaithful. The purifying water brings them to the conversion and regenerates the unfaithful, turning them into Christians who are, in theory, treated as such by Christian society.

The salvation and the purification promised not only for all of the faithful but also for the unfaithful, who would recognise their misleading fallacies, particularly stresses the image of Other. The image of the Jews in the Roda text acquires a more general sense by treating them more broadly as 'others' in the context of the border society in the Iberian Peninsula. The improvement of the unfaithful (*correctio infidelium*), first, received a particular connotation in the context of tense relations with the Muslims, and second, emphasises the communal aspect of Christianity: the converted Jews from the '*incredulis*' became part of the Christian community, through their purification. This improvement of the 'other' through the baptism may have been used as a rhetoric tool for religious communities in the border regions. Thus the text functions as the *mise en abyme* and can be read as the appeal of the religious community, or of God Himself, to its members in order to strengthen their hearts and their faith (*ad corroboracionem omnium tuorum fidelium*). This discourse, and its prevalence, might have been meant as a tool of self-protection of Christian communities surrounded by various 'others' and experiencing regular invasions and upheaval.

This thesis has adopted several fresh approaches to these martyrologies of the Central Middle Ages including narratology, comparative analysis, and *réécriture* of hagiographic texts, which allowed us to contextualise and uncover the most important features of five key case studies of saints' cults. Through this innovative methodology, it has demonstrated several significant insights into Catalan religious institutions and their liturgical texts, particularly in terms of how the feasts were disseminated into various religious communities throughout the eleventh century. Moreover, it has illustrated the remarkable pace at which these cults were implemented over the course of two centuries, from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth. Finally, it has shown how the major concerns of the religious elites that these feasts discuss found echoes in contemporary Catalan society as a turbulent border society in constant dialogue with different cultures yet still similarly characteristic of Christian Western European societies.

Expanded Horizons and Broader Interpretations: from Catalonia to Western Christendom

This investigation of the martyrologies and the selected feasts and their repeated use and relevance in various institutions in the Catalan region during the Central Middle Ages sheds light on several processes that occurred in religious life at that time. The first of these processes concerns the character of the implementation, i.e. by the types of religious communities, whether monastic or secular, as well as of the liturgical commemoration (the formation of the mass for this feast). The second process that has been revealed relates to the spiritual and political ideals transmitted through the hagiographical accounts, which were adapted to new contexts to be made more relevant for Catalan religious and noble communities. Finally the third groups together those more abstract mental processes and impacts of the texts, i.e. the way in which these feasts were perceived and shaped in particular communities, and how they in turn shaped the sensibilities of those communities. Regarding this the extant non-liturgical sources, namely iconography, acts of church consecrations, bequests, and Christological literature, are of significant importance.

This analysis of the cults of St. Michael, St. Alexius, St. Gerald and of the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio* feasts allows us to outline a number of common factors that defined their implementation in the Catalan region. One significant factor concerns how this exploration provides us with a greater insight into the relationships, correlations and differences between contemporary secular and regular religious institutions. Studies on other regions of Western Europe in the tenth/eleventh centuries largely focus on the differences between these types of communities, which were implemented by the Carolingians, and frequently only consider the religious development of secular and monastic centres separately¹⁴⁶⁶. However, the feasts observed in this thesis suggest a more complicated picture, as they do not allow for an archetypical model of those religious communities that incorporated and promoted the new feasts. Chapters Two to Five explored the integration of the new feasts into religious life in the Catalan region to determine whether it was the regular or the secular institutions that were predominantly promoting the feasts. On the one hand, the cult of St. Alexius and the Gargano cult of St. Michael point to a possible predominance in monastic circles. The particular veneration of the Archangel was already taking place in Vic and Cuixà in the tenth century, but the explicit references to the Gargano cult belong to the eleventh century. Three major institutions played a particularly important role: the monastery

¹⁴⁶⁶Recent scholarship has paid particular attention either to the monastic communities themselves or to the role of bishops as ‘impresarios’ of the saints’ cults. See the discussion in Introduction, Ecclesiastical History. E.g. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); J.-Cl. Schmitt, ‘La fabrique des saints (note critique)’, *Annales* 39 (1984), 286–300; S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, N. Y., 2006); *Bischofsbild und Bischofssitz: geistige und geistliche Impulse aus regionalen Zentren des Hochmittelalters*, ed. H. P. Neuheuser. Archa Verbi. Subsidia 8 (Münster, 2013); *Bishops in the Long Tenth Century: Episcopal Authorities in France and Lotharingia, c. 900–c. 1050*, eds. B. Mejins, S. Vanderputten (Turnhout, 2019).

Sant Miquel de Cuixà, which possessed St. Michael's relics, the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll and the Cathedral chapter of Vic, which held copies of the *Apparitio* that included Michael's feast on May 8. Considering that it is difficult to identify which type of communities first absorbed and promoted the veneration of the Gargano cult, it remains somewhat speculative to suggest that it may have arrived from Cuixà to Ripoll and then to Vic. The first testimonies of St. Alexius' cult, the martyrological evidence and the copy of his *vita*, refer to the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, which again shows the predominance of monastic circles over the secular. If we assume that the monasteries were at the forefront of the dissemination of new cults, the cult of St. Gerald would be expected to have also spread through monasteries, either at St. Geraud d'Aurillac or Cluny. However, the veneration of St. Gerald was attested in Girona Cathedral already in the third quarter of the tenth century (at the time of the compilation of the earliest canonical martyrology from the corpus), and then the references to his feast frequently appear in all genres of liturgical sources. Finally, the earliest evidence for the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio* feasts are attested almost simultaneously in both types of religious communities. The reference to the feast *Passio Imaginis Domini* is included in what was probably a monastic calendar copied at the turn of the millennium, whereas the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon was copied at the Roda Cathedral chapter. Similarly, the earliest *auctaria* for the Transfiguration are found at the beginning of the eleventh century in the Cathedral chapter of Vic and the Abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges. This picture is very inconsistent and does not suggest much homogeneity. However, it does demonstrate that there was no obvious preponderance of one type of institutions over another and that the feasts spread in both monasteries and cathedrals. Also it is important to bear in mind that in the course of the following decades the number of references increase and more actively integrate into both monastic and canonical communities. This manuscripts' evidence becomes clearer if we consider the ecclesiastical context in Catalonia where bishops of cathedral chapters were often also abbots of monasteries¹⁴⁶⁷. Thus, this Catalan evidence highlights the influence of personal connections between abbots, bishops and counts, who were often members of the same family, and thus reinforces my argument that both types of religious communities were implementing the feasts almost simultaneously.

Another important factor concerns the possible connections between the religious communities that were responsible for the dissemination of the feasts and those centres they were disseminated to. This could have also been a consequence of the abbot-bishops government of religious institutions who undoubtedly contributed to the simultaneous veneration of the feasts in the various communities under their charge. As we have seen in Chapter One, the structural analysis of the martyrologies demonstrates the difference between

¹⁴⁶⁷The most famous example was Oliba, bishop of Vic and abbot of Ripoll, though there are many other Catalan bishop-abbots of the tenth/eleventh centuries. The Catalan religious authorities were known to have taken part in battles, embarked on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to Rome and to Monte Cassino, and were involved in the exchange of books and relics with several foreign religious institutions (such as Fleury, Le Puy, Rome, Monte Cassino, San Millan de la Cogolla etc). See Introduction, 'Ecclesiastical Structure', and Chapter Two.

monastic and canonical books but the typological analysis of the *auctaria* suggests rather a distinction between two groups, the first group being the Cathedral chapter of Vic and the monastery of Sant Cugat and the second the Cathedral chapter of Carcassonne and the monastery of Serrateix. These two groups provide further evidence for my argument that the celebration of these feasts occurred in both types of religious communities, regular and secular. Moreover, the investigation of the five case studies shows that there is a certain correlation between Vic and Sant Cugat in the implementation of several cults (St. Michael and the *Passio Imaginis Domini*). Considering that the Sant Cugat martyrology was produced later than two out of the three martyrologies of Vic, these cults might have been brought to Sant Cugat from Vic Cathedral chapter. Moreover, the cult of St. Alexius went in the opposite direction as it appeared first at Sant Cugat and arrived at Vic later on, demonstrating the established liturgical exchange between these communities. In general, the five case studies demonstrate the active role of the Vic Cathedral chapter in the integration of the new cults and feasts over the course of the eleventh century and illustrate the active role taken by the canons of Vic in their dissemination.

In addition, an important element of the cults' implementation is demonstrated by the fact that, beyond spreading into regular and secular communities, they were even integrated by parish churches. This demonstrates a significant level of engagement in the renewal of cults and feasts by the religious community as a whole and supports the key argument of this thesis that new religious ideals and concerns received an especially broad dissemination throughout various levels of Catalan religious life and had a significant impact on contemporary sensibilities.

Finally, it is important to highlight the strong impact of Italian religious communities transferring the veneration of the new feasts to Catalonia. Apart from two obvious cases, with the feast of St. Gerald, which arrived from the Aquitanian region, and the Gargano cult of St. Michael, which was developed in Apulia explaining the geography of these cults' dissemination, three other feasts point to an Eastern, namely Italian, influence. The cult of St. Alexius arrived in Catalonia in its Roman version, celebrated on July 17, although the Iberian Peninsula knew the Spanish Life and venerated this saint on another day. Hispanic sources also show a parallel tradition with the feast of the Saviour, which they celebrate on November 25, while the Catalan sources celebrate the *Passio Imaginis Domini* on November 9, as do the Italian for the *dedicatio basilicae Salvatoris Domini*. Finally, the analysis of the mass prayers for the *Transfiguratio* suggests that the Catalan sources might have found their archetype in the liturgical production from southern Italian religious communities. The sources thus support the thesis that Catalonia opened up to the Eastern World; rather than focusing on the Post-Carolingian Frankish world, it turned its attention to Italy and Rome.

Altogether, the study on these feasts demonstrates a remarkable richness of different regional traditions and the elaborated network of religious institutions in transmitting texts, cults and ideals. Within the broad regions that functioned as inspiring centres in shaping new feasts and cults, the variety of feasts' nominations and of chosen liturgical texts for the feasts, and in some cases their vigils, demonstrates that the cults undertook a sophisticated journey from one religious institution to another. Together with the mobility of medieval liturgical books and texts, this shows the mobility of medieval religious sensibilities: religious elites

were responsive to the needs of contemporary society and shaped the stories, characters and images that reflected political and spiritual concerns at the turn of the first millennium. The analysis of five case studies shows a number of themes shared between these texts and create a picture of the audience's religious needs and ideals: the affectivity of cults, in particular that of Christ, the emphasis on the hermitage and asceticism, protection provided by a competent military leader, and the interaction with the 'other' to secure their conversion to the Christian faith. Their presence in more than one account among those explored highlights their universal character and their relevance for the audience at the turn of the millennium. This also suggests a level of repetition that, even if only on the scale of five case studies, shows that these themes and the feasts themselves are not only coincidentally similar. The feasts and the ideas they include and present are not the result of the simple transmission of texts and exchange of books due to the personal connections of religious elites. They reflect the ideals, concerns and expectations of contemporary society for they discuss, consciously and subconsciously, the issues most relevant to this society

As seen in Chapter Four, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* played an important role in changing religious sensibilities. It presented its audience with the suffering of Christ, repeating His Passion not only verbally but also through the actions of Jews, and appealing to deep empathising emotions that, attributed to the sacredness of the miraculous images, demonstrate the 'religious zeal of the era'¹⁴⁶⁸. The role of the miraculous images is also particularly highlighted in the *Vita Alexii*, where both miraculous images of Christ and the Virgin define the journey of St. Alexius. The presence of God in the hagiographic accounts goes beyond the narration and defines not only the hagiographic plot but also the plot of real people's lives, expressed through the iconographic form, making the story more affective and accessible for ordinary people. In a similar vein, the *Transfiguratio per se* is also intended to show the changes happening to God. Moreover, it calls for a sensitivity and strength of soul similar to that possessed by Christ himself¹⁴⁶⁹. If the iconography of the Transfiguration can reassure every individual contemplating it about his transfiguration from mortality to eternal life¹⁴⁷⁰, does not Christ thus become closer, more accessible and his grace more attainable, to humanity at this time when particular feasts and cults were becoming more developed? From the intermediary role of saints between God and people¹⁴⁷¹, the feast itself becomes a mediator, and the feast carrying an image functions even more successfully. This constant dialogue of God/Christ with the faithful through hagiographic texts, miraculous images and sermons influences both piety and religious sensibilities. These two Christological feasts,

1468On the 'religious zeal of the era' see L. Hamilton who explores the transformation of eleventh-century reform efforts from personal to institutional. L. I. Hamilton, 'To consecrate the Church: Ecclesiastical Reform and the Dedication of Churches', in *Reforming the Church before Modernity. Patterns, Problems and Approaches*, eds. C. M. Bellitto, L. I. Hamilton (Aldershot 2005), pp. 105–38.

1469J. A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Lewiston, 1986), p. 141.

1470A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies. A Laboratory of Images in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York/London, 2019), p. 136.

1471Oexle, O. G., 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in *Death in the Middle Ages*, eds. H. Braet, W. Verbeke. *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia series 1 studia 9* (Leuven, 1983), pp. 19–77.

which spread from the beginning of the eleventh century on, are thus an important step in the formation of sensibilities regarding growing Christo-centrism and the emphasis on Christ's humanity in religious and secular devotion.

Echoes of ascetic renewal are also present in the lives of St. Alexius and St. Gerald and point to several contemporary phenomena. First, it provides further evidence of the impact of Italian religious centres, for the tenth/eleventh centuries in Italy saw several types of Italo-Greek monasticism flourish¹⁴⁷². Second, it reflects the realities of the Peace and Truce of God movement and their attempts to reduce violence in society, which coincided with ascetic attempts to tighten the rules of religious institutions alongside emphasising the role of the ideal defender and warrior. This warrior role is particularly emphasised in the cult of St. Gerald and the Gargano cult of St. Michael. The idea of a competent military leader, already developed under the Carolingians¹⁴⁷³, was further reinforced in the tenth-/eleventh-century cults. The fragmentation of the power, building of castles, frequent violence and the protection of local fiefs, as well as the frontier zone at the border with al-Andalus, underscores the necessity for a saint-protector¹⁴⁷⁴, a model of the saint-warrior as protector. The Cluny congregation also developed the vocabulary of a spiritual battle against the devil and for the defence of the Church¹⁴⁷⁵, feelings which are notably present in the *Vita Geraldi*. This function of defence, highlighted in both hagiographic accounts, is particularly crucial in the context of the 'other' at the border society in the Iberian Peninsula. This 'other' is very present in the Pseudo-Athanasius sermon, where the Jews are treated in a more emotionally negative way compared to earlier texts. The changes in attitudes towards and treatment of the Jews that occurred at the turn of the first millennium thus correlate with the changing sensibilities about Christ, for the accent on His Crucifixion was reinforced and the role of the Jews in his death stressed even more¹⁴⁷⁶. At the same time, the Jews can be perceived as any unfaithful 'other' who need to be improved and purified through conversion and baptism. These thoughts on internal purity focused on ethical and religious, rather than bodily, dimensions and the emphasis on salvation remained at the centre of religious thought in the eleventh/twelfth centuries¹⁴⁷⁷. Considering that the Jews developed the idea of 'reverse

1472E. Morini, 'Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy', in *Monastic Tradition in Eastern Christianity and the Outside World: A Call for Dialogue*, ed. I. A. Murzakyyu (Leuven, 2013), pp. 69–101, pp. 85–88.

1473On preaching and providing moral instructions to conquered people see Alcuin, *Vita Martini*, 2, PL 101, col. 659. On the Carolingian framework of the miles Christi see O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 47.

1474J. Smith, 'Saints and Their Cults', in *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600 – c. 1100*, eds. T. F. X. Noble, J. M. H. Smith. The Cambridge History of Christianity 3 (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 581–605

1475D. Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam (1000–1150)* (Paris, 2000), p. 33.

1476See A. Sapir Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages: Christian Views of Jews', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 19–28, pp. 21–2.

1477H.-W. Goetz. 'Discourses on Purity in Western Christianity in the Early and High Middle Ages', in *Discourses of Purity in Transcultural Perspective (300–1600)*, pp. 116–49, pp. 141–42.

baptism' that aimed to wash away the ritual efficacy of the Christian baptism¹⁴⁷⁸, this relational aspect of the construction of the 'other' and *gentiles* allows us to establish a deeper anthropological confrontation between the two groups and thus to see that, through this categorisation, that not only the Jews, but also Christians, could be presented as 'others'. This helps us to uncover the Christian ideals of saint warriors, ascetic protectors, miraculous images, and the quest for the affective Christ as a way to defend oneself and find spiritual support to act as apologists for their truth. These changes, reflected in the hagiography and relevant for eleventh-century society, show the efficacy and vulnerability of religious sensibilities, which are shaped thanks to the presence of the 'other' and through the implementation of feasts and cults.

A contextual analysis of the importance of these case studies also shows how old cults could generate new feasts when adapted by contemporaries to address contemporary spiritual and political issues. Being a product of their historical situation, these texts reflect and respond to a particular audience and their capacity to adapt highlights their multipurposefulness. If objects which configure new webs of meaning, à la Geertz, can function as mediators between real, imagined or idealised cultural contexts¹⁴⁷⁹, so do the texts and the feasts. Circulating between different '*habitus*' of religious communities, they transfer the most crucial ideas according to the fields within which they operate, absorbing new information along the way and returning enriched and changed. As such, they reveal how their 'cultural capital'¹⁴⁸⁰, the accumulated material and spiritual knowledge of these religious institutions, functions and how it determines their choice of the feasts and the strategies of their dissemination. These methods of cultural anthropology help us to analyse the strategies in the texts' dissemination not only in terms of politics of institutional network that define the connection between religious institutions, but also of cultural 'webs of significance' behind these institutions¹⁴⁸¹. As such, the religious institutions that were absorbing and spreading the feasts were involved in these 'webs', where the mutual intermingling of the key concerns and ideals of contemporary society originated. The production of liturgical and hagiographical texts is then a material embodiment of this cultural intermingling, so that the texts and feasts becoming living material culture, receiving new meanings and responding to the contemporary intellectual and spiritual atmosphere. Through this lens, this thesis has shown how the explored feasts, each with its own voice, together create a symphony of major ideas that appealed to society at the time, which transversed the borders of every religious institution and unified the sensibilities of individual communities, or even congregations, with

1478E. Shoham-Steiner, 'An Almost Tangible Presence: Some Thoughts on Material Purity among Medieval European Jews', in *Discourses of Purity in Transcultural Perspective (300–1600)*, pp. 54–75, p. 65.

1479 'Introduction: Engaging Transculturality', in *Engaging Transculturality. Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, eds. L. Abu-er-Rub, C. Brosius, S. Meurer, D. Panagiotopoulos, S. Richter. Engaging with Series (London/New York, 2019), p. XXXIII.

1480P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (Westport, CT, 1986), pp. 241–58.

¹⁴⁸¹C. Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in id., *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp. 3–32.

broader, universal religious sensibilities, at least of the Christian medieval Mediterranean West.

New Perspectives and Further Questions beyond Catalonia

This study has provided greater insight into the religious world of Catalan in the Central Middle Ages but further research would nuance and build upon these conclusions. Although the themes explored in this thesis would be enriched by the possible discovery of further fragments or texts, the methodological framework established here also has the potential to be used on a larger scale for other extant sources. While beyond the scope of this study, this thesis' conclusions suggest several further avenues of research that would be particularly interesting to explore. Firstly, this research has focused on a particular time and region but a broader study of the extant corpus of martyrological texts can only provide more insight into the complicated world of medieval religious sensibilities. A broader comparative perspective with more quantitative data, for example from surrounding regions or even throughout Western Europe, would enrich the statistical results and deepen our knowledge of the contents and structures of medieval martyrologies and further clarify the differences between the compendia used in various types of religious communities and how they developed.

Secondly this thesis has explored the Eucharistic debates and their connection to the two natures of Christ but there is much more that could be studied. A study of eleventh-century Eucharistic treatises in comparison with Carolingian equivalents, for example, might enrich our perception on the sensibilities of the Crucifix and the liturgical veneration of two Christological feasts, the *Passio Imaginis Domini* and the *Transfiguratio*. The perception of the Eucharist as the body of Christ, in the light of the reinforced ideas on the transubstantiation of the host during the mass, suggests a challenging parallel to the symbolism of His Blood. The blood emanating from the Image of Christ, the blood of Christ and the Eucharist could be explored together through a tempting anthropological and theological perspective that considers cultural aspects and themes like sacrifice and identity. A third avenue of possible future research concerns the roots of the ascetic renewal movement at the turn of the first millennium, so popular in the *milieu* of Italian and Catalan noblemen, which could be explored in connection to Syrian monasticism and the perspective of the Syrian fathers. Furthermore, asceticism took many different forms in Late Antiquity but more could be asked about how they continued to develop in the following centuries? More specifically, how did the *Vita Alexii* as an early Christian text, rewritten in the Early and Central Middle Ages, reflect or reject these old forms of asceticism? Did these revitalised cults bring strong echoes from the past or do they only adapt these forms for contemporary societies? While answers to these questions can only be hinted at here, they remain worth asking.

Finally, the role of Italian institutions as mediators between the Greek and Syrian East and Western Europe¹⁴⁸² is another potential field of fruitful research that would shed light on these institutions as staging grounds preceding the arrival of new feasts and cults to Catalonia. Rome, highlighted in both the *Vita Alexii* and *Vita Geraldi*, could thus function not only as the addresser but also as the addressee of newly disseminated feasts, or, taking one step further, as a production centre of the cults which absorbed and adapted them before sending them further on¹⁴⁸³. For instance, A. Montgomery Labatt has argued for the cross-pollination of East and West, the use and development of universal iconographies, the presence of innovation, and has suggested that their interactions are part of an exchange that goes beyond the East-West axis¹⁴⁸⁴. Her work thus demonstrates that exploring Rome in the context of this crucial role would enrich our perception of the East as a place where cults are forged and new miraculous images produced (such as Mandylion, Veronica, Volto Santo etc.¹⁴⁸⁵). Bringing the five case studies considered in this research into the context of a broader Mediterranean network, exploring the role of Rome and other Italo-Greek centres, and defining the Eastern overtones of the shaped feasts, texts and images, would contribute significantly to our broader knowledge of the Mediterranean world, its shape and networks, at the turn of the first millennium.

This thesis has sought to explore local Catalan liturgical and hagiographic sources in order to understand their reflections and their impact on the global processes that happened in the medieval West from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. In doing so this research takes several experimental approaches to explore a wide range of material. These approaches are quite diverse and include: the statistical and structural analysis of the martyrological compendia in Chapter One; the investigation of several traditions within the veneration of St. Michael in Chapter Two; narratological approach applied to the lives of St. Alexius and St. Gerald in Chapter Three; and finally an attempt to explore the contemporary parallels between two Christological feasts which had an impact on theology, iconography, and religious sensibilities in Chapters Four and Five. The variety and innovative nature of these approaches make them a useful tool for a simultaneous broad and focused study of the cults and feasts and evidently are especially useful in helping us to deepen our knowledge of medieval texts

1482J.-M. Sansterre, 'La vénération des images à Rome et en Italie', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, 2 vols. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 49 (Spoleto, 2002), vol. II, pp. 993–1050, pp. 1048–50.

1483See in particular Montgomery Labatt on the place of Rome in producing the images. For the old interpretations of Rome she refers to K. Weitzmann, E. Kitzinger and R. Krautheimer. Further Montgomery Labatt has argued, along with P. Brown, that Rome was not only involved in 'passive reception of Eastern Imagery' but was on its own a laboratory of emerging iconographies and a centre of great cosmopolitan quality. See P. Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Partying of Ways', in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker. *Studies in Church History* 13 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 1–24; A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, p. 12.

1484 A. Montgomery Labatt, *Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome*, pp. 29–30.

1485J.-Cl. Schmitt, 'Translation d'image et transfert de pouvoir. Le crucifix de pierre de Waltham (Angleterre, XI^e–XIII^e siècle)', in id., *Le Corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002), pp. 199–216, p. 202.

and developing religious sensibilities as products of the *réécriture* at that time. The thesis offers a reading of medieval feasts and texts through the lens of their character as media. Religious texts transmitted many ideas and concerns through numerous contemporary voices that shed light on the changes, thoughts and feelings that informed the mentalities and actions of the religious and secular elites. This study demonstrates the significance and potential of these texts as windows into those contemporary voices that reveal, however dimly, the aspirations, imaginations and ideals of Christians in the medieval past.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I. Figures

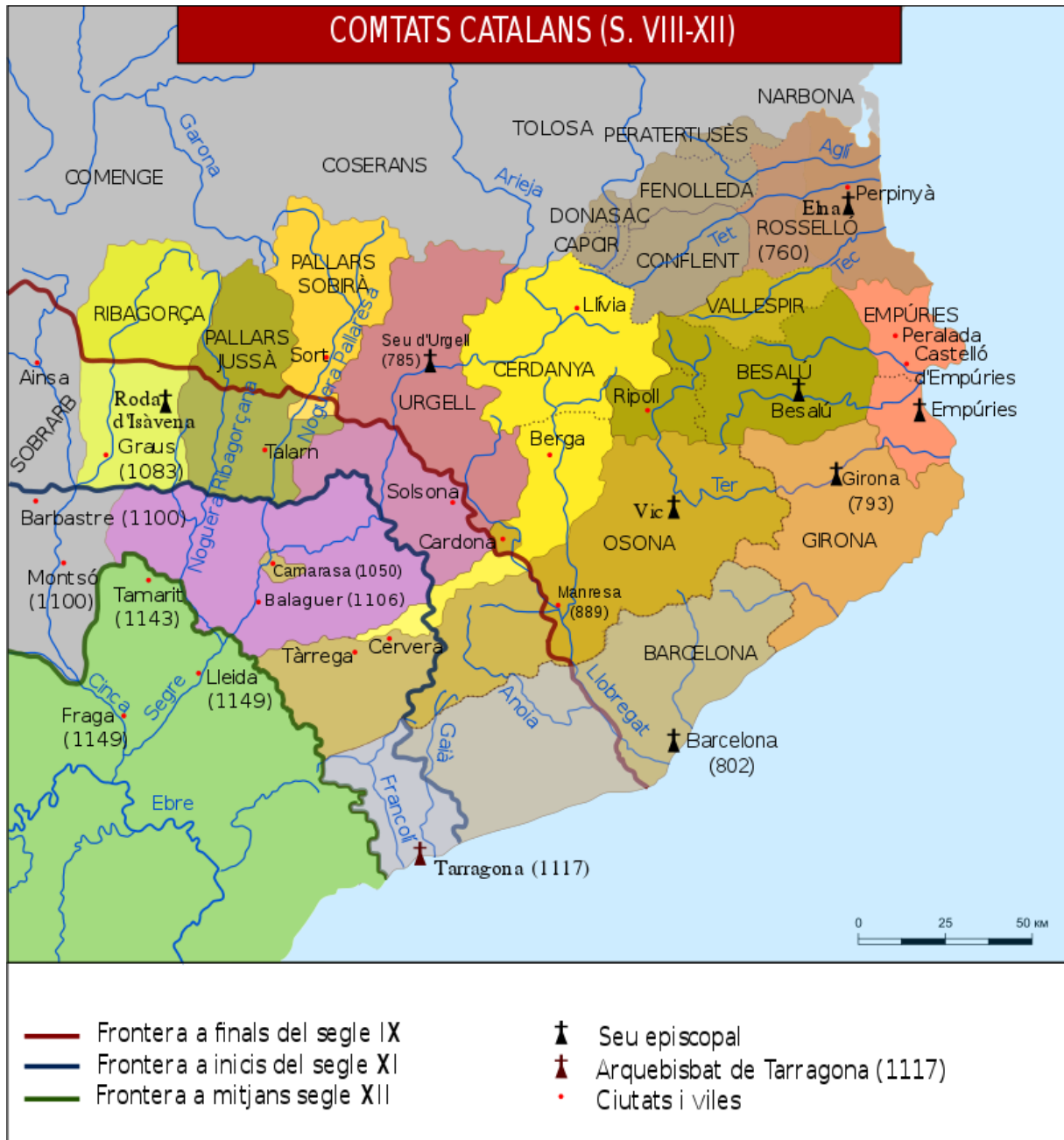


Figure 1 – *Marca Hispanica* and Catalan counties

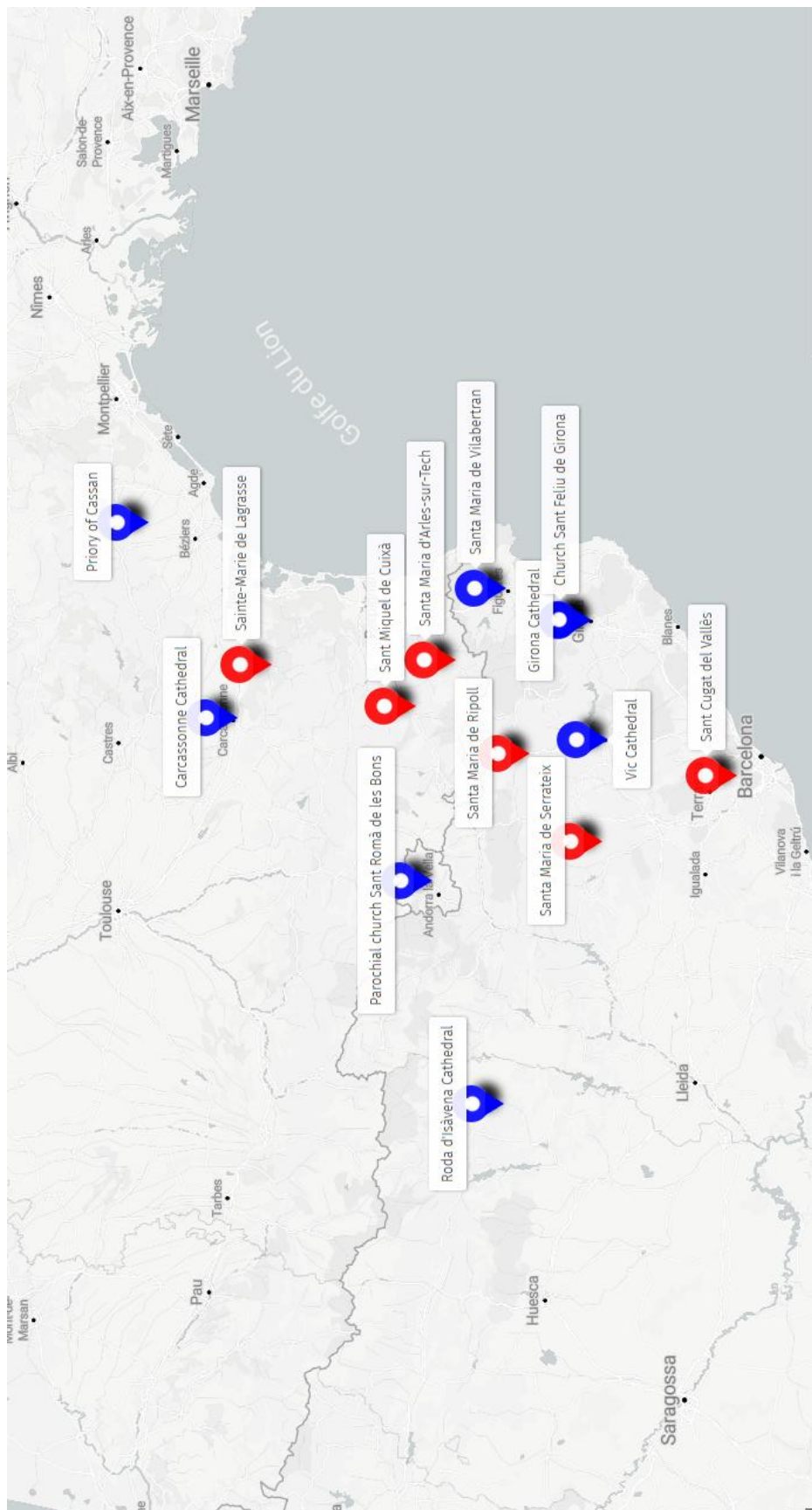


Figure 2 – Regular (in red) and secular (in blue) religious institutions with the most frequent references from the sources (http://umap.openstreetmap.fr/fr/map/carte-sans-nom_495235#8/42.517/1.066)

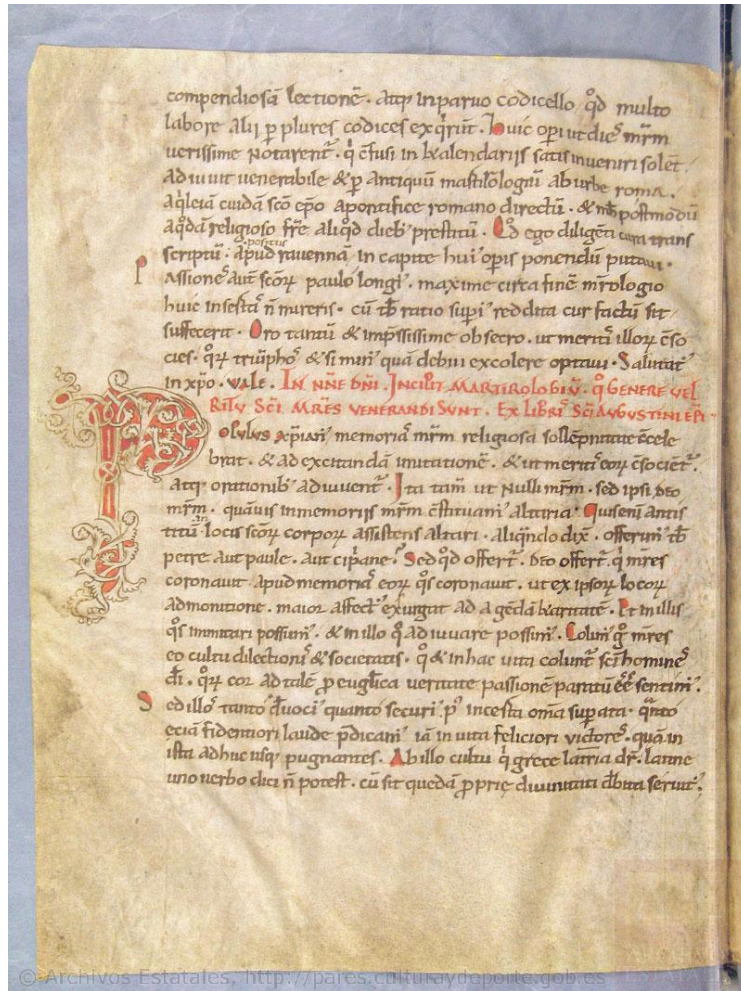


Figure 3 – Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 22 (StCugM), fol. 3v

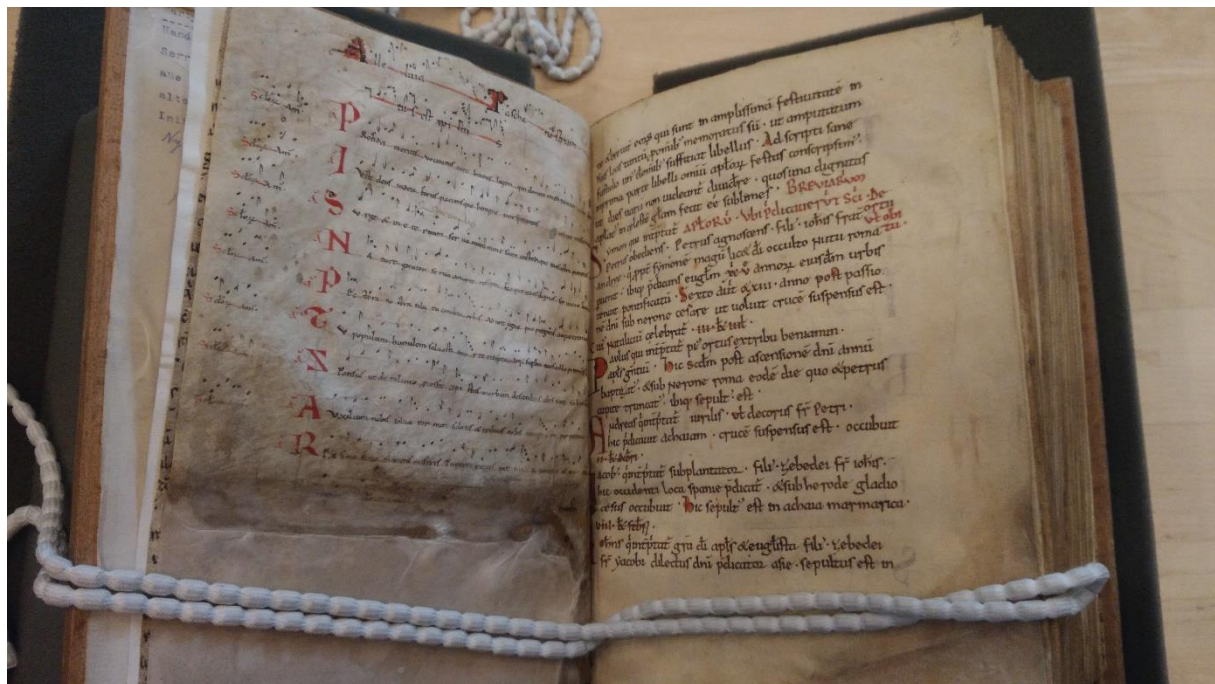


Figure 4 – København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794 (SerratM), fol. 3r

et ad terracnam urbem capanis & doctrina ac miraculis primo
 constantiam & theodoram collatancas & curginaler suas. deinde
 cas alios ad fide xpi cunctos. me que magnalia etiam p dicitur
 iudicium infestissimi pccator. cum diuina iusticie exunctur e. alexu
 rio sro e in ceno cubiculo in quo simul pata cu curginalib. sup
 clausa morabit. curru glori martiris sui csummauit. sub pccati
 one nauam. Altera namq. die uenior sct diaconus nomine ca
 cerms. inuenit corpora scaram uirginum illesa. In faace cum
 suis pstratae. orantur dnm recessit. Quarta corpora idem
 sct diaconus in sarcofago nouo simul edors. in profundo itac in
 fodere sepeluit. **I**ode die apud nicomedia. passio scorum marim
 flaxus. augusti. & augustini. fratrum. **VI. ID. MAII.** **A** pud motu gurgani in
 Mediolana. scti uictoris mar. Qui nauone mausus. & a primo
 us accare xpianus. cu eet in castris imperialib. miles etiam ca
 mae decorauit. copellente maxumiano ut sacrificaret ydolis.
 in confessione dmi fortissime pscuerans. primo grauit fustibus
 cactus. sed da protegentie doloris expert. dein liquenti plubo
 pfusus. sed nihil penitus letus. nouissime glori martiris cursem
 captus. abstentione copleuit. **I**rat autem eius scorum martyru nabo
 rit & felox. qui in africa decollati. simul cu ianuario & ma
 rino mediolano trax laustent. **VII. ID. MAII.**
In pnde. scorum marim **ccc. x.** **I**ode die apud nazanzai oppidum
 beati gregori ep. qui theologus dr. nobilis abentis crudeliter
 collega beati basilii cesare capadociae postea ep. **I**uq. cu
 se totis di seruitio mancipasset. tantu de collegae amone pre
 sumpsit. ut sedone basilii doctoris cathedra deponeret. ac facti
 in monasterium manus maceda pducere. ibiq. p annos
 omniu grece. scolarum libris remouit. solus dumq. strepitu ad

Apud motu gurgani in
 uencio spelunca
 michadur quozti

Ipo de stia...
 Damiano...
 ou' amma...
 ut eius...
 lugnet

Figure 8 – St. Michael. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (VicM1), fol. 50r

in ecclia militauit . paupertatis semp amator . Sepultus est
 apud beatū petrū . **E**odē die inuentio basilisse . beati
 archangeli michaelis in monte garyano . **M**ediolani scī iu-
 toris mris . qui rationē durus . & apri meua . etate xpian-
 cū eēt in castris imperialib' miles . & iā amicitie decho-
 cōpellente maximiano ut sacrificaret hydolis in confessione
 dñi fortissime p̄seuerans . primo grauē fustib' cesus . sed
 dō p̄tegente doloris expert . Delinquenti plūbo p̄fusus .
 sed nihil penit' lesus . Nouissime glōse martiri . capiti
 captis abscissione cōpleuit . **E**rat dicit cui' scōz m̄m . pa-
 boris . & felix . qui in affrica decollati simul cū ianuario
 & marino . mediolano . translati sunt . **E**odē die . eu-
 tici . & marini . saturnini . & in sanctonico . & martini
In dutisiodoro . palladi . epi .
vii . id' mai . **I**n hyside scōz m̄m . ccc . x . **E**odē
 die ap̄ nazarianū opidū . beati gregori epi . qui theologus
 dicit . nobilis athenis erudit' . collega beati basilii cesariē
 capadocie . postea epi . **Q**uicq' cū se tot' dei seruitio man-
 capassa . tantū de collega amore p̄sumpsit . ut sedente ba-
 silii de doctoris chatecha deponeret . de secū ad monaste-
 riū manu iniecta . p̄duceret . & ibiq' pannos xiiii . omniū
 grecoz sc̄larū libris remotis . solis diuine scripture uo-
 luminib' opera dabant . **I**gitur ap̄ nazarianū opidū miles
 patris epi sub rogat' . hereticoz turbine fidelium tulit .
Reddita uero pace constantinopolim ad eccliam docendam
 uenire exoptat non abnuat . **V**bi breui t̄p̄e tantū ad

Figure 10 – St. Michael. SerratM, fol. 45v

beatus aplr tam liber apocna inde
 exiit. quā a coruptione carnis sue
 rat immunit. Tūc in parthmos insu
 la relegat exilio. ubi apocalypsin ui
 dit. Ad cōmendandā ergo ipsius dig
 nā memoriā & pfide aplica cōstan
 tiam xpiani exclām uenerationē
 ei gestantē insup die to loco ante
 postā latinā p̄tē laro & miro ope
 re construxer. **E**odem die beati
 euodii anthiochie cpi. q̄ primus
 a b aplr ibi est cpr ordinat. **I**tem
 beati lucii c̄yrenensis q̄ apud c̄y
 renen prim ep̄r ascr aplr institu
 tus est. quē in actib aploꝝ luchar
 commemorat. **I**tē eodē die trans
 lato sc̄i apli & eugl̄ie mather.
NON. MAII. **N**is̄ sc̄i iuuenalis
 martyris. & beati sime atq; illius
 primie di famule flauie domi
 talle. quēcu esse flauri clementis
 consulis ex sorte neptis & ascō ele
 mentē sacro uelamine ad m̄regri
 tatis p̄seuerantiā cōsecrata. p̄secu
 tionē domiciani anno principatus
 eius x̄v. obtestimoniu qd̄ xp̄o p̄h
 bebāt. in insulā pontiā exilio deportata
 longū in ubi martirū duxer. Nouis
 sime cū ab aureliano sponso suo quē p̄
 xp̄o cōtempserat. & cur. accusatione
 exilio fuerat relegata. translata esse
 ad terna cū ubē campaniē. & doct
 rina ac miraculis primo eufrosinā
 & theodori collactaneas & cōiugra
 les suas. deinde etiā alios ad fidē xp̄i
 cōuertisse. inter quē magnalia etiā
 p̄dictur aureliani infestissim p̄secutori
 eius diuina uirtute extinctus esse. alu
 ximo fr̄e ei. in ceno cubiculo in quo
 simul p̄fata cū cōiugrinalib̄ suis clau
 sa morabat. cursū gl̄osi martiri sui
 cōsummavit sub p̄secutione trauani.
Altera n̄q; die ueniens sc̄i diaconus
 n̄nē cesarius. inuenit corpora sc̄arū
 uirginū illerā. In facie enī suas pro
 struit. orantes d̄m̄ recoset. Quorū
 corpora idē sc̄i diacon̄ in sacro fogo
 nouo simul condierit. in p̄fundo t̄p̄
 infodierit sepeliunt. **E**odē die apud
 nicomediā. passio sc̄arū martirū
 flauri. augusti. & augustini fr̄uū
VI. ID. MAII. **A**pid montē
 garganū. in uertice iherulic sc̄i
 michaelis archangeli. **E**t medio
 lanti. sc̄i uictoris. & cōmōtionē
 maurus. & ap̄mēna eate xp̄i.

† An̄o d̄ni. 6. 6. 6. octauo. obijt. cū lantē de mōde regali. uic̄p̄
 archidiacon̄. at in odine fr̄m̄ m̄uoz. iura determinauit.

† Eodē die obijt. benigatio de uicria lapan. et uic̄p̄ eate lantē.
 q̄ in h̄no uic̄p̄ fuit m̄lectus. An̄o d̄ni. 6. 6. 6. primo.

Figure 11 – St. Michael. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B (VicM2), fol. 38rb

ut cuique hunc tolerabilis infirmitas erit
ret. Nemundo absconditis. Necessitas enim
ueniat scandala. Verum tam uehementi illi
propter que scandala uenit. Nemo necesse est uenire
scandala. Alioquin absque culpa esset quis con-
dalu facit. Si cum necesse sit in istomundo fieri
scandala unusquisque suo uitio scandalis patet.
simulque per generale sententia peccat. iudas
quippe dicitur animi propter ueritatē. Si autē mari-
tia uel peccatū scandalis. et tunc absconditū spi-
ce absit. Bonū tibi ē aduitā in grege debile.
quā duo pedes habentē mita in gehēnā. Et
si oculus tuus scandalis. et tunc eris eiusque
absit. Bonū tibi ē cū uno oculo aduitā in tra-
re. quā duo oculos habentē mita in gehēnā.
ignis. Quis supra docuerat ne scandalis. et unus
eosque creditū in eū. nūc consequenter admonet
quā tūc uere debeat eosque scandalis. et tunc
nos. loquor uel uolūte pro suo ad uitā pecca-
ta appellere certant. Manū qui propter
appellat necessariū amicitū. cuius opere
atque auxilio quo ad hanc opus habent. Sed
talis si nos ledere in causa anime uoluerit
excludendus ē a nostra societate. nisi cū palco
in hac uita pro se habere uolumus. simul in futu-
ro uel propter am. In pede sic si in manu. caros
memendabiles docet alienos. dōd. ne in
mundicia caros quos castigare nequim. et ipsi
polluta pereamus. Sed manus propter opus necesse
sunt. Per se ducti tales propter in misericordiam
dicitur. si quis in misericordiam. et comoda. In oculo
quoque propter scandalū uenit. et in misericordiam.

amici. Spaliter uero aduersus uel designantur
Sed cum nos consilium habere uel opus habent
illuero consilio nos pro uel capere atque iter
erroris deflectere querit. Scandalū quippe
sermo grecus ē quod nos offendiculi uel in manu
in prope actione pedis dicitur propositum. Latine
serpulu dicitur. Ille ergo scandalis. et tunc frim. quod
eius dicitur factum. quod in manu recto occasione tunc
dedere. Potest si simpliciter dicit. Significat necesse
sunt in nobis uide. ut manus per. si oculus uel
les uel dicitur atque sollicitus. et accusat et dicitur
dū. Scandalū uel in nobis. et tunc in manu tunc amos
nra. lo. In gehēnā. Nisi quis de temporalibus
eius commodis cū periculo animarū uel
uel hac refouere debemus. Nisi necesse temp-
natis in uel. et in propositum. Quā tūc in nobis uel
cōtēpnere. sed per uel in salutē. et in illis. quod tunc
sanitate. Dico enim uobis quod in manu tunc in celo
semper uel dicitur facit patris in manu in celo. Magna
dignitas animarū. ut una queque habeat abhor-
tu natiuitatis in celo. et in manu tunc in celo. et
in celo. et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.
in celo. et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.
in celo. et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.

Incipit miracula sancti Michaelis
emoria beati archageli Michaelis
Michaelis toto horbe ueneranda ipsius
opera cōdita. et tunc in manu tunc in celo.
et tunc in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.
et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.
et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.
et in manu tunc in celo. et in manu tunc in celo.

Figure 12 – *Apparitio. Liber collectaneus* from Sant Cugat del Vallès. SC – Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 21, fol. 212vb

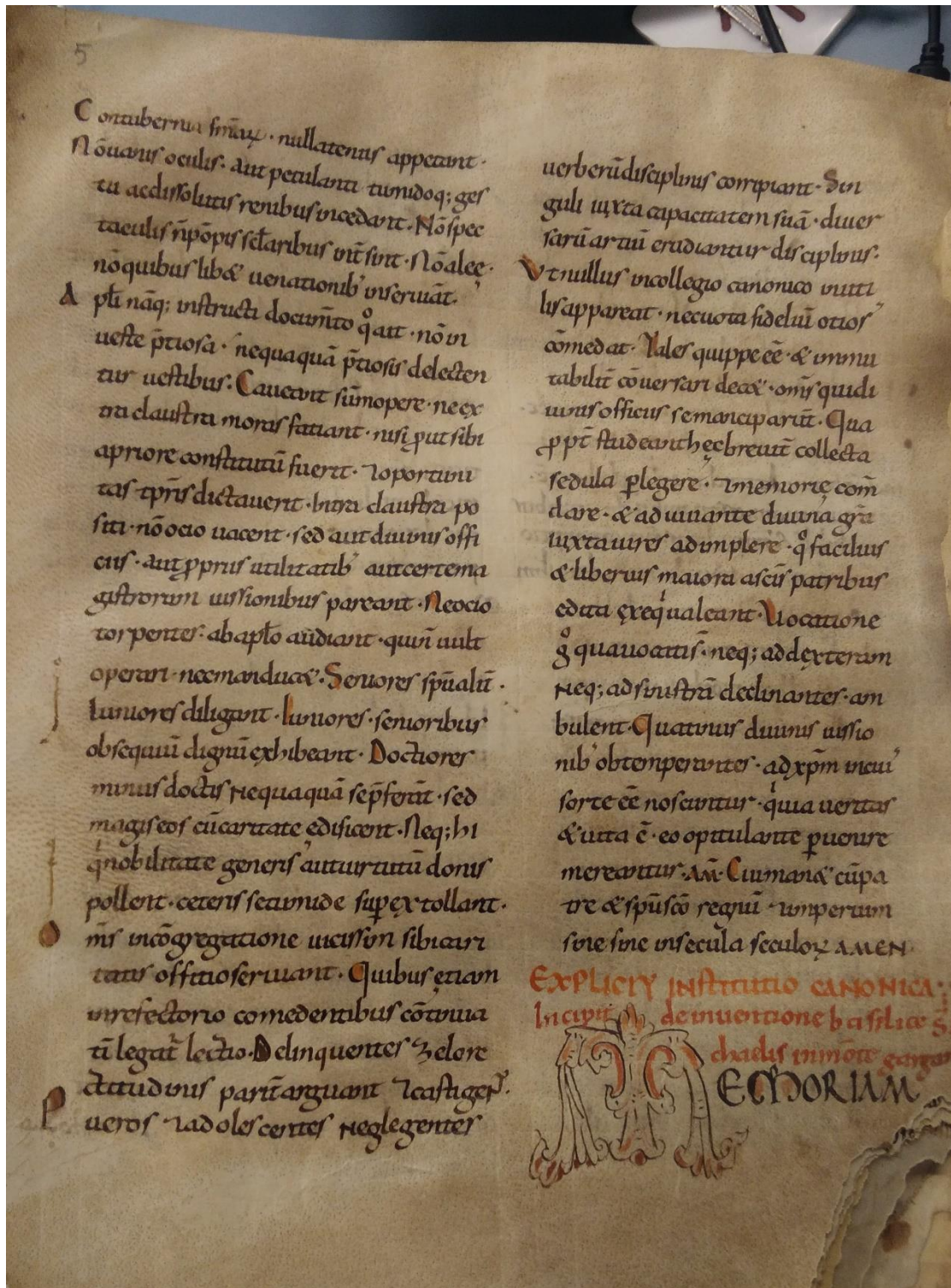


Figure 13 – *Apparitio*. Liturgical miscellaneous volume from Vic. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal (V1), Ms. 44, fol. 144vb

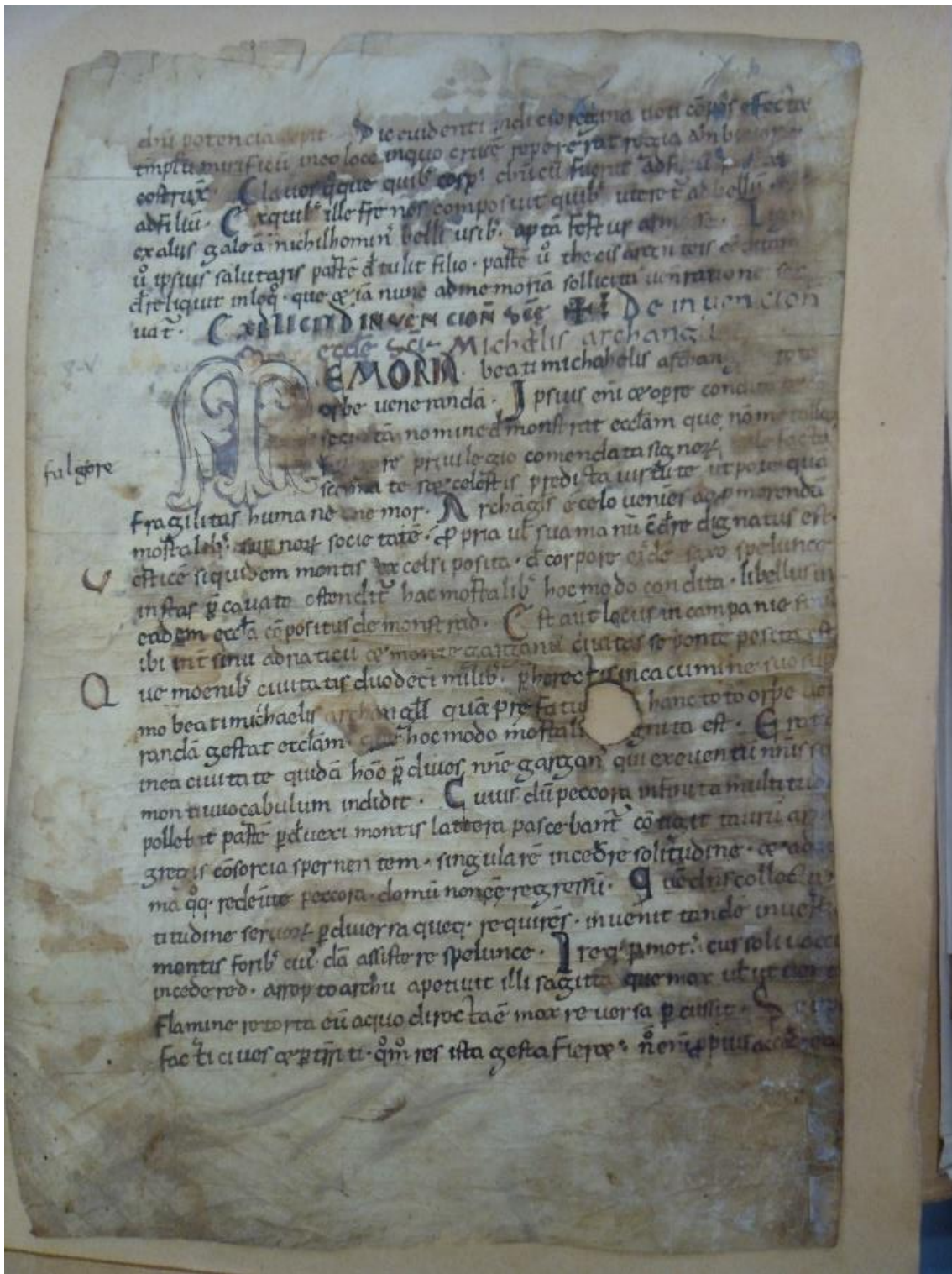


Figure 14 – Apparitio. Fragment from Sant Genis de Taradell. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal (V2), Fragn. X/5

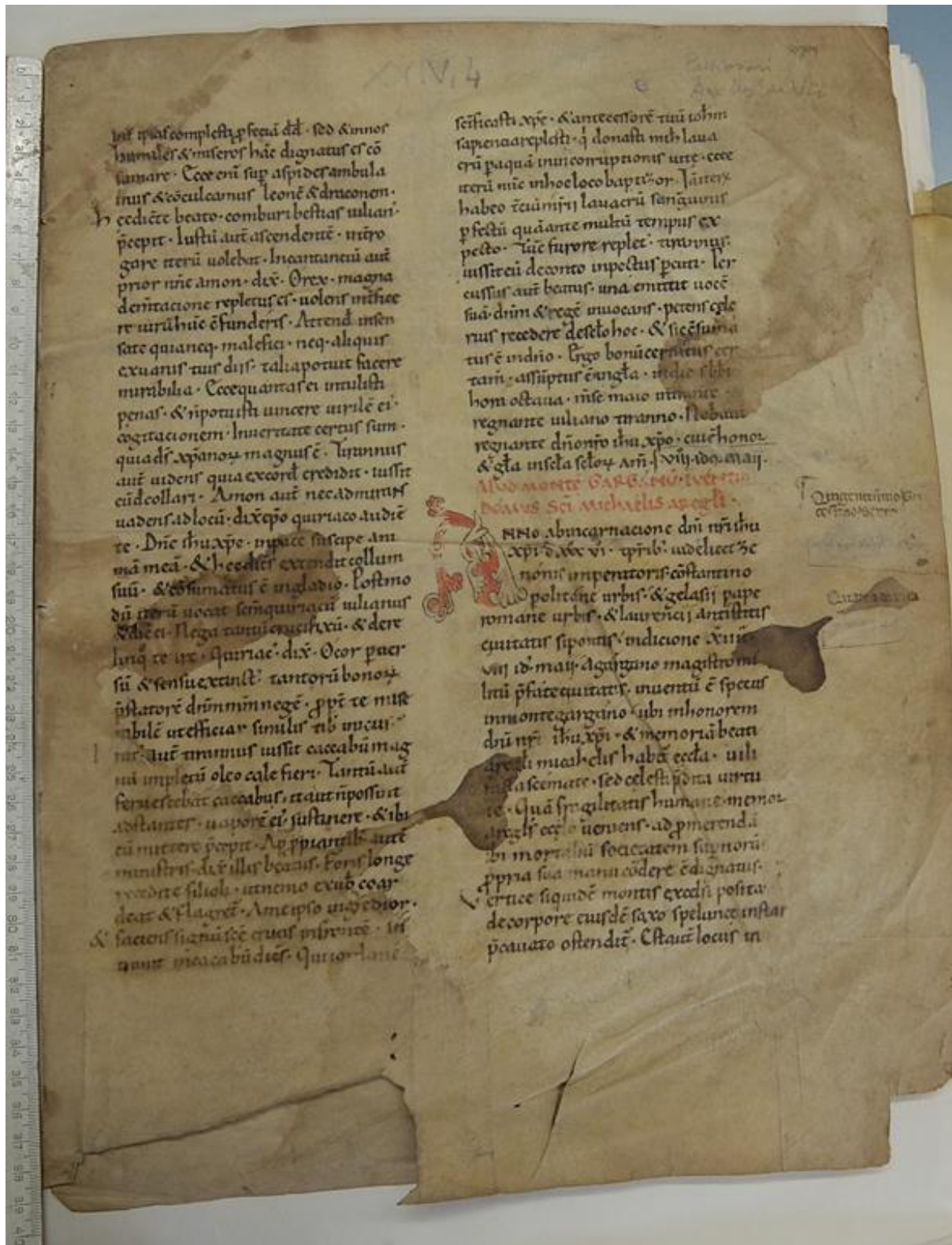


Figure 15 – Apparitio. Fragment from Vic diocese. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal (V3), Fragn. XXIV/4

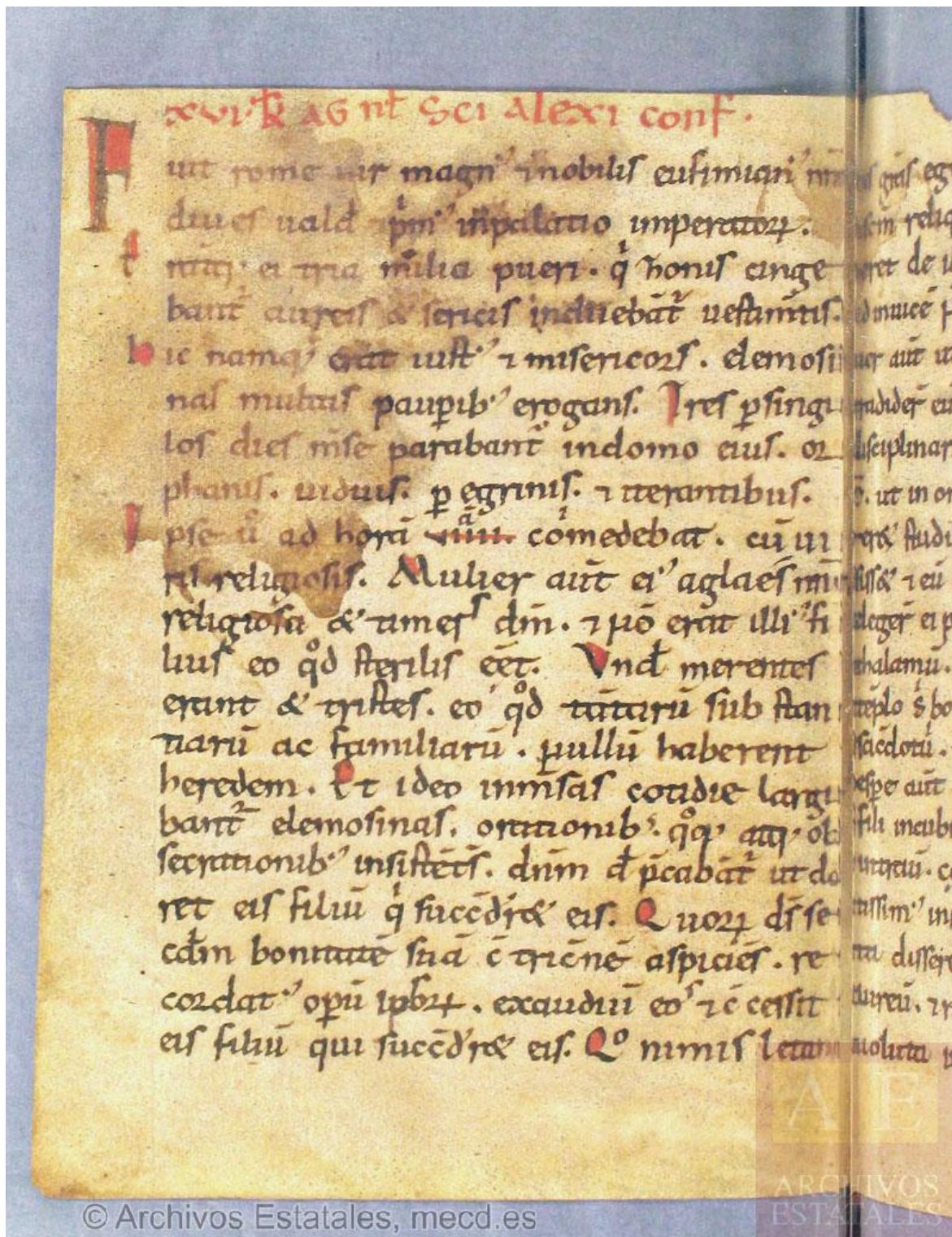
Anno quingentesimo et hiesimo. vi. ab incar-
 natione dñi nri ihu xpi Indictione quarta deci-
 ma scdm cronica. octavo id. maris. Inuentio
 erit beati michaelis archangeli in monte gar-
 gano regnante Henon impre inconstanopo-
 litana urbe. Gelasius papa urbi rome. Lau-
 reus antistes. ciuitatis sipontine sedis. Gar-
 ganus magister militum pphate ciuitati. ad
 laudem dñi nri ihu xpi et memoria beati ar-
 changeli michaelis. toto orbe ueneranda. ip-
 sius uopere cõditi. uicsecrãa nre demon-
 strata accita. Que in metalloz fulgore.
 sed p uilegio idẽ di beneficia comdata signoz.
 Vili faata se mare hoc est ubi paradoxiã suum
 selcelestis ditã uirtute ut potecũ frãuã
 tu humane menor aregt se celo uenient. ad p-
 meretã id mortalium societate supnoy ppa sibi
 manu cõdere e dignatus. Vestice siqbe montis
 excelsi posita. de corpore eiusde saxeo spelunce
 insar pcanata ostedit. est aut locus in apulie
 finib. ubi in firmo mare admaticũ in monte garga-
 nu. ciuitas sipontis sita est. Qui amoenib ciuita-
 ti. ad xii. milia passuum erectus. in cacumine sup-
 mo. bi aregti michaelis. qui pphat. sũ gestat ec-
 clesã. hac mortalib. hĩm cognita libellũ in eade
 ecclesã positi. indicat. Erat mea ciuitate sipo-
 ntis. ur diues qda nre pphat. gargan. magis-
 tẽ militũ q ex euentu suo. motus uocabulũ in-
 didit. hui. di pecculia qru infirma multu-
 tudo pollebat. pastũ pdeuexi motũ lacera-

pasceret. erigit taurũ mire magnitu-
 dinis dcoz. armã cõgregã cõforã spne-
 te. singulare mactre soltai. iadextre mi-
 redeuntib pecculũ d. omũ nre regressũ
 ue dñs. collecta f. uoz multitudinẽ.
 pãuia queque regrens. Inuentãde in-
 uertice motis. forib cuiusdã assilente sp-
 l

Figure 16 – *Apparitio*. Fragment from miscellaneous book from Ripoll. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 74 (R), fol. 156v



Figure 17 – Fresco with the *Vita Alexii* from San Clemente al Laterano (11th century)



LXXVI. VITA S. ALEXII CONF.

Fuit romae vir magni nobilitatis eufimiani
diues ualde pmi in palatio imperatorum.
tunc ei tria milia pueri. qd honoris cinge-
bant aureis & sericis induebant uestimtis.
Hic namq; erat iustus & misericors. elemosi-
nas multis paupib; erogans. Tres p singu-
los dies in se parabant in domo eius. or-
phanis. uiduis. p egrinis. & iterantibus.
Ipsē uero ad horam uini comedebat. cū u-
t religiosis. Mulier autē ei aglaes m-
religiosa & timens dnm. & pmo erat illi fi-
lius eo qd sterilis eet. Vnde merentes
erant & tristes. eo qd tantum sub stan-
tiam ac familiarum. pullum haberent
heredem. Et ideo inuisas cotidie largi-
bant elemosinas. orationib; qd atq; ob-
secrationib; insistens. dnm d pcedat ut do-
ret eis filium qd succederet eis. Quorum ds se-
cūm bonitate sua c trēne aspiciet. re-
cordat opū iporū. exaudiū eorū & cessit
eis filium qui succederet eis. Qo nimis letam

Figure 20 – Vita Alexii. Miscellaneous volumen from Sant Cugat del Vallès. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat Ms. 90, fol. 126v

& aspera loca traherentur. tā dīro supplicio p̄ singula mēbra discerpu. dum
 p̄ gladios acutos p̄parati hic caput cōturbat. alibi latera fundebant. in man
 habentū sp̄m exalabant. ¶ Xtat p̄ totū aggrēm puplicū loquentibus tumu
 lis sepultura scōra. ¶ **11. 10. octbris** ¶ N̄ d̄is beati carpi discipuli beati
 pauli apti. apud trōadā. Antiochie. beati theophili. Qui rexus ab aptis.
 ecclē pontificatū tenuit uiri crudelitissimi. ¶ **11. 10. octbris** ¶ N̄ d̄is sc̄i calixti pap̄e. Qui sedit in ep̄atu annos
 vii. m̄cc. dies x. & sub p̄secutione alexandri imp̄ris. m̄ri gl̄am adeptus.
 ¶ Postquā enī palmachū p̄rūle cū om̄i domo sua baptizauit. & senatorē sim
 plicū ac d̄gnū ei atq; felicē cū uxore blanda quā a paralisi curauit. & idē
 ipsi ab alexandro occisi uniuersi. gl̄am m̄ri constanti. sed & postquam ca
 lepodius p̄br. ei gladio m̄rū p̄p̄it. tēctus ē ab alexandro. & durissime
 fame cruciat. & cotidie susub. cecus. atq; p̄hibitu nequis ad eū ueniret.
 Si uero aliquis uenire noctū auderet. cōphens. occideretur. Qui cum mul
 tis dieb. ēē in custodia. uenit ad eū beatus calepodius p̄uissū. & cōsolaba
 tur eū dicens. firmi esto pat̄. quia corona tua iā p̄fecta ē. ¶ Iam ibi miles
 quidā nocte p̄ruat. ulcerib; pleni. qui dolorib; t̄nui cruciabat. ¶ Iste mi
 sit se ad pedes sc̄i calixti. rogans ut sanaret eū ab ulceribus & dolorib; suis.
 Quē mox sc̄s pontifex ab ulcerū dolore ac feditate. simul & ab infidelitate
 in nocē sc̄s imitatus baptizauit. Quā audiens alexander. ipsū quidē
 multum sc̄s plūbatū deficere. Beatus uero calixtū p̄ fenestrā dom̄ p̄cipitari
 & ligato ad collū ei saxo. in puatū demerit. & in eū p̄ruderā ei mulant.
 ¶ Post dies uero x. & vii. p̄br. ei asterius cū clericis noctū ueniens. leuauit
 eū. & sepeliuit in cimiterio calepodii. uia aurelia. sub. id. octbris.
 ¶ **11. 10. octbris** ¶ N̄ d̄is sc̄i iusti in hermo. Qui cū aliquot annis in hermo
 angli p̄ximā egisset. utā. & dignus adē. & finis tantis laborib; regnum
 spondens. atq; illis iam extremis sc̄s cōmigrans. animes flet. &
 designatis m̄te uicis. astare. dicens. cui me d̄n̄c derelinquet. respondisse.

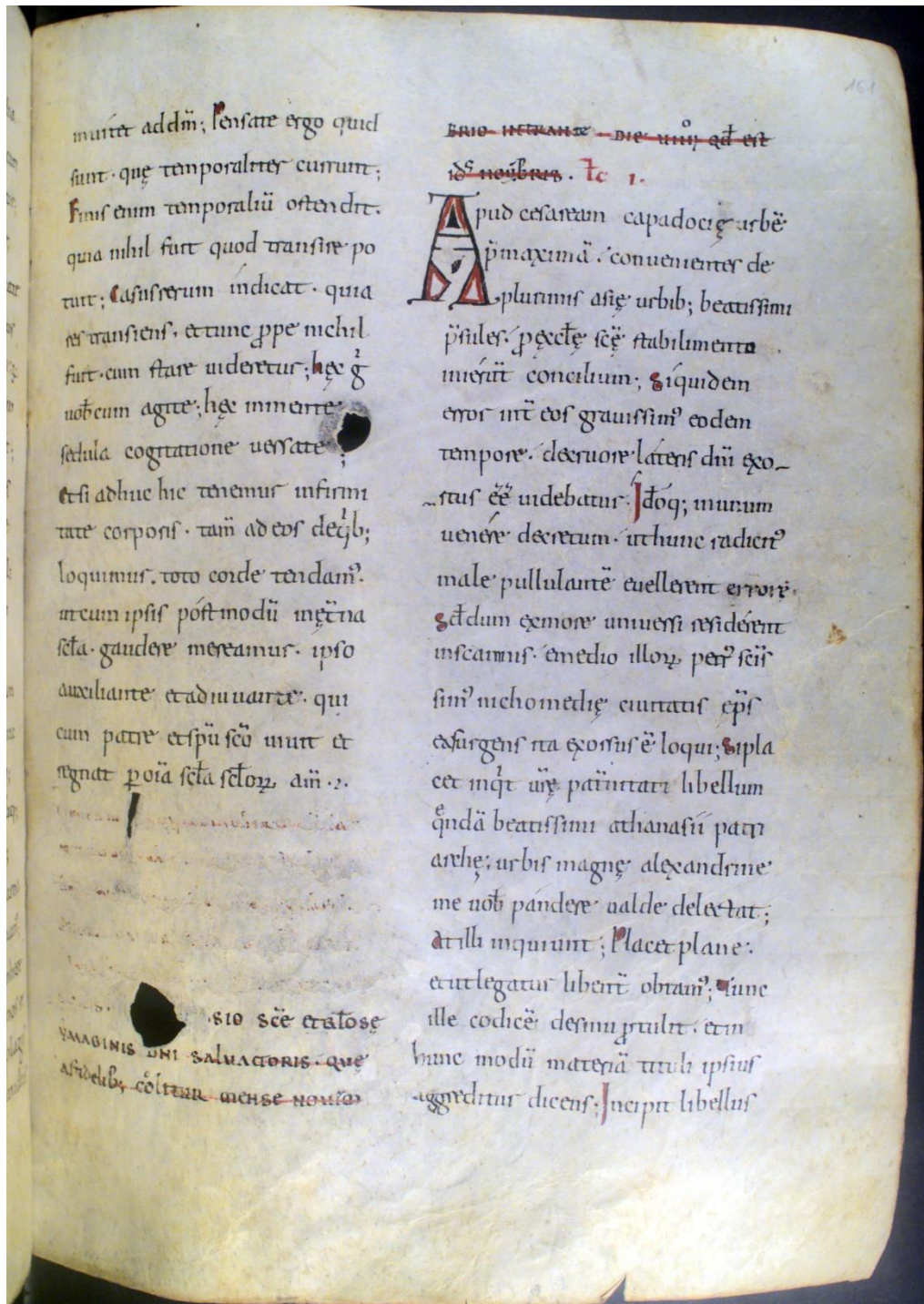
Eodē die obiit petrus
 bonatus sacerdos. & cha
 nicus huius loci.

Figure 21 – St. Gerald. VicM₁, fol. 122r

examinati. i confessione xpi triumphu gte adepti s. Nam per uicrudi
 grauitates. i testi aspectum defricati. ecia papiro ardea circa uentre
 uita adusti. p maxillay fractone. p tormia tybiaz. p aceti & sinapis
 in narib' infusione. p obolisc' ignito. p cfixione digitor' clau' acutissimi.
 p' oculoꝝ transpunctione. ac lingue abscisione. nouissime i amphitrea
 tro urtu & leonib' plectis. Sed cu' nulla exbetus scoꝝ corpora auderet
 attingere. maximi ira successu. iussit eos gladio iugulari. i corpora
 eoz' int' corpora gladiatoꝝ p'ici. **N**octu aut' ueniret' fideles. i d'p'care
 dnm ut ostendat' eis scoꝝ reliqas. uidet' subito ut ut stella splendidā
 d' celo missā. sup singula scoꝝ corpora residere. Sicq' cu' ingenti gaudio
 rapieret ea. pcedere se eiusde' stelle splendore. glosol' atezā xpi loco
 ap'issimo edider'.

Iul. id' Octub. **A**lud rauennā uia lauretina. n' sc' edisti. **A**lud
 affrica. scoꝝ c'essor' i' m' quatuor milu' nongētoꝝ septuagita sex.
 psecutione uuanclalica apud affricā cū essent eccl'ay d' ep'i. p'br'i. diacones.
 associati sibi t'bi fidelū p'p'toꝝ. iussu' iurisci regi' arriani. p' d'essione
 beatholce ueritas. i horrible herem' exilii trusi. & int' mauro' ferocissimō
 d'putati s. **I**nt' q' q'nt' cuprian' & felix. p'cipui d'ni sacerdotes. **E**quib' plurimi
 cū crudelit' minarent'. & astiliū cuspidib' adcurrēdu. ac lapidib' tin
 derent'. siue ligatis pedib' ut ut cadauera i' aspa loca traherent'.
 tā d'yo supplicio p' singula mēbra discepta. dū p' gladiō acuto petraz.
 hic capud c'erebat'. alibi lātā finct' bant'. int' mari' trahētū spm' exa
 labāt'. **E**xat' p' totū aggerē publicū. loquerib' tumulis sepultura scoꝝ.

Iul. id' Octub. **N**is beati carpi discipuli beati pauli ap'li. apud troada.
Antiochie. beati theophili ep'i. q' sext' ab ap'lis eccl'ie pontificatū tenuit.
 uiri eruditissimi. **E**odē die. transit' sc' heraldi c'essoris.



mutet addm; sensate ergo quid
 sunt. que temporaliter currunt;
 finis enim temporalium ostendit.
 quia nihil fuit quod transire po-
 tuit; Casus rerum indicat. quia
 res transiens. et tunc prope nihil
 fuit. cum stare uideretur; hęc g
 uobiscum agite; hęc in morte
 secula cogitatione ueritate;
 et si adhuc hic tenemus infirmi-
 tate corporis. tam ad eos de q; b;
 loquimur. toto corde tandem.
 ut cum ipsis post modum in eterna
 secula. gaudere mereamur. ipso
 auxiliante et adiuuante. qui
 cum patre et spiritu suo uiuit et
 regnat per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

...sio scē cratoſe
 IMAGINIS DNI SALUATORIS. QUE
 AFIDELIB; COſTANTIN. MICHE. NOUIS

~~Passio ueterana die unius qd est~~
~~id nobiscum. Ic 1.~~

A pud cesaream capadocię urbē
 p̄maximā. conuenienter de-
 plurimis asię urbib; beatissimi
 p̄sules. p̄fectę scē stabilimenta
 inuēit concilium; Siquidem
 error int̄ eos grauisim⁹ eodem
 tempore. de ruore latens dñi exo-
 stus eē uidebatur; Idōq; in urum
 uenere decretum. ut hunc radicē
 male pullulantē euellerent errorē.
 Sicutum ex more uniuersi residēti
 in seantibus. in medio illorū per sc̄i
 sim⁹ nichomedię ciuitatis ep̄s
 exurgens ita exorsus ē loqui; Si pla-
 cet inq̄t uis pat̄ntari libellum
 quōdā beatisissimi athanasii patri-
 arche; urbis magnę alexandrię
 me uob̄ pandere. ualde delectat;
 at illi inquirunt; Placet plane.
 et ut legatur liberū obtrahit; tunc
 ille codice; desinu p̄tulit. et in
 hunc modū materā tituli ipsius
 aggreditur dicens; Incipit libellus

Figure 23 – Passio Imaginis Domini. Lectionary from Roda d'Isàvena. Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0035, fol. 161r

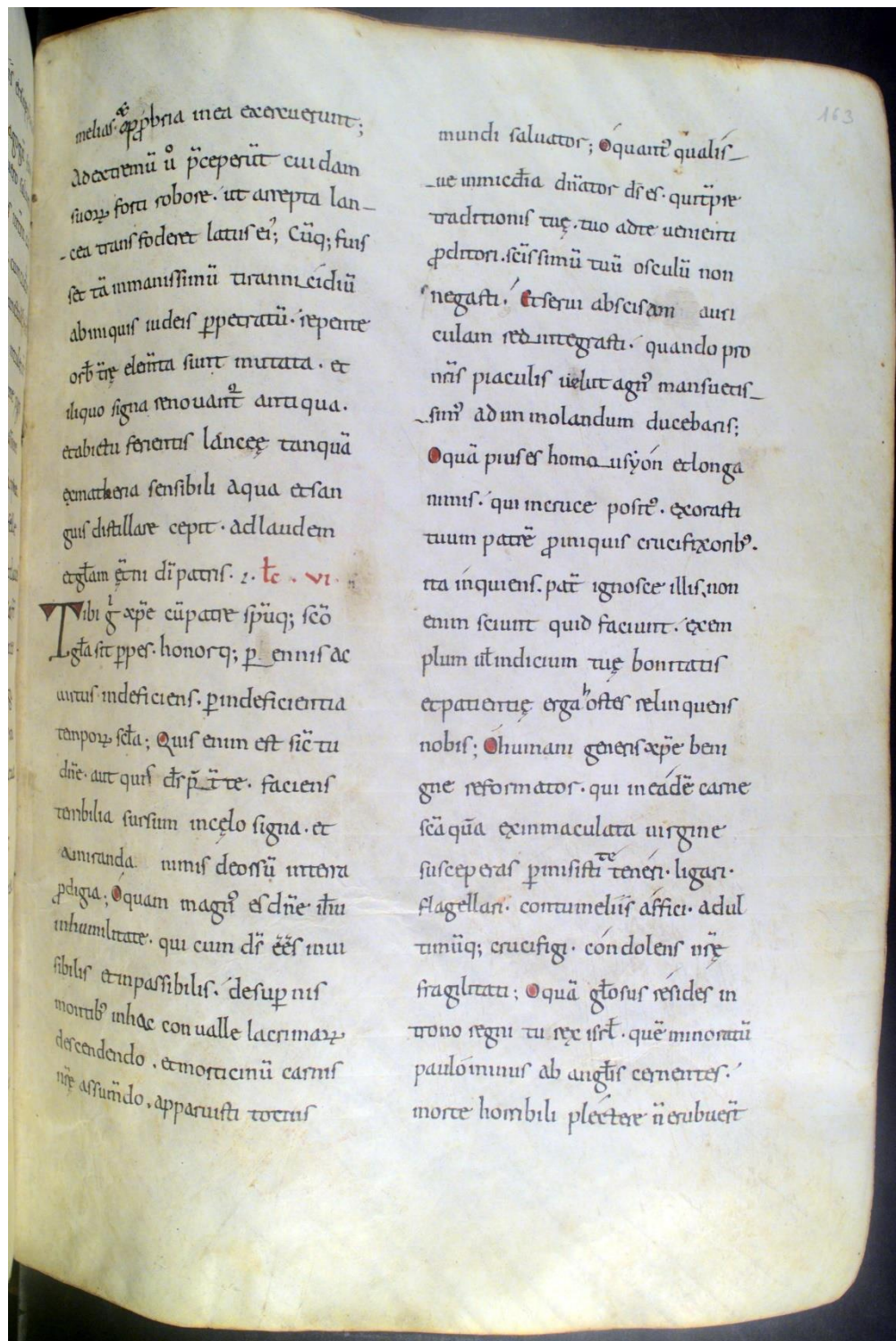


Figure 24 – Passio Imaginis Domini. Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0035, fol. 163r

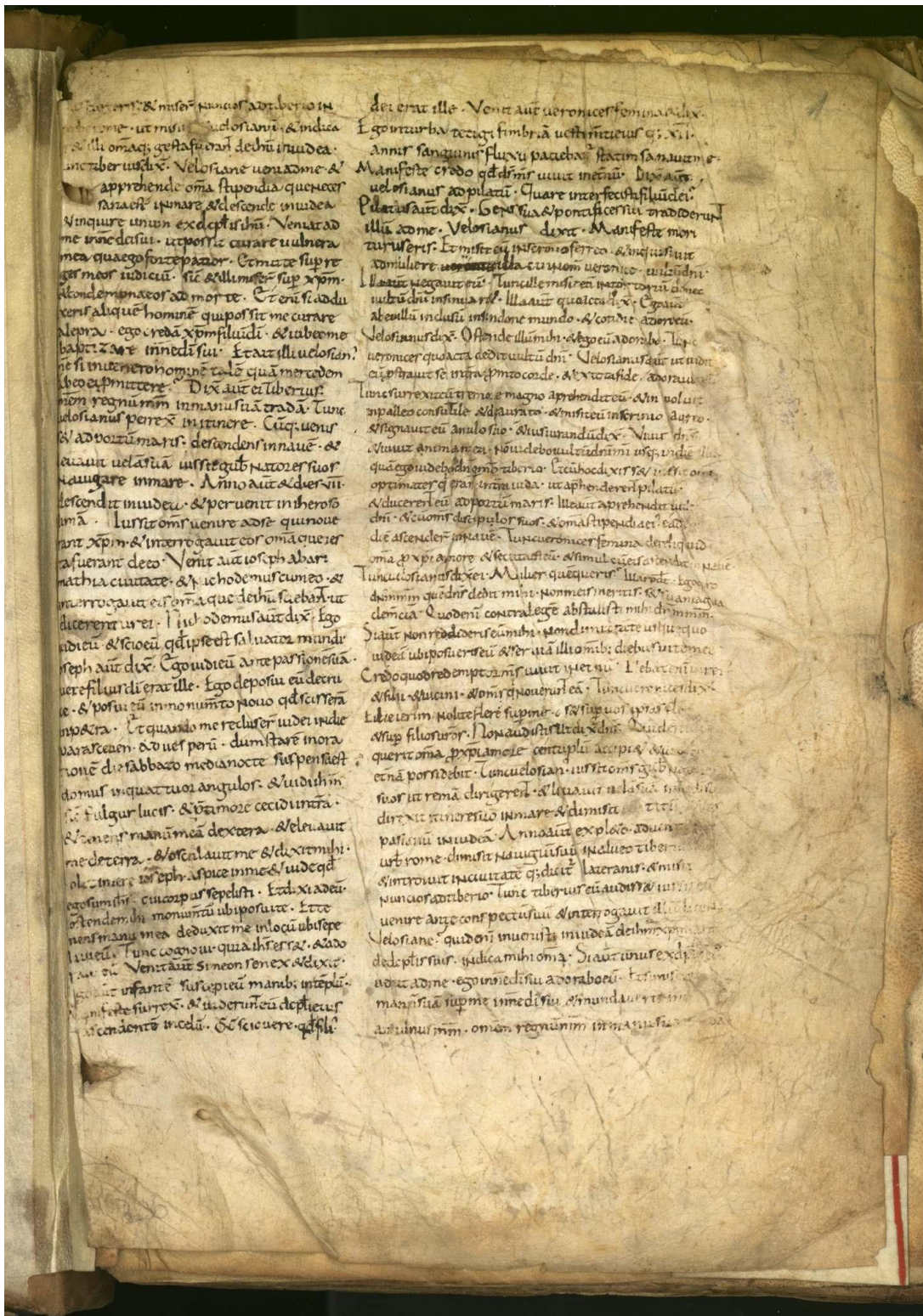


Figure 25 – *Vindicta Salvatoris*. Pontifical from Roda d'Isàvena. Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0036, fol. 1r

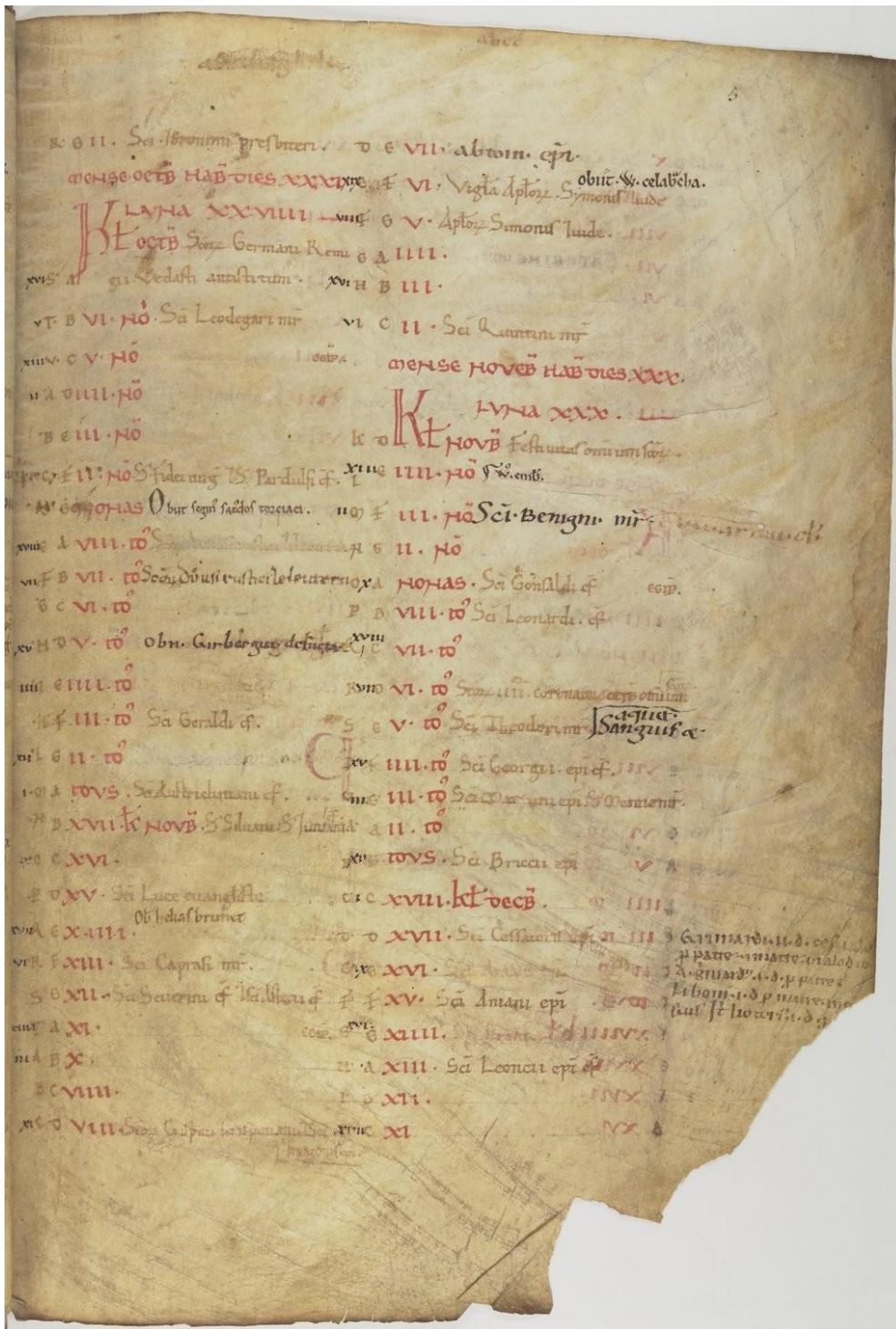
uenerunt collecta corpora sepelire in
 Lucania militari ab arce cesario ma
 renario iuxta corpora scōz martirū
 claudii pascosyri . simpliciū in castro
 rii . & simpliciū . Passio autē videtur
 esse duos tamānnes passionis horū quinqz
 martirū . Cū autē p̄māz nūmine repe
 rirēt . sancti b̄at̄ mel̄ caudatēp̄ . ita n
 muctaria quattuor coronaz dū sub
 nomibz scōz quinqz martirū recolerēt
 n̄tāp̄ent̄ ib̄ . tamānnes . cui dā hō in rā . hū
 mī corū reuelat̄ sup̄ . Festiuitas uero ut
 fuerit statuta . celebrat̄ in gloriā martirū
 festiuitatē p̄māntē . ac locū quattuor
 coronatorū nōne insignit̄ . **E**odē die obitū
 raderici p̄b̄i
 r̄ . **17** . **A**lter̄ d̄ eodem mar
 tiri . ep̄b̄i . maximi . & maximi
 imperatorū . quingz milia . & uerē quā .
 adducit̄ ad br̄nā . p̄positū legionū .
 A quodulatione . accepta infemētā fideri
 mitat̄ . cū infemētā imp̄uocabilit̄
 p̄nūciat̄ . iudiciū populo f̄st̄ . Quis
 cū m̄ta in arce . & signū hōst̄iū carit̄
 bidūm̄ in statione cōsolatur̄ . festiui
 quet̄ d̄ . ut r̄ . & d̄ . in r̄ . f̄ .
 p̄ . & . & .

rasi . quo usqz ad h̄ . q̄ . n̄ . Deinde
 detulit̄ sententiā d̄ . Teodorū . ob
 r̄ . p̄ . uero d̄ .
 crucifixū . ubi o . h̄ .
 ligat̄ . in fac̄ .
 uidet̄ .
 tyro adduci .
 Cleonice .
 h̄ .
 ḡ .
 h̄ .
 eucha .
 ar̄ .
 ap̄ .
 die .
 h̄ .
 sarione .
 & florentie .
 die .

Figure 27 – Passio Imaginis Domini. GirM, fol. 117vb

nichodem xpiani & leuante cu ipis loculis corpora nrum & in domo sua ho
 norifico portat. **P** assis autem vi idus nouembrii. **I** o dem ipso die dicitur facta
 quattuor coronator. id seueri. seueriani. carophori. & iustorum. **I** n
 impellerentur ad sacrificandum. reluctantes nec omnino ceteri impu
 ter p'stat infide. **M** unuatu e diocletiano impri. **Q** uo illo nisse ut
 simulacrum asclepi iedibus plumbatrum ceteri deficerent. quoy corpora
 iussit in platea canibus iactari. **Q** uo iactat ibi dieb; **V** . **T**unc pu xpiani
 ueneri. & collecta corpora sepeliet in uia laucana. militario ab urbe iho
 martirio. iuxta corpora scoy nrum. claudii. nicostiani. symproniani.
 castoris. & simplici. **P** assis autem vi idus nouembrii. post dies tam arnos
 passionis horu quinq; nrum. **C** u aut nomina eorum maxime reperirentur
 statuit beatus melchisedes ep. ut annuo. scilicet quattuor coronator dies.
 sub nomib; scoy **V** . nrum recoleretur. **N** ecurrerit; tam ante quoniam
 suo usq; eua nomina eorum reculatis. **F** estiuat uero ut fuerit forma
 celebris in aliorum nrum festiuitate pmanit. ac locus quatuor coronator
 nomine insignit. **V** . **I** D. **N** O V. **I** . **Q** uo die scilicet theodori nris comitib;
 maximiani. & maximi impri. **Q** uo cu esse miles & uer xpiani. ad
 duct e ad hancam ppositam legionis. a quo dilacione accepta ut fortis
 tam fidi mutar. & cum insententia irreuocabili pmanere uidet. p
 tie sistitur. **Q** uo iussit eu mitta in carcerem. & dignat bestium car
Q uo in digna uisitatione consolatur. **P** ost aliquot dies uerum a dicitur
 ante p'sidem. suspensus e in iugro. & unguis ferreus lueri. **Q** uo
 colli; ipis iudicatur. **D** emde dicitur sententiam dicit. **N** on est
 n optemperantem pcepit mure iustimoy imprioy petenti q; deora ut
 dicitur uro ehm quafi xii. mbeo igni iradi. **Q** uo hanc. **Q** uo
 culo quat munit. manib; post ro guri ligatur. **Q** uo p'p' q' q' q' q' q'
 spicent. uid. & in turba lacrimarum clericoy qui cum in carcerem
 fuerat. & exclamant dicit. **O** loonice. xpcito te. **F** estiuat uero ut fuerit forma

Figure 28 – Passio Imaginis Domini. VicM1, fol. 129v



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 821

Figure 29 – *Passio Imaginis Domini*. Calendar from Limousin. Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 5rb

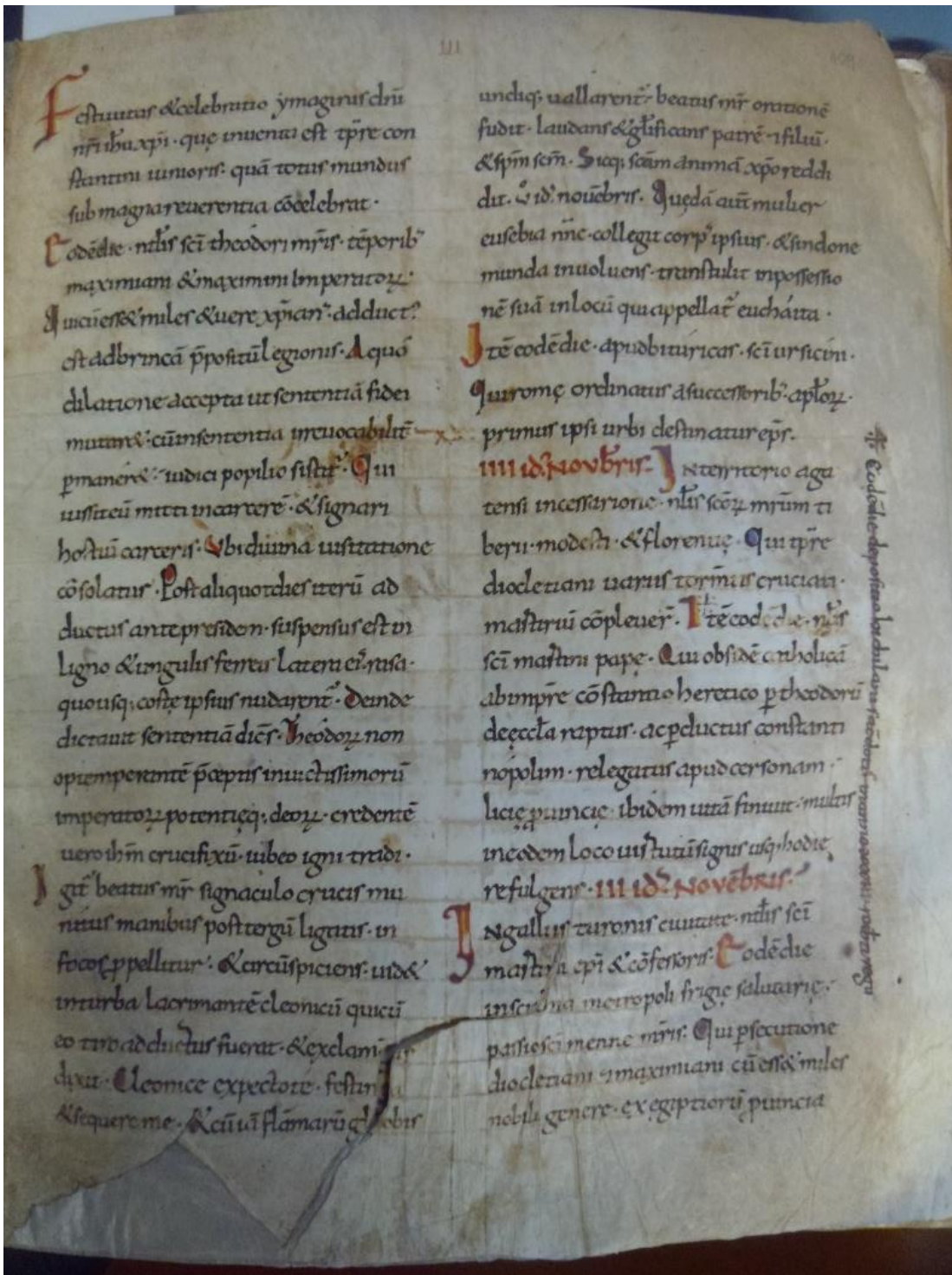


Figure 30 – Passio Imaginis Domini. VicM₂, fol. 109ra

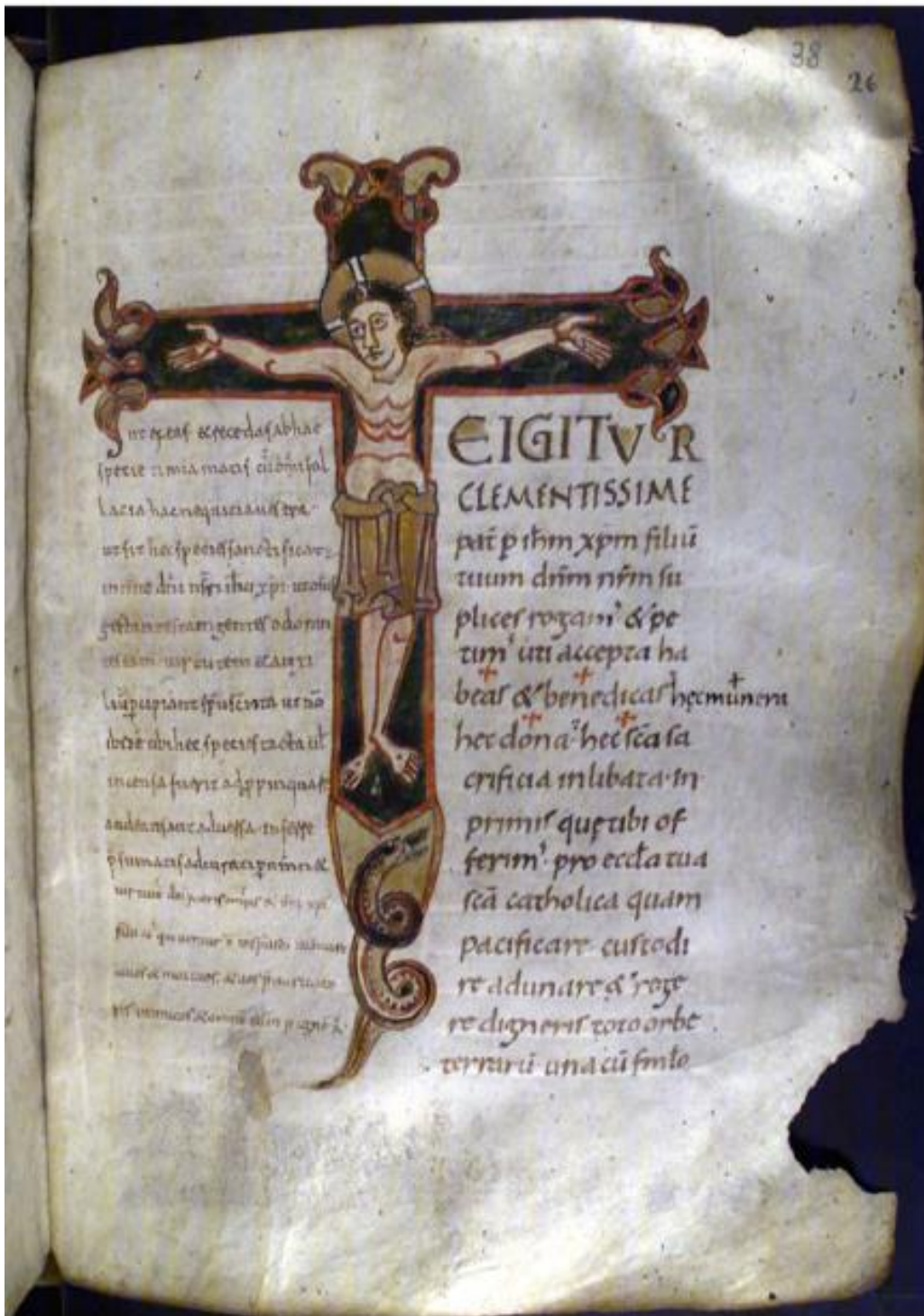
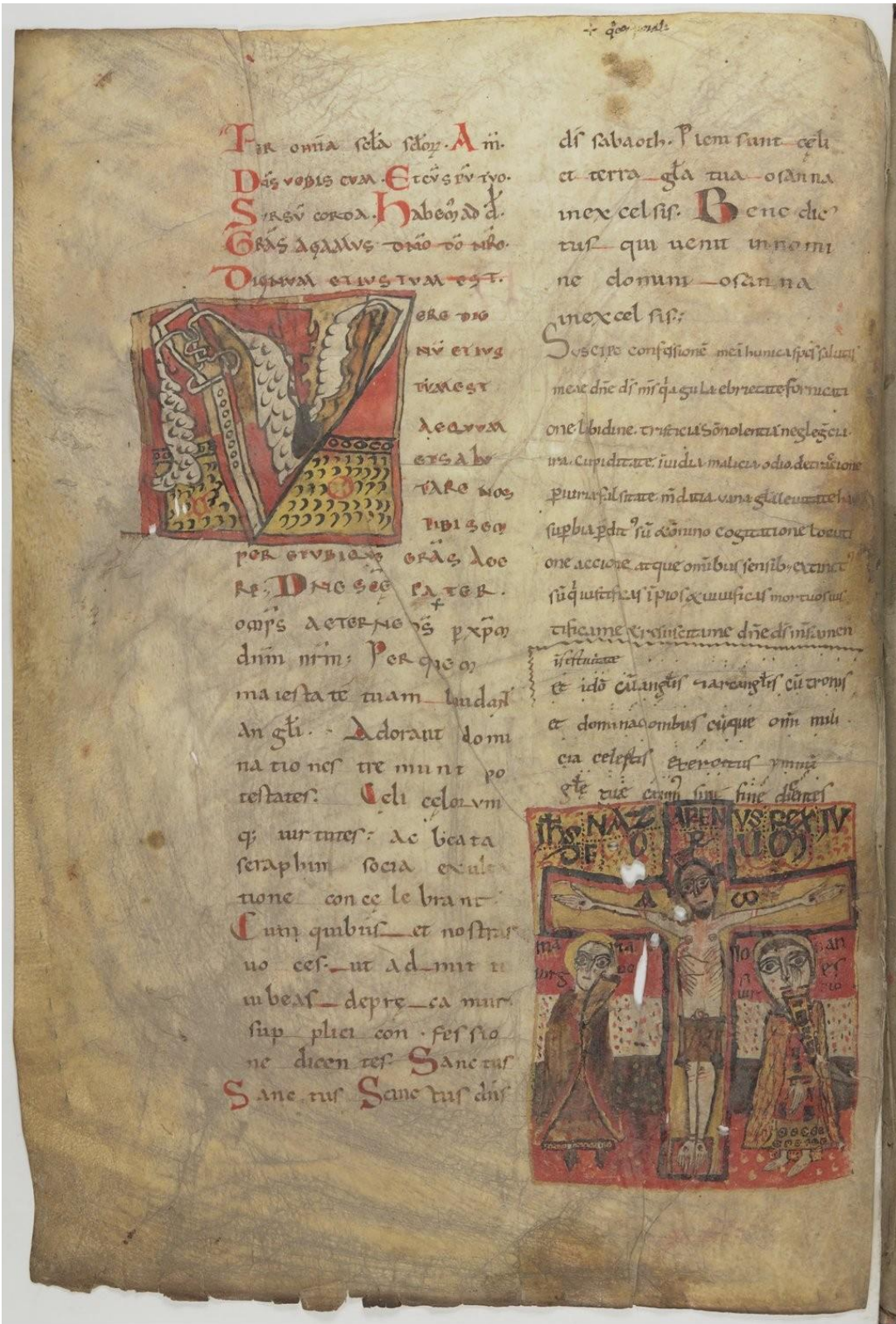


Figure 31 – Crucifix. Pontifical from Roda d’Isàvena. Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. RC_0036, fol. 38r



Figure 32 – Crucifix. Breviary/sacramentary from Sant Romà de les Bons. Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 72, fol. 105r



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Latin 821

Figure 33 – Crucifix. Sacramentary from Limousin. Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 821, fol. 8v

In die trinitatis dicitur ut data sententia ei caput abscideret. Tunc rapitur deponitur
 in castris de cauleo. iussit eum duci una latrina in castris militario. & ibidem decollari
 Qui corpus sancti stephani pontificis colligens cum clericis & hinc inde reddidit de
 sepeluit in eodem loco in crypta argentea. **11. Iulij** obiit sanctus stephanus
 in die festo virginis. **11. nonij Augusti** apud lugdunum aduentus corporis sancti iulij
 in galia. & tumulatus heremo. Qui cum aliquot annis in heremo anglie egisset. palma vitam
 dignus aduersa finis laboribus. tantus regni scandens celos. beate laurentii
 pater. Qui sem corpusculum venerabilium. civium lugdunum urbem cum
 requiritum. a remotis terris partibus. cum alacritate & religione repul-
 sit. atque in urbe sacerdotum sui sepeluit. **11. Augusti** apud
 punnam reus civitate augustana. natus sanctus stephanus. Qui cum esset paga-
 na & meretricis. per doctrinam sancti nazarii episcopi ad christum conuerteret. & cum
 domo sua baptizata. per confessionem domini igni tradita esset. Augusti. **11. Augusti**
 sancti cismani episcopi. **11. Idus Augusti** transfiguratio domini nostri ihesu christi
 romae via appia in cimiterio callisti. natus sanctus nazarius episcopus & martyr. **11. Idus**
 in cimiterio preteritis. sanctorum felicissimi & agapiti. diaconorum eidem
 sub dicio imperatoris ualeriano presbytero. Qui tenuit beatissimum senectus
 sextum episcopum romanum cum omni clero suo. & rediit eos in custodia
 publica. & facti ibi clausa multis diebus. Facti est ut decem dies &
 ualerianus presbyterus iuberent sibi beatum sextum episcopum cum clero suo
 presentari noctu in ciuitate in tellure. Qui decem dies dixit. Sed
 cur non. & conuentione publica nobis representatus est. Respon-
 dit beatus sextus. Scio & benefacio decem dies. Ergo si scis fac ut
 uniuersi sciant. & tu iuuas & clerus tuus aggrat. Beatus sextus
 respondit. Vere feci. & facio ut clerus meus aggrat. Qui dicitur ergo
 sacrificatus immortalibus & est princeps sacerdotum. **11. Idus**
 episcopi. Ego semper sacrificatus & sacrifico deo patri omni. **11. Idus**
 ihesu christo filio ei. **11. Idus** sancto hostiam puram & immaculatam. **11. Idus**

In die obiit bernardus
 de monte malo clauis per
 nouis sancti petri eius sic re
 gel.

In die festo iulij
 sancti nazarii episcopi
 imperatoris

In die obiit bernardus
 de monte malo clauis per
 nouis sancti petri eius sic re
 gel.

Figure 34 – Transfiguratio. VicM₁, fol. 84v

in eodē loco ī cypria arenaria .ii. h. ubi cūrsus solēpn̄s fit .ii. n̄s
406. **A**psud lugdunū . aduenē corpore sc̄i Iust̄i ep̄i d̄ heremo . q̄ cū
aliq̄t̄ annis ī heremo angl̄is egisset p̄ximā uitā . & dign̄ adesser̄t finē la
borib̄ tamē . regnū scandens celoꝝ . beato lucro p̄meruit . Cui sc̄m corpore
lū . uenerabilū ciuiū lugdunū urbis curā rechsū . aremoti t̄re pastō
cū alacritate & religione repositauit . atq; ī urbe sac̄docij sui sepeliuit

AN̄S 406. **A**psud puincia arecie ciuitate augusta . n̄t sc̄e aſtre . q̄ cū esset
pagana & meretricis . p̄doctrina sc̄i pat̄ris ep̄i ad xpm̄ cūersa . & cū om̄i
domo sua bapt̄izata . p̄fessione d̄ni igni tradita ē . Eodē die sc̄i pat̄ris
ep̄i & m̄ris . **L**ugustidunū . n̄t sc̄i cassiani ep̄i .

VIII. id̄ 406. **T**ransfiguratio d̄ni . in monte tabor . **R**ome . uia ap̄ia
in cimiterio calisti . sc̄i Ix̄ti ep̄i & m̄ris . **I**te ī cimiterio p̄textati . sc̄oꝝ fel
cissimi & accap̄ti diaconoꝝ euidē . sub d̄cio imp̄re . iuliano p̄fecto .
q̄ tenuit beatissimū s̄ixtū ep̄m̄ senē romanū cū om̄i clero suo . ī reclusit eō
ī custodia publica . ī fuer̄ ibi clausi dieb̄ multā . **F**actū ē ut d̄ci cesar
iulianū p̄fect̄ . tubereit sibi beatū s̄ixtū ep̄m̄ cū clero suo p̄sentari
noctu ītra ciuitatē ī tellude . **C**ui d̄ci cesar dix̄ . Sc̄is cur tenē es . ī ue
tione publica n̄b̄ p̄sentat̄ . **R**pd̄it bar̄ s̄ixt̄ . Sc̄io & bene sc̄io . **D**eci dix̄ .
Ergo si sc̄is . fac ut inuerti sc̄iat . ī tu uiuas . & clerū tuū augeat̄ . **B**eat̄ s̄ixt̄
rpd̄it . **V**ere feci & sc̄io . ut clerū m̄s augeat̄ . **C**ui d̄ci . **E**rgo sacrificia d̄ni
immoſtalib̄ . & esto p̄nceps sac̄dotū . **A**d hec sc̄s ep̄s rpd̄it . **E**go sc̄p̄ sac̄rifi
caui . ī sacrificio d̄o patri om̄ni . ī d̄no ih̄u x̄po filio ei & sp̄i sc̄o . hostiā
purā & immaculatā . **T**ūc ex p̄cepto d̄ci . duxer̄ eū milite ad tēplū mal
ut sacrificijs cōin̄q̄aret̄ . **S**ed cōtēpnētē sacrificare . recluser̄ eū ī custo
dia puata . cū duob̄ diachib̄ felicissimo & accap̄to . **C**ūq; duceret̄ .
cepit h̄is uerbis cū bar̄ laureti archid̄cis compellare . **Q** p̄gred̄r̄ sine
filio pat̄ . q̄ sac̄do sc̄e sine diacono p̄pet̄ . **T**u nūquā sacrificiū sine

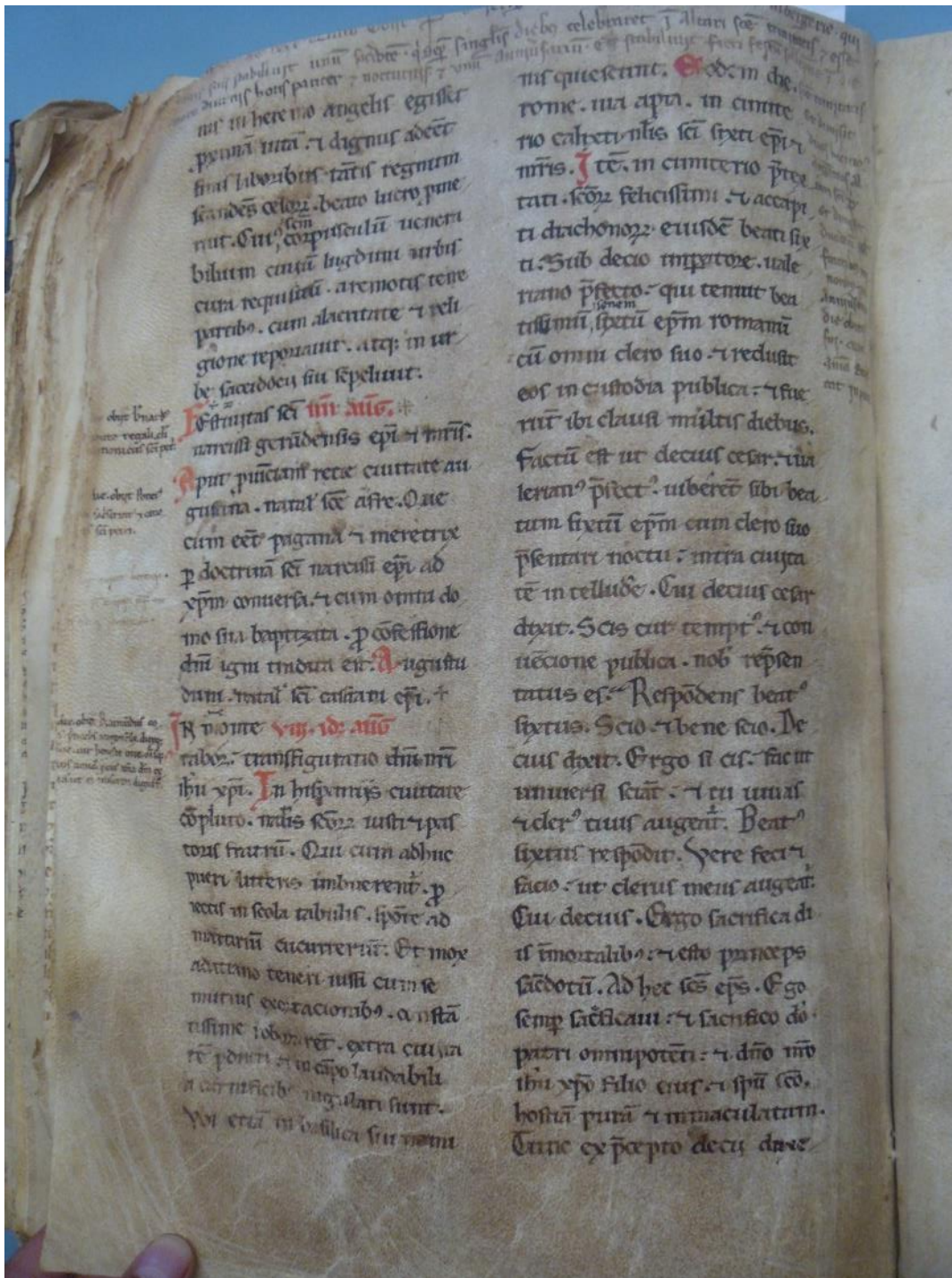


Figure 36 – *Transfiguratio*. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 129 (VicM₃), fol. 62v

Appendix II. The Most Frequent *Auctaria* from the Catalan martyrologies

The data presented in this appendix reproduces a number of the *auctaria* from four Catalan and two Septimanian martyrologies copied in different religious communities. The aim of this Appendix is, however, not to identify every single addition made in every martyrology from the explored corpus but to demonstrate a certain correlation between all of them. The majority of these *auctaria* are discussed in Chapter One. Moreover, from the three Vic martyrologies I selected the earliest one (VicM₁, 993–1010) to be compared with the other texts in order to demonstrate the earliest possible addition in the Vic martyrologies. The *auctaria* added in the first Vic martyrology follow, then, two later volumes, so their absence in this Table does not affect any statistical results. As in the chapters, (T) means that the *auctarium* is in the main text, while (M) refers to its place in the margin.

Manuscripts

GirM – Girona, Arxiu Capítular, Ms. 3 (from Girona, 960/980; ff. 2va–131ra)

VicM₁ – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128A (993/1010; ff. 3v–140v)

SerratM – København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS Ms. 1794 (from Santa Maria de Serrateix, before 1076; ff. 4r–173r.)

StCugM – Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Sant Gugat Ms. 22 (from Sant Cugat del Vallès, 11th c., end; ff. 2r–135r)

CarcasM – Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5256 (from Carcassonne, 1046/1055; ff. 13v–140v.)

CassM – Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1963 (from Cassan, diocese of Béziers, 12th c., beginning; ff. 14v–224v.)

Date	Catalan martyrologies				Septimanian martyrologies	
	GirM	VicM ₁	SerratM	StCugM	CarcasM	CassM
<u>IV KL.</u> <u>IAN.</u> 29/12	Absent	fol. 17r (M): <i>Ipsa die natalis sancti Thome Canturiensis archiepiscopi qui sub persecutione Enrici regis</i>	Codicological loss	fol. 6v (T): <i>Eodem die igitur festivitas sancte Eugenie virginis que passa est VIII kl. ian. die natalis domini.</i>	fol. 25v (T/M): <i>Eodem die sollemnitatis celebratione sancti Thome Canturiensis</i>	Absent

		<i>Anglorum martirii palmam adeptus est.</i>		fol. 6v (M): <i>Eodem die apud Angliam in civitate Canturia natalis sancti Thome archiepiscopi et confessoris</i>		
<u>KL.</u> <u>IAN.</u> 1/01	Absent	fol. 18r (M): <i>Eodem die sancti Basilii episcopi et confessoris cuius gesta insignia abentur. Item eodem die sancti Fulgencii episcopi et confessoris cuius gesta abentur.</i>	Codicological loss	fol. 7v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Basilii episcopi et confessoris cuius gesta insignis habetur.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>IV</u> <u>NON.</u> <u>IAN.</u> 2/02	Absent	Absent	Codicological loss	fol. 9v (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Symeonis qui sedis ecclesie Iherosolimorum episcopus prefuit. Accusatusque a quibusdam hereticis apud atticum consularem, multis tormentis per plurimos dies</i>	fol. 9v (M): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Simeonis qui sedis ecclesie Iherosolimorum episcopus prefuit. Accusatusque a quibusdam here[ticis] apud anticum consularem, multis tormentis per plurim[os] dies</i>	Absent

				<i>affectus. Ad ultimum crucis supplicio consummatus est. Cum esset annorum centum viginti.</i>	<i>affectus. Ad ultimum [crucis] supplicionem consummatus est. [Cum] esset annorum centum vigin[ti].</i>	
<u>ID.</u> <u>IAN.</u> 13/01	Absent	fol. 22v (T): <i>Octave epyphaniae</i>	Codicological loss	fol. 11v (T): <i>Octave epyphanie</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>XV KL.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 18/01	fol. 13vb (M): <i>Eodem die in territorio Tholosano apud Fuxem castrum natalis sancti Velosiani martiris apostolorum discipuli</i> fol. 13vb (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum martyrum XXXVII virorum</i>	Absent	Codicological loss	fol. 13v (T): <i>Eodem die in castro Fuxo natale sancti Velosiani martiris</i>	fol. 31v (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum virorum XXX VII.</i> fol. 31v (M): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Velosiani martiris</i>	Absent
<u>IV KL.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 29/01	fol. 18vb (T): <i>Eodem die passio sancti Cirilli martiris</i>	Absent	fol. 12r (T): <i>Tuscia Constanti Ypoliti episcopi.</i>	fol. 18v (T): <i>Treveris, Constancii et Ypoliti episcopi.</i>	fol. 34v (M): <i>Tuscia Constantini Ippoliti episcopi</i>	Absent

<u>III KL.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 30/01	Absent	Absent	Absent	fol. 16v (T): <i>In Affrica Celerini, Phylipiani et aliorum CXXIII.</i>	fol. 35r (M): <i>In Affrica Pelleni, Celeri, Philipiani et aliorum CXXIII.</i>	Absent
<u>III</u> <u>NON.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 3/02	Absent	Absent	fol. 13v (T): <i>Et natale sancti Teodori martiris. Et in territorio Lugdunensi depositio sancti Lupucine eremite. Et in Africa Felicis Guapingo depositio episcoporum Teredi et Remedi.</i>	fol. 20r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Blasii episcopi et martiris.</i>	fol. 35v (M): <i>Et natale sancti Teodori martiris. Et in territorio Lugdunensi depositio sancti Lupucine hermite. Et in Africa Felicis Guapingo depositio episcoporum Teredi et Remedi.</i>	Absent
<u>VIII</u> <u>ID.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 6/02	Absent	Absent	fol. 15v (T): <i>Eodem die transitus sancti Amandi confessoris.</i>	Absent	fol. 36v (M): <i>Eodem die transitus sancti Amandi confessoris</i>	Absent
<u>VI ID.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 8/02	Absent	Absent	fol. 16v (T): <i>Et apud Cyprum natalis sancti Alexandri, Luci, Pauli, Dionisii.</i>	fol. 22r (T): <i>Item beati Gregorii pape qui rexit ecclesiam annos sedecim, Leonis et Constantini imperatoris tempore. [...]</i>	fol. 36v (M): <i>Et apud Ciprum natalis Alexandri, Luci, Pauli, Dionisii.</i>	Absent
<u>III ID</u> <u>FEBR.</u>	Absent	Absent	fol. 16r (T):	Absent	fol. 37r (M):	Absent

11/02			<i>Idem in Campanie sancti Basiliani.</i>		<i>In Campanie Basiliani.</i>	
<u>ID.</u> <u>FEBR.</u> 13/02	Absent	Absent	ff. 16r–17r (M): <i>Et natalis sancti Tranquillini presbyteri [...]</i> <i>Et in Nicomedia passio sancti Iuliani Lugduno depositio sancti Stephani episcopi.</i>	Absent	fol. 37r (M): <i>Et natalis sancti Tranquillini presbyteri [...]</i> <i>Et in Nicomedia passio sancti Iuliani. Lugduno depositio Stephani episcopi.</i>	Absent
<u>XIV</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>MAR.</u> 16/02	Absent	Absent	fol. 18r (M): <i>Et in Britaniis natalis sancti Faustini.</i>		fol. 37v (M): <i>Et in Britaniis Faustini iuventie.</i>	Absent
<u>II</u> <u>NON.</u> <u>MAI</u> 6/05	Absent	fol. 49v (T): <i>Item eodem die translatio sancti apostoli et evangeliste Mathei.</i>	fol. 44v (T): <i>Eodem die Ieronti confessoris et Mediolana civitate Victoris et Felicis. Autisiodoro depositio Valerii episcopi.</i>	fol. 42v (T): <i>Item eodem die translatio sancti Mathei apostoli.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>NON.</u> <u>MAI</u> 7/05	Absent		fol. 45r (T): <i>Apud Iherosolimam martirium beati Stephani protomartiris Christi.</i> fol. 45r (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sanctorum Marcellini, Macrobbii</i>	fol. 43r (T): <i>Eodem die martyrium sancti Stephani protomartiris.</i>	Absent	Absent

			<i>et Euthicii Placiti episcopi.</i>			
<u>VIII</u> <u>ID.</u> <u>MAI</u> 8/05	fol. 42va (M): <i>Inventio domus sancti Mikaelis archangeli apud montem Garganum.</i>	fol. 50r (M): <i>Apud montem garganum invencio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli.</i>	fol. 45v (T): <i>Eodem die inventio basilice beati archangeli Michaelis in monte Gargano.</i> fol. 45v (T): <i>Eodem die Euticii et Marcini Saturnini et in Sanctonico sancti martirii. In Autisiodoro Palladii episcopi.</i>	fol. 43r (T): <i>Apud montem Garganum inventio spelunce sancti Michaelis archangeli.</i>	Fol. 53v (M): <i>Eodem die revelatio [Mic]haelis archangeli.</i>	ff. 99v–100r (T): <i>Eodem die revelatio sancti Michaelis archangeli quando dives Garganus in monte appetit taurum sagitta toxicata et illa velut flamine venti retorta eum a quo iactata est mox reversa percussit Turbati cives et stupefacti, consulunt episcopo quid facti opus sit. Qui indicto triduo ieiunio a Deo monuit esse querendum. Quo peracto. sanctus domini archangelus Michael dixit</i>

						<p><i>per visionem episcopo: Ego sum Michael archangelus qui in conspectu Dei semper assisto ipsius loci esse me custodem atque omnium que ibi geruntur inspectorem. Hominem suo thelo percussum. sciatis mea hoc gestum voluntate. His revelationibus conperts consuetudinem fecerunt cives. hic Deum precibus sanctumque intercessorem poscere Michaelem.</i></p>
<p><u>VID.</u> <u>MAI</u> 11/05</p>	<p>fol. 44va (M): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Poncii martiris.</i></p>	<p>fol. 52r (M): <i>Apud urbem Romam natale sancti Poncii senatoris et</i></p>	<p>fol. 48r (T): <i>Ipsa die sancti Poncii senatoris.</i></p> <p>fol. 48r (T):</p>	<p>fol. 45r (T): <i>Apud urbem Romam natalis sancti Poncii senatoris et</i></p>	<p>fol. 55r (M): <i>Eodem die sancti Poncii martiris.</i></p>	<p>fol. 101r (T): <i>Item ipsa die natalis beati Poncii martiris filii Marchi</i></p>

		<i>martiris Christi cuius gesta habentur.</i>	<i>Eodem die in Sarminia natalis sancti Montani Septimi.</i>	<i>martiris Christi cuius gesta habentur.</i>		<i>senatoris et coniugis eius sub Claudio Galliarum preside.</i>
<u>XIV</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>IUN.</u> 19/05	fol. 46v, between the columns (M): <i>Eodem die translatio sancti Felicis martiris Ierunda.</i>	fol. 54r (T): <i>Eodem die translatio sancti Felicis Gerunde et dedicatio sancti Iohannis Baptistae in Vico Ausonae.</i>	fol. 51r (T): <i>Eodem die translatio sancti Felicis Gerunde.</i>	Absent	fol. 56v (T): <i>Eodem die translatio sancti Felicis.</i>	Absent
<u>VII</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>IUN.</u> 26/05	fol. 48ra (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martiris.</i>	fol. 55r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martyris.</i>	fol. 52v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martiris.</i>	fol. 48r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martiris.</i>	fol. 57v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martiris.</i>	fol. 108r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Iustini martiris.</i>
<u>V KL.</u> <u>IUN.</u> 28/05	Absent	fol. 55v (M): <i>Et in Vico Ausone. natalis sancti Iusti confessoris.</i>	fol. 53r (T): <i>Et in Pamfilia Zeotholi Primoli.</i> <i>Eodem die depositio sancti Iusti confessoris in sede Vico.</i> fol. 53r (M): <i>Et sancti Guillelmi confessoris sive monachi qui est tumultatus in provincia degilo.</i>	Absent	fol. 58r (M): <i>Eodem die apud Agellum sancti Guillelmi confessoris</i>	fol. 109r (M): <i>Eodem die in territorio Luteuensi sancti Willelmi confessoris</i>

<u>VII</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>IUL.</u> 25/06	Absent	fol. 67r (M): <i>In civitate Corduba sancti Pelagii martyris cuius gesta habentur.</i>	fol. 71v (M): <i>Eodem die in Asia civitate Dorostorensi passio sancti Iuliani martiris. In Gretia natalis sancte Simphonie virgine et martiris.</i>	fol. 60v (T): <i>In civitate Corduba apud Yspaniam, natalis sancti Pelagii martiris qui sub Abdarrafamen regem tempore illius pro fide Christi martirio coronatus est.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>VI KL.</u> <u>IUL.</u> 26/06	Absent	fol. 69v (T): <i>Item eodem die sancti Maxentii.</i>	fol. 72v (T): <i>Eodem die Gaudenti Felicis.</i>	fol. 62v (T): <i>Item eodem die sancti Maxentii.</i>	Absent	fol. 126r (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Maxencii episcopi et confessoris.</i>
<u>V KL.</u> <u>IUL.</u> 27/06	fol. 62ra (M): <i>VII dormientium.</i>	Absent	fol. 73r (T): <i>Eodem die Rome Crispiani Venusti Eunucii Apollonii Dionisii.</i>	Absent	fol. 71v (T): <i>Eodem die VII dormiencium.</i>	Absent
<u>XVI.</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>AUG.</u> 17/07	fol. 68vab (T): <i>Eodem die Hispani apud Hispaniam natalis sanctarum Juste i Rufine [...]</i> fol. 68vb (M):	fol. 75v (M): <i>Eodem die Romae depositio beati Alexii confessoris.</i>	fol. 83v (T) <i>Eodem die Hispalii apud Hispaniam natalis sanctorum Iuste et Rufine.</i>	fol. 68v (T): <i>Eodem die Rome sancti Alexii confessoris.</i> Fol. 68v (M): <i>Ipsa die apud Yspaniam civitate Yspalii natalis sanctorum Juste et Rufine</i>	Absent	Absent

	<i>Eodem die Romae natalis sanctissimi ac beatissime Alexe confessoris.</i>					
<u>VII KL. AUG.</u> 26/07	Absent	Absent	fol. 87v (M): <i>Et natalis sancte Anne.</i>	fol. 71v (M): <i>Eodem die sancte Anne matris sancti Marie virginis.</i>	fol. 79v (M): <i>Eodem die natale sancte Anne matris beate Dei genitricis Marii.</i>	Absent
<u>VI KL. AUG.</u> 27/07	fol. 71vb (M): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Felicis Nolensis</i>	fol. 79r (T): <i>Item eodem die in civitate Nola sancti Felicis episcopi.</i>	fol. 88r (T): <i>Et in Nola civitate natalis sancti Felicis episcopi.</i>	fol. 71v (T): <i>Item eodem die in civitate Nola sancti Felicis episcopi.</i>	fol. 79v (M): <i>Item eodem die sancti Felicis martiris.</i>	Absent
<u>IV KL. AUG.</u> 29/07	Absent	fol. 79v (T): <i>Item ipso die sancti Symeonis.</i>	fol. 89v (T): <i>Aurelia civitate Prosperi episcopi.</i>	fol. 72v (T): <i>Item ipso die sancti Symeonis.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>VIII ID. AUG.</u> 6/08	fol. 76va (M): <i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi.</i>	fol. 84v (T): <i>Transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi.</i>	fol. 96r (M): <i>In monte Thabor transfiguratio Domini nostri Iesu Christi.</i>	fol. 76v (T): <i>Transfiguratio Domini in monte Tabor.</i>	fol. 84r (M): <i>Eodem die in monte [Tabor] transfiguratio d[omini] Iesu Christi.</i>	fol. 148r (T): <i>Eodem die transfiguratio Domini.</i>
<u>II ID. AUG.</u> 12/08	Absent	fol. 92v (T): <i>Eodem die septem dormientium.</i>	Absent	fol. 83R (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum septem dormientium.</i>	Absent	Absent

<u>XVIII</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 15/08	Absent	Absent	fol. 107v (T): <i>Eodem die Strationis presbyteri.</i>	Absent	fol. 92r (T): <i>Eodem die Strationis presbyteri, Lipi, Euthicii.</i>	Absent
<u>XVI</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 17/08	Absent	fol. 94r (T): <i>Octave sancti Laurentii.</i>	fol. 108v (T): <i>Eodem die octabas sancti Laurentii.</i>	fol. 85r (T): <i>Octave sancti Laurentii.</i>	fol. 92v (T): <i>Et octave sancti Laurentii.</i>	Absent
<u>X KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 23/08	Absent	fol. 96r (T): <i>Ipsa die sanctorum Iusti et Abundii.</i>	fol. 110v (T): <i>Eodem die in Aquileia natalis sanctorum Fortunati, Sixti, Fabiani episcopi. Dionisii episcopi.</i>	fol. 87r (T): <i>Ipsa die sanctorum Iusti et Habundi. Et vigilia sancti Bartolomei apostoli.</i>	fol. 93v (T): <i>Eodem die in Aquileia natalis sanctorum Fortunati, Sixti, Faviani episcopi. Dionisii episcopi.</i>	Absent
<u>IV KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 29/08	Absent	Absent	fol. 117v (T): <i>Et in Galliis civitate Arelatensi depositio sancti Cesarii episcopi et depositio sancti Helisei prophete discipuli Helie prophete et aliorum martyrum DCCCC.</i>	Absent	fol. 97v (T): <i>Et in Galliis civitate Arelatensi depositio sancti Cesarii episcopi, et depositio sancti Helisei prophete, discipuli Helie prophete et aliorum DCCCC martirum.</i>	Absent
<u>III KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 30/08	Absent	Absent	fol. 118v (T): <i>Eodem die Ianuarii presbyteri et Fortunaciani et Septimi lectorum. Sunt</i>	Absent	fol. 98r (T): <i>Eodem die Ienuaris presbyteri et Fortunaciani et Septimi lectorum</i>	Absent

			<i>autem iter Cartaginem euticam mille passum XXXV. Eodem die Gaudentie virginis cum tribus aliis.</i>		<i>sunt autem iter Cartaginem euticham mille passum XXXV. Eodem die Gaudencie virginis cum tribus aliis.</i>	
<u>KL.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 1/09	fol. 91vb (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Daniheli.</i> <i>Item ipso die sancti Egidii abbatis.</i>	fol. 101v (M): <i>Item eodem die aput provinciam sancti Egidii abbatis et confessoris cuius gesta habentur.</i>	fol. 119r (M): <i>Eodem die depositio sancti Ygidii abbatis et confessoris.</i>	fol. 92r (T): <i>Ipsa die transitus sancti Egidii abbatis sanctissimus et clarus miraculorum signis.</i>	fol. 98r (T): <i>Item sancti Egidii abbatis et sancti Danihelis.</i>	fol. 169r (T): <i>Ipsa die depositio beati Egidii abbatis admirande sanctitatis viri cuius vita extat miraculis gloriosa.</i>
<u>IV</u> <u>NON.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 2/09	fol. 91vb (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Anniceti et Fotine.</i>	fol. 101v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Aniceti cum reliquis.</i>	fol. 119r (T): <i>Et in Nichomedia Zenonis Gorgoni.</i>	fol. 92v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Aniceti cum reliquis.</i>	fol. 98v (T): <i>Et in Nichomedia Zenonis Gurgoni.</i>	Absent
<u>VIII</u> <u>ID.</u> <u>SEPT.</u> 6/09	Absent	Absent	fol. 122r (T): <i>Eodem die natale Basille virginis [...] Rome natalis sancti Donati et Eulotherii episcopi,</i>	Absent	fol. 122r (T): <i>Eodem die natale sancte Basille virginis [...] Rome natale sancti Donati et Eleutheri episcopi. In Capadocia sancti Cotidi.</i>	Absent
<u>IV</u> <u>ID.</u> <u>SEPT.</u>	Absent	Absent	fol. 125r (T): <i>Eodem die santi Salvii episcopi.</i>	fol. 97r (T):	fol. 102r (M): <i>Eodem die sancti Salvii Albiensis.</i>	fol. 97r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Salvii</i>

10.09				<i>Item eodem die sancti Salvii confessoris Christi.</i>		<i>episcopi Albiensis.</i>
<u>XII</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>OCT.</u> 20/09	Absent	Absent	ff. 132v–133r (M): <i>Eodem die passus sanctorum martyrum Bonose et Maximiani quorum iesta habentur.</i> <i>Eodem die Dormidonis Privati Felicis Constancie et vigilia sancti Mathei apostoli.</i>	fol. 102r (T): <i>Eodem die vigilia sancti Mathei apostoli et evangeliste.</i>	fol. 107r (T): <i>Eodem die passio sanctorum martyrum Bonosi et Maximiani quorum gesta habentur.</i> <i>Et vigilia sancti Mathei apostoli.</i>	Absent
<u>VII</u> <u>KL.</u> <u>OCT.</u> 25/09	Absent	Absent	fol. 136v (T): <i>In Asia natalis sanctorum Eucapii Bardoniani et aliorum XXVI.</i>	Absent	fol. 109v (T): <i>In Asia natalis sanctorum Euchapii Bardoniani et aliorum XXVI.</i>	Absent
<u>VI KL.</u> <u>OCT.</u> 26/09	Absent	fol. 115v (M): <i>Item eodem die celebratio sancti Gregorii pape.</i>	fol. 138r (T): <i>Eodem die depositio Eusebii episcopi et senatoris.</i>	fol. 105v (T): <i>Eodem die celebritas sancti Gregorii pape.</i>	fol. 110v (T): <i>Eodem die depositio Eusebii episcopi et senatoris.</i>	Absent
<u>NON.</u> <u>OCT.</u> 7/10	Absent	Absent	fol. 146r (T): <i>Ipsa die natalis sancti Lini pape.</i>	Absent	fol. 115v (T): <i>Ipsa die natalis sancti Lini pape.</i>	Absent
<u>VIII</u> <u>ID.</u> <u>OCT.</u>	Absent	Absent	fol. 146r (T): <i>In Antiochia natalis sancti Dionisii</i>	Absent	fol. 116r (T): <i>Et in Antiochia natale Dionisii</i>	Absent

8/10			<i>episcopi Ianuarii Faustini martiris Marcialis.</i>		<i>episcopi, Ianuarii Faustini martiris, Marcialis, Privati.</i>	
<u>III ID.</u> <u>OCT.</u> 13/10	fol. 110va (M): <i>Eodem die beati Geraldi</i>	fol. 122r (T): <i>Eodem die transitus Sancti Geraldi confessoris.</i>	fol. 147v (T): <i>In Calcedonia sancti Adriani.</i> <i>Item eodem die sancti Geraldi confessoris.</i>	fol. 112r (T): <i>Eodem die transitus sancti Geraldi confessoris.</i>	fol. 116v (T): <i>Festivitas sancti Geraldi.</i>	fol. 194v (T): <i>Eodem die depositio sancti Geraldi confessoris qui licet in laicali habitu Christiane religionis viriliter inherens, quem ad modum deo carus extiterit per miracula monstratum est quia vivens gessit et multipliciis post mortem operatur .</i>
<u>X KL.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 23/10	Absent	fol. 125r (M): <i>Apud Barchinonam translacio sancte Eulalie.</i>	fol. 152v (T): <i>Eodem die translatio corporis sancte Eulalie Barchinonae.</i>	fol. 116r (T): <i>Eodem die in Barchinona translatio corporis sancte Eulalie virginis.</i>	fol. 119v (T): <i>Eodem die translatio corporis sancte Eulalie Barchinonę.</i>	Absent
<u>VII KL.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 26/10	fol. 114ra (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum Luciani et Martiani.</i>	fol. 125v (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum Luciani et Martiani.</i>	fol. 153v (T): <i>In Nichomedia natalis sanctorum Luciani Marciani.</i>	fol. 116v (T): <i>Eodem die sanctorum Luciani et Marciani martirum.</i>	fol. 120r (T): <i>In Nichomedia natale sanctorum Luciani, Marciani, Flori et Errandi.</i>	Absent

<u>VI KL.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 27/10	Absent	Absent	fol. 153v (T): <i>Eodem die vigilia Symonis et Taddei.</i>	fol. 116v (T): <i>Vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Iude.</i>	fol. 120r (T): <i>Et vigilia Simonis et Taddei.</i>	Absent
<u>V KL.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 28/10	Absent	Absent	fol. 153v (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sancte Susanne.</i>	Absent	fol. 120v (T): <i>Eodem die natale sancte Susanne.</i>	Absent
<u>VII ID.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 7/11	Absent	fol. 129r (T): <i>Item eodem die sanctorum martyrum Felicis presbyteri, Fortunati et Achillei diaconorum.</i>	Codicological loss	fol. 120r (T): <i>Item eodem die sanctorum martyrum Felicis presbyteri, Fortunati et Achillei diachonorum.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>V ID.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 9/11	fol. 117vb (M): <i>Eodem die Passio Ymaginis Domini Salvatoris que crucifixa est a Iudeus in Berito ciutate.</i>	fol. 129v (M): <i>Natalis et celebracio de Imagine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi que acta est in tempore Constantini iunioris quem modo totus mundus sub magna reverencia concelebrat.</i>	Codicological loss	fol. 120v (T): <i>Celebritas Ymaginis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi que inventa est in Berito civitate tempore Constantini iunioris quam totus mundus magna sub veneratione concelebrat.</i>	fol. 124r (M): <i>Eodem die Passio Imaginis Domini Salatoris que crucifixa est a Iudeis in Berito civitate.</i>	fol. 205r (T): <i>Passio Ymaginis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi qualiter crucifixa est in Syria in quandam urbe que Beritus dicitur temporibus Constantini Iunioris et Hyrene uxoris eius. Scripsit in libello beatissimus</i>

						<i>Athanasius Alaxandrine [sic] urbis episcopus.</i>
<u>ID.</u> <u>NOV.</u> 13/11	Absent	Absent	Codicological loss	fol. 121v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Minatis martiris.</i>	fol. 125r (T): <i>Et sancti Minatis.</i>	Absent
<u>V KL.</u> <u>DEC.</u> 27/11	Absent	fol. 137r (M): <i>Apud Galleciam super Zeia [...] passio sanctorum martirum Facundi et Primitivi quorum gesta habentur [...]</i>	Absent	fol. 128r (T): <i>Apud Galleciam in strata super fluvium Zeia sanctorum martirum Facundi et Primitivi quorum gesta habentur.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>II</u> <u>NON.</u> <u>DEC.</u> 4/12	Absent	Absent	fol. 166v (T): <i>Eodem die sancti patris nostri Sebe.</i>	Absent	fol. 134r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti patris nostri Sibe.</i>	Absent
<u>VII ID.</u> <u>DEC.</u> 7/12	Absent	fol. 140r (T): <i>Octave sancti Andree apostoli.</i>	Absent	fol. 131r (T): <i>Octave sancti Andree apostoli.</i> <i>Et apud Spoletum natalis sancti Sabini episcopi et martiris.</i>	Absent	Absent
<u>VI ID.</u> <u>DEC.</u>	Absent	fol. 140v (T): <i>Eodem die natalis</i>	fol. 167rv (T): <i>Et in Sidonem civitatem natalis</i>	fol. 131v (T): <i>Eodem die beati Zenonis martiris.</i>	fol. 134v (T): <i>Et in Sydonem civitatem natalis</i>	Absent

8/12		<i>sancti Zenonis martyris.</i>	<i>sancti Zenobii presbiteri et martyris sub Diocletiano [...]</i>		<i>sanctorum Thenobii presbyteri et martiris.</i>	
<u>V ID.</u> <u>DEC.</u> 9/12	fol. 127vb (M): <i>Eodem die natalis sanctorum Siri et Yventi.</i>	Absent	fol. 167v (T): <i>Item eodem die natalis sancti Siri episcopi papie.</i> <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Silvani Emesene urbis episcopi [...].</i>	fol. 131v (T): <i>Apud Papiam Ytalię civitatem natalis sancti Syrie episcopi et confessoris.</i>	fol. 134v (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Silvani Emesene urbis episcopi [...]</i> <i>Item eodem die natalis sancti Syri papie [sic].</i>	Absent
<u>III ID.</u> <u>DEC.</u> 11/12	fol. 128rb (T): <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Pauli Narbonę</i>	VicM ₂ , fol. 119v (T) ¹ : <i>Eodem die natalis sancti Pauli Narbonensis episcopi et confessoris.</i>	fol. 168v (T): <i>In Galliis civitate Narbonensis natalis sancti Pauli confessoris.</i>	fol. 132r (T): <i>Eodem die festivitas sancti Pauli Narbonensis episcopi et confessoris.</i>	fol. 135r (T): <i>Eodem die sancti Pauli Narbonensis.</i>	fol. 219r (T): <i>Eodem die in Galliis civitate Narbone natalis et celebratio sancti Pauli ipsius urbis episcopi [...].</i>

¹VicM₁ stops on the IV ID. DEC. The text from the III ID. DEC. is reproduced from the second martyrology of Vic (VicM₂ – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 128B (1061; ff. 1ra–122vb).

Appendix III. Catalan Copies of the *Apparitio*

All of the changes in the edition of these Catalan texts, distinct from the edition of *Acta Sanctorum* (AASS, the first column) or Waitz (W)², are highlighted according to a certain typology: 1) changes to the *word forms or grammar* are put in italics; 2) changes to the word order are underlined; 3) the **added words or those words with a changed sense** are highlighted in bold; 4) the ~~omitted~~ words are crossed out. Finally, the [text in brackets] means the description of the abbreviations added by copyists between the lines (in the case of SC) or my reconstruction because of the lacuna (in the case of V₂). The corrections put by the copyists in the texts are shown like this: multitud[~~o~~ corr. for –ine]

Taking into account the later edition by G. Waitz, a number of the changes do not belong only to the Catalan copies. Looking through early medieval versions of the *Apparitio* from the tenth and eleventh centuries, it can be seen that both proposed editions, in the *Acta Sanctorum* and by G. Waitz, have captured the most common variations. For example, it concerns variations of word forms such as *gregis/congregis* or of word replacements such as **Apulie finibus/Campanie finibus**. The comparison between the Catalan copies among themselves does not bring any proportional modifications to the statistics. The results demonstrate that even though some variations were taken into consideration by the existing critical editions, a considerable number of them are only contained in the Catalan copies.

Manuscripts for the text in this edition:

SC – Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 21, ff. 212vb–213ra (middle 10th century), monastery Sant Cugat del Vallès

R – Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ripoll Ms. 74, fol. 156v (end 10th/beginning 11th century), monastery Santa Maria de Ripoll

V₁ – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 44, ff. 144vb–145rb (1064), Cathedral chapter of Vic

V₂ – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. X/5 (11th century), parish church Sant Genis de Taradell (Diocese of Vic)

V₃ – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XXIV/4 (11th century), Vic or diocese of Vic

² *Apparitio* was edited by the Bollandists (BHL 5948, AASS Septembris VIII, col. 60–63), then by G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878), pp. 541–43.

N	AASS	SC	R	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃
1			<p>Anno quingentisimo trizesimo VI ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi indicione quarta decima secundum cronica octavo idus Maias inventio erit beati Michaelis archangeli in Monte Gargano regnante Zenon imperatore in Constantinopolitana urbe Gelasius papa urbe Rome Laurencius antistes civitate Sipontine sedis Garganus magister militum prephate civitate ad laudem Domini nostri Iesu Christi</p>			<p>Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi DXXXVI temporibus videlicet Zenonis imperatoris Constantinopolitane urbis et Gelasii pape Romane urbis et Laurencii antistitis civitatis Sipontis indicione XIII VIII idus Maii a Gargano magistro militum prefate civitatis inventum est specus in monte Gargano ubi in honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi</p>

2	Memoriam beati Michaelis archangeli toto orbe venerandam, ipsius et opera condita, et consecrata nomine, demonstrat ecclesia.	Memoriam beati <u>archangeli Michaelis</u> toto <i>horbe</i> venerandam, ipsius et opera condita, et consecrata nomine, demonstrat ecclesia.	et memoriam beati <u>archangeli Michaelis</u> toto orbe venerandam, ipsius et opere <i>conditam</i> , et consecratam nomine, demonstrat <i>aeclesia</i> .	Memoriam beati Michaelis archangeli toto orbe venerandam, ipsius enim et opere condita, et consecrata nomine, demonstrat ecclesia.	Memoriam beati Michahelis archangeli toto orbe venerandam, ipsius enim et opere <i>conditam</i> , et consecratam nomine, demonstrat ecclesiam.	et memoriam beati <u>archangeli Michaelis</u> toto orbe venerandam, ipsius et opera condita, et consecrata nomine habetur ecclesia.
3	Quae non metallorum fulgore, sed privilegio commendata signorum, vili facta scemate, sed celesti est predata virtute,	Que non metallorum fulgore, sed privilegio <i>comendata</i> signorum, vili facta scemate, sed celesti est <i>praedic</i> [e corr. for -ta] ta virtute,	Que non metallorum fulgore, sed privilegio id est dei beneficia commendata signorum, vili facta scemate hoc est ubi paradoxia fiunt sed celesti est predata virtute,	Que non metallorum fulgore, privilegio commendata signorum, vile facta scemate, sed celesti (W) est predata virtute,	Que non metallorum fulgore, privilegio <i>comendata</i> signorum, vile facta scemate, sed celestis est predata virtute,	Quae non metallorum fulgore, sed privilegio commendata signorum, vili facta scemate, sed celesti est predata virtute,
4	utpote quam fragilitatis humanae memor Archangelus e celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalibus supernorum	utpote <i>quia</i> fragilitatis humane memor Archangelus, <i>de</i> celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalibus supernorum	utpote <i>cum</i> fragilitatis humane memor Archangelus e celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalium <u>societatem</u> <u>supernorum</u> , propria	utpote quam fragilitatis humanae memor Archangelus, e celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalibus supernorum	utpote quam fragilitas humane memor Archangelus, e celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalibus supernorum	utpote quam fragilitatis humane memor Archangelus, e celo veniens, ad promerendam ibi mortalium supernorum

	societatem, propria manu sibi condere est dignatus.	societatem, propria <u>sibi manu</u> condere est dignatus [ecclesiam].	<u>sibi manu</u> condere est dignatus.	societatem, propria vel sua manu sibi condere <u>dignatus est</u> (W).	societatem, propria vel sua manum sibi condere <u>dignatus est</u> (W).	societatem, propria sua manu sibi condere est dignatus.
5	Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem saxi, speluncae instar, praecavata ostenditur.	Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem <i>saxeo</i> (W), speluncae instar praecavata ostenditur.	Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem <i>saxeo</i> (W) speluncae instar praecavata ostenditur.	Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem <i>saxo</i> speluncae instar praecavato ostenditur.	Verticem siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem <i>saxo</i> speluncae instar praecavato ostenditur.	Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore ejusdem <i>saxo</i> speluncae instar praecavato ostenditur.
6	Est autem locus in Campaniae finibus: ubi inter sinum Adriaticum et montem Garganum civitas Sipontus posita est: qui a moenibus civitatis ad duodecim millia passuum praerectus, in cacumine suo supremo beati Michaelis	Est autem locus in Neapolie finibus: ubi inter sinum <i>Adriaticum</i> et montem Garganum civitas Sipontus <i>sita</i> est: qui a moenibus civitatis ad duodecim <i>milia</i> (W) passus <i>erectus</i> , in cacumine suo (W) <i>sub</i> supremo beati Michaelis (W)	Est autem locus in Apulie (W) finibus: ubi inter sinum mare Adriaticum et montem Garganum civitas Sipontis <i>sita</i> est: qui a moenibus civitatis ad XII millia passuum <i>erectus</i> , in cacumine suo (W) supremo beati <u>archangeli Michaelis</u> , quam praefatus sum, gestat ecclesia.	Hanc mortalibus hoc modo <i>condita</i> . Libellus in eadem aecclesia <i>compositus</i> demonstrat .	Hac mortalibus hoc modo <i>condita</i> . Libellus in eadem ecclesia <i>compositus</i> demonstrat .	Est autem locus in Apulie (W) finibus: ubi inter sinum maris Adriatici et montem Garganum civitas Sipontis posita est: qui a moenibus civitatis ad duodecim <i>milia</i> passuum <i>erectus</i> , in cacumine suo supremo beati <u>archangeli Michaelis</u> ,

	archangeli, quam praefatus sum, gestat ecclesiam.	archangeli quam praefatus sum, <i>iestat</i> ecclesiam.				quam praefatus sum gestat ecclesiam
7	Hanc mortalibus hoc modo cognitam, libellus, in eadem ecclesia positus, indicat.	Hanc mortalibus hoc modo <i>conditam</i> , libellus, in eadem <i>aeclesia</i> positus, indicat.	Hac mortalibus hoc modo <i>cognita</i> , libellus, in eadem ecclesia positus, indicat.	Est autem locus in Campanie finibus: <i>ibi</i> inter <i>sinu</i> Adriaticum et montem Garganum civitas <i>Seponte</i> posita est: <i>que a</i> moenibus civitatis ad duodecim <i>milibus passuum</i> praerectis, in cacumine suo supremo beati Michaelis archangeli, quam praefatus sum hanc toto orbe venerandam , gestat ecclesiam que hoc modo mortalibus <i>cognita est</i> .	Est autem locus in Campanie finibus: <i>ibi</i> inter <i>sinu</i> Adriaticum et monte Garganum civitas <i>Seponte</i> posita est. <i>Que a</i> moenibus civitatis duodecim <i>milibus passuum</i> praerectis, in cacumine suo supremo beati Michaelis archangeli, quam praefatu[s sum] hanc toto orbe venerandam , gestat ecclesiam que hoc modo mortali[bus] <i>[co]gnita est</i> .	que mortalibus hoc modo <i>cognita est</i> .
8	Erat in eadem civitate praedives	Erat in <i>ea</i> civitate vir praedives quidem	Erat in <i>ea</i> civitate Sipontus vir dives	Erat autem in <i>ea</i> civitate <u>quidam</u> homo	Erat in <i>ea</i> civitate <u>quidam</u> homo	Erat in eadem civitate Sipontis vir

	quidam, nomine Garganus, qui et ex eventu suo monti vocabulum indidit.	et nomine Garganus, qui et ex eventu suo monti vocabulum indidit.	quidam, nomine praephatu s Garganus, magister militum qui et ex eventu suo montis vocabulum indidit.	<u>praedives</u> , nomine Garganus, qui et ex eventu nominis sui monti vocabulum indidit.	<u>praedives</u> , nomine Garganus, qui et ex eventu nominis sui monti <i>uu</i> ocabulum indidit.	quidam <i>dives</i> , nomine Garganus, magister militum qui et ex <i>ad</i> ventu suo monti vocabulum indidit.
9	Hujus dum pecora, quorum infinita multitudine pollebat, passim per divexi montis latera pascerentur, contigit taurum armenti congregis consortia spernentem, singularem incedere solitum, et ad extremum, redeunte pecore, domum non esse regressum.	Huius dum <i>peccoria</i> , quorum infinita multitud[o corr. for -ine] pollebat, passim per dive[s corr. for -xi] montis later[e corr. for -a] pascerentur, contigit taurum armenti congregis consortia spernentem, singularem incedere solitum, ad extremum, redeunte <i>peculia</i> , domum non esse regressum.	Huius dum pecculia , quorum infinita multitudine pollebat, partim per <i>devexi</i> (W) montis latera pascerentur, contigit taurum mire magnitudinis decorum armenti congregis consortia spernentem, singularem incedere solitum, et ad extremum, redeuntibus peculiis , domum non esse regressum.	Cujus dum pecora, infinita multitudine pollebant, partem per <i>devexi</i> (W) montis latera pascebantur, contigit taurum armenti <i>gregis</i> consortia spernentem, singularem incedere <i>solitudine</i> , et ad extrema, quoque redeunte pecora, domum non esse regressum.	Cujus dum pecora, infinita multitudine pollebat, partem per <i>devexi</i> montis latera pascebantur, contigit taurum armenti <i>gregis</i> consortia spernentem, singularem incedere <i>solitudine</i> , et ad extrema, quoque redeunte pecora, domum non esse regressum.	Cujus pecculia , quorum infinita multitudine pollebat, dum passim per <i>devexi</i> montis latera pascerentur, contigit taurum decorum mire magnitudinis armenti <i>gregis</i> consortia spernentem, singularem incedere solitum, et ad extremum, redeuntibus peculiis , domum non esse regressum.
10	Quem dominus, collecta servorum multitudine, per devia quaeque	Quem dominus, collecta servorum multitudine, per devia quaeque	Quem dominus, collecta servorum multitudine, per devia quaeque requirens,	Quem dominus, collecta <i>multitudine servorum</i> (W), per diversa quaeque	Quem dominus, collecta [mul] <i>titudine servorum</i> (W), per	Quem dominus, collecta servorum multitudine, per devia quaeque

	requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam assistere speluncae	requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam <i>adsistere</i> spelunce	invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam assistere spel[the text cuts off]	requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam assistere spelunce	diversa queque requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam assistere spelunce	requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam assistere spelunce
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Certificat de direcció

Títol de la tesi: Religion, Imagination and Politics in Post-Carolingian Catalonia (10th–12th cc.)

Programa del doctorat: Cultures en Contacte a la Mediterrània

Departament: Departament de Ciències de l'Antiguitat i de l'Edat Mitjana

Facultat: Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres

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(Prof. Dr. Matthias M. Tischler)