FROM THE FAR NORTH TO FINISTERRE

Cultural transformation in Norway and Castile in the 12th - 13th centuries. The Church as an agent of Europeanization

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Chapter I: Introduction.

Whereas there has been research done on the cultural exchanges between the Scandinavian Christian kingdoms and the Baltic, and between Scandinavia and its relationship to the cultural centres of Medieval Europe, its relationship with other European semi-peripheries and the transformations that new cultural influences from the centres underwent in the semi-peripheries has received little attention. The only exception is Kurt Villads Jensen’s Korstog ved verdens yderste land, which reviews the general European crusade movement and compares Denmark and Portugal as crusader states. With this background in mind, I would like to do similar research on the cultural diffusion and the reshaping of the medieval European culture in Norway and Castile in the 12th and 13th centuries.

From the Christianization of Norway and the creation of the kingdom of Castile in the 11th century these two areas started to receive a strong and continuous influx of culture from France, the centre of the medieval European culture. This cultural diffusion has been thought of as one-sided, from an active centre to passive peripheries, which received these influences as a whole and implemented them without changes or adaptations. However, in this work I will argue that Norway and Castile in the 12th and 13th centuries were not peripheries of the medieval European culture, but semi-peripheries whom in turn became centres of cultural diffusion for their own peripheries. Moreover, I will argue that Norway and Castile were not passive receivers of the culture coming from the medieval European centre, but actively changed it and reshaped it according to their own circumstances and needs, effectively creating a culture that was both local and European.

I will argue my case by focusing on the Church as an agent of Europeanization and discussing three different cases. In the first case, I will analyse the role of the archbishops Diego Gelmírez and Eysteinn Erlendsson in the Europeanization process of their respective countries, with attention to the Gregorian Reform they tried to implement and the development of the saints’ cults of Santiago and St. Olav. In the second case, I will analyse the pilgrim routes to Santiago de Compostela and Niðarós in their function as connectors between the semi-peripheries. In the third case, I will review the Marian miracles and the cult of Mary as an example of shared common culture between the centre and the semi-peripheries; and how these miracles were reshaped by each periphery in order to fully adapt them to its circumstances and background. By discussing these three cases I hope to reach some conclusions regarding the reshaping of European ideas in Norway and Castile.
Definition of terms.

For this work several terms need to be defined. First of all, I will start with the geographical terms. “Norway” is understood as the territories that belonged to Norway within the timeline I am using. Iceland would be taken into account as well, because its cultural production was closely linked to Norway, specially the culture emanating from the Church centres.

With “Castile”, I will refer to the territories under its dominion within the timeline. Its territory changed and expanded during this time, due to the Reconquista efforts. During the times that Leon and Castile shared the same king, this kingdom will be taken into account as well, as it was heavily influenced and under the cultural orbit of Castile.

Now that the geographical framework is defined, I shall my concept of culture. For that, I will use the interpretation given by Geertz in his book *The interpretation of cultures* defining it as a “historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life”. ¹

In this definition, a single word should be further defined: “symbol”. Again, I will go with the definition of Geertz, who considers a symbol to be “any object, act, event, quality or relation that serves as a vehicle for a conception – the conception is the symbol’s “meaning””.² This definition has been criticized by Chartier for being too broad, but in my opinion it needs to be, as the culture is reflected in all aspects of a society. Thus, we can find that some aspect in a society (for example, loyalty) can be symbolized in many ways: by an object, a ritualized event or even an animal.

Sources and method.

The primary sources I will be working with are narrative. For Norway and in Old Norse, I will use the sagas *Heimskringla* and *Orkneyinga saga*, and the miracles of *Maríu saga*; along with selected laws of the Gulathing. In Latin, I will use *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi*. For Castile and in Latin I will be using different books of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and the chronicle *Historia Compostellana*. I will also work with the miracle collection *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, in Old Castilian. The Latin manuscript Ms. Thott 128 of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, containing the *Miracula Beate Marie Virginis* will be reviewed too. These

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¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Basic books, 1973), p. 89
² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation...* p. 91
sources will be introduced in greater detail once they become relevant. All the translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

As mentioned my sources are all narrative. The events described in my sources may or may not have actually happened. As Burke warns, one can be tempted to treat the texts as a “mirror, unproblematic reflections of their time”. Writers may distort the truth, invent, embellish or simply lie. Yet, as Burckhardt noted, even when they lie they give “involuntary testimony”; they can show their motivations, ideas or beliefs about what they are writing, and they can show us the why. Even if the source used is completely false (for example an epic saga or a miracle legend) it can still be relevant to my purposes, as it can still perfectly show cultural, religious or ideological influence. Both for the Norse and the Castilian sources, the writer or compiler, the sponsor and the intended audience play an important part in the shaping of the story. With the point of view of the writer and his motivation in mind, we can interpret the sources in a more objective way.

As we encounter the sources, I shall discuss how to find and extract relevant data from them. For that purpose, I shall ask and answer several questions: Who is the writer? How does his background reflect on his writing? Who is he writing for? How does this affect his message? After finding the information I am looking for, theory and method are needed to discern its meaning. This is especially important in cultural studies in general, as we will not be talking of actual facts but of the more abstract concept of culture. Method emanates from a historical theory, determining what kind of knowledge we can have of the past, and how this knowledge is assembled, constructed and presented.

Once we leave the narrow view of the event, proving our theories become more and more complicated. If one wants to prove an event, one just need a reliable source, but how this event is interpreted, its meaning, its correlation to other events (and even the reliability of the source itself) depends on the theoretical approach used, and the method used to extract the data that is being interpreted in the light of this historical theory.

This brings us to the problem of objectively analysing something as inherently subjective as ideas. Shafer considers ideas subjective facts but with real effect upon the events of history. He considers that, once we start speaking about ideas, we move from demonstrable proof to

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inference. However, these ideas are important to note, as they influenced past events and our interpretation of them. Thus the question that arises is if a fact can be subjective. In my opinion, a fact is something proven to be true, even if it is an event – for example, a battle – or an idea; for example, the idea that the Jews sacrifice Christian children. Following this example, the idea that Jews sacrifice Christian children in weird – and nearly satanic – rituals give us both a subjective fact (an idea that, even though it was widespread, was not accepted by everyone and it was not based in any real event) and an objective fact: the racism against Jews in medieval Spain. Ideas are, in my opinion, always subjective, as the men who have them are shaped by the culture they are in, but they still affect real and objective events. The notion of subjectivity of the ideas does not mean, then, that we cannot find and interpret them objectively.

**Theoretical approach.**

Cultural studies are hardly new in historiography. Arcangeli\(^6\) saw a difference between “History of Culture” and “Cultural History”: the first refers only to the history of a culture, excluding other fields that I also find important, like economy, politics and literature. On the other hand, cultural history encompasses the study of all the perceptions and manifestations of the object of study, in one or more fields. Moreover, each culture has a different way to see and understand the world, and thus, a different way to approach it and relate to it, leading to differences in politics, economy and culture. The culture is shaped by the circumstances the people lives in. Due to this, I do not expect to find only a mere transposition of cultural traits between the centre and the peripheries, but I expect them to have changed according to the culture they became part of.

In his book *Varieties of Cultural History*, Peter Burke gives four objections to the history of mentalities, which I find interesting and relevant to my approach.\(^7\)

The first objection given is the tendency of historians to treat alien cultures (and a culture dating 900 – 500 years prior to us is in fact alien, even if we think it is our own or the roots of our own) with a high degree of homogeneity, i.e., “they overestimate the degree of intellectual consensus in a given society in the past”. All cultures have internal variations, so I shall never argue that all people of a given class or society knew of, agreed with or participated in some

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\(^7\) Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Great Britain: Polity Press, 1997), p. 170-175.
cultural idea, but that a significant part of them did, while it was neither unknown nor produced a cultural shock among the rest.

The second objection Burke gives is what he calls “the problem of change, or variation over time”, i.e., the difficulty to explain how and when one mentality changes for another. It is, though, a problem already addressed and answered, as Burke himself admits. As my topic is cultural transmission, I will actually focus on the changes themselves in a given culture under the influence of the ideas of another.

The third objection given is the treatment of belief systems as autonomous, with no connection between beliefs and society. However, I consider that culture is shaped by the circumstances people live in, so I won’t think of Castilian and Norwegian culture as separate cultures that interact in an abstract space with no connection to the people who actually lived into and shaped these cultures.

The fourth objection is that mentalities are built on evolutionism and on the contrast between logical and pre-logical thought made by Lévy-Bruhl. It seems to me quite an old and obsolete objection, though; even Lévy-Bruhl himself rejected this notion over half a century ago.

The complexity of culture as an object of study has led to a different methodological approach. As I am searching for the meaning, and not the fact, using a methodology based on the recompilation and analysis of serial data is not useful. As Darton argues⁸ “They [the sources] give off meaning, and thus, need to be read, not counted”. It is what he called an “anthropological mode of History”. To understand a culture, Chartier adds,

“(...) is above all to retrace the signification invested in the symbolic forms culture makes use of. There is only one way to do this: to go ‘back and forth between the texts and contexts’; to compare each specific and localized use of one symbol or another to the world of significance that lends it meaning”.⁹

On the other hand, Arcangeli notes¹⁰ that this anthropological mode of History presents a question that should be addressed in a historical study: time scale has little importance in anthropology, while it cannot be overlooked in history, as the cultural meanings of the symbols and representations depend on the context, i.e., on the historical circumstances they

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⁹ Roger Chartier, *Cultural History :* p. 96
¹⁰ Alessandro Arcangeli, *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction* …
are in. Since historical context and cultural framework are equally important, the approach of this thesis will be chronological.

**Historiography.**

The Europeanization process in the Middle Ages has been receiving attention in the last two decades, since Robert Bartlett published *The Making of Europe* in 1993. In this book, Bartlett argues that the cultural centre of Europe (basically France, England and some parts of the Holy Roman Empire) started a process of colonization in the late 12th century when their aristocracies expanded to other parts of Europe. Bartlett considers this expansion as the central point of the making of the European identity, later seen in the colonizing society the Europeans made when America was discovered. Bartlett commits most of his book to explaining the changes this expansion made in the cultural periphery of Europe. However, he sees this cultural change as imposed by a colonizing aristocracy and unchanged by the peripheral actors, who end up as passive receivers of this new “European” culture.

R. I. Moore’s *The First European Revolution* was published in 2000, also dealing with the Europeanization of Europe. As the title suggest, Moore argues that between the late 10th to the early 13th century, Europe was immersed in a revolution of its social and cultural structures, which created what we understand now as Europe as a cultural entity. Moreover, he argues that these transformations needed extensive popular participation and were heavily influenced by the conscious intentions of the people involved in the political processes that lead to it. As Bartlett, he considers that there was an expansionary, colonizing process in the 9th and 10th centuries, done in order to extend the city-supporting society; yet he considers the expansionary movements of the 12th and the 13th centuries in Eurasia as an outcome of the “first European revolution”.

Dealing specifically with Scandinavia and the Baltic, Nils Blomkvist published in 2005 *The discovery of the Baltic. The reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075-1225)*. In this book, Blomkvist examines how the Baltic was Europeanized and the Scandinavian involvement in it, by cultural exchange, war and trade. Blomkvist focuses his attention on the state formation and the nation-building processes in these areas, arguing that the Church and the Gregorian Reform provided the necessary basis for these areas to be included in the European cultural sphere. For explaining this process Blomkvist adapts
Wallerstein and Braudel’s economical world-system to the Middle Ages, not in terms of economy but of culture.

In addition, Blomkvist differentiates the areas in another manner: instead of thinking of a French centre surrounded by a periphery, he divides Europe in a core centre a semi-periphery and a periphery. According to Blomkvist, each division had different cultural background and stages of development, and thus reacted differently to the process of Europeanization. In its introduction, Blomkvist mentions Castile mostly as a periphery, but he does not elaborate.

There has not been published any study comparing Castile and Norway as semi-peripheries or peripheries and their relationship to the centre, but some research has been done concerning the cultural exchanges between Scandinavia and the Iberian Christian kingdoms during the Middle Ages, especially in the Viking Age. Even so, those studies do not relate to cultural exchange, but merely point out the Viking raids in the Iberian Peninsula and their military and economic impact.

Vicente Almazán did explore the matter in his book *Gallaecia Scandinavica* (1986), which deals with the contact between the Scandinavian kingdoms and Galicia during the Middle Ages. The first part of the book is dedicated to the Viking raids in Galicia, and the second to the cultural exchanges after the Christianisation of Scandinavia. Almazán dedicates one chapter to the Scandinavian crusaders and the first pilgrims coming to Santiago, but he merely points out the facts: when did they come and leave and what did they do according to the sources. The next two chapters are about pilgrimage, paying special attention to Birgitta of Vadstena. Here he starts giving information that can be interesting for my research. He speaks about the influence of Santiago in the Norwegian and Danish patronymics and toponymy. Focusing on the cult of Santiago, he goes further in the next chapters, following the influence of Santiago in the Scandinavian medieval confraternities and the presence of the Jacob’s scallop in the iconography of the Scandinavian countries, in their flags, churches and heraldry. He has a last chapter about Galicia in the Scandinavian literature of the Middle Ages, but it is basically a list of sagas where Galicia is mentioned. The book, thus, is good as an introduction but lacks discussion about the cultural exchanges; most of the time it merely points out examples. Besides, it is one-sided: Nothing is said about the influence of Scandinavia in Galicia.

A work comparing the Iberian Christian Kingdoms and Scandinavia during the Middle Ages is Marlen Ferrer’s Phd. dissertation *Emotions in Motion: Emotional Diversity in 13th Century Spanish and Norse Society*, defended at the University of Oslo (2008). Ferrer proposes that
medieval society had a more complex and diverse emotional culture than recognized by the historians. She intends to prove this by using a wide range of sources, both literary and historical. She covers a wide range of emotions for all the Scandinavian kingdoms and almost all of the Iberian Christian ones (Navarra is missing). She underlines the importance of religious influence and considers that, at least in some chronicles, for example in *Chronica of Jaume I*, «it is culture speaking through Jaume I»\(^\text{11}\). However, her dissertation does not compare culture but emotions themselves. Even though, in these emotions, especially in the ones that respond to a learned cultural behaviour (for example, the sense of what is honourable and what is not) one may find links of cultural exchange between these two areas.

We can find articles dealing with a particular kingdom. In the case of Norway, «Norwegian crusaders and the Balearic islands» of Gary B. Doxley (1996) deals with the expedition of Sigurðr I. The author discusses if it was a crusade or a pilgrimage, concluding that it was a crusade, and aprecursor of the later Pisan – Aragonese crusade. This may seem irrelevant from a cultural point of view, but in order to reach to his conclusion, Doxley reviews the sources in search for Sigurðr’s motivations and ideology.

**Historical framework.**

*Castile in the 12\(^{th}\) and 13\(^{th}\) centuries.*\(^\text{12}\)

The first half of the 12\(^{th}\) century was marked by civil wars and political unrest in the kingdom of Castile. Urraca, queen since her father’s death in 1109 quarrelled with her husband, the king of Aragon Alfonso I, who attacked Castile in an attempt to gain control of several places close to the frontier. Besides, the marriage agreement between Urraca and Alfonso I excluded Urracas’ son from her first marriage, Alfonso Raimundez, from the lineage to the throne, in favour of the offspring they could eventually have. A part of the Galician nobility, along with the archbishop of Santiago, Diego Gelmírez, turned against the queen on Alfonso Raimundez’s behalf and crowned him – still a little child – king of Galicia in 1111.

Urraca and Alfonso finally separated on the ground of consanguinity, without issue, but the war with Aragon continued, along with the internal struggles with the nobility favouring the


\(^{12}\) For a longer explanation not only for Castile, but all the Iberian Peninsula, see Vicente A. Álvarez Palenzuela, ed., *Historia de España en la Edad Media*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona: Ariel Historia, 2008).
young king Alfonso Raimundez (now Alfonso VII). Finally, the queen Urraca died in 1126 and Alfonso VII was crowned king of León and Castile. He continued fighting against his former stepfather to regain control of the parts of Castile occupied by Aragon. He secured the kingdom after the treaty of Tábara in 1134, spurring on his ambition to become the emperor of Spain. He was crowned as such in 1135, after gaining the vassalage of Aragón, Navarra, the county of Barcelona, Tolouse, Gascony and Urgel. As part of this imperial agenda, he also continued the Reconquista, being the most important event the Reconquista of Almería (1147), which attracted international help, especially from Genoa.

He also divided his territories between his sons, so that after his death in 1157 his first-born, Sancho (Sancho III) inherited the most important kingdom, Castile; and the second-born, Fernando (Fernando II) inherited Leon. Alfonso VII represented the last flame of the Leonese imperial idea, now succeeded by an idea of autonomy and disaggregation between the kingdoms, which nonetheless had a sense of unity as part of Christendom and the Reconquista.

Sancho III died only a year later, in 1158, leaving as his heir a 3-years-old, Alfonso VIII (1155 – 1214), and problems in the frontiers of Castile with the other kingdoms, eager to expand at its expense.

In 1170, after a long period of instability and internal quarrels between the noblemen for the regency, Alfonso VIII was proclaimed an adult and married Leonor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry II of England, who brought Gascony as dowry. The marriage with Leonor marked the entrance of a new wave of cultural influences in the hands of troubadours, scholars and other courtmen who came along with her, becoming the court a new cultural motor. The reign of Alfonso VIII is marked, thus, by a strong cultural progress: He also founded the Studium Generale of Palencia, enhanced Toledo as a centre for translation of scientific and cultural works in Arabic and opened the kingdom to a closer and more fluid relation with other European cultural centres.

Alfonso VIII renewed the Reconquista effort, which had been paralyzed after his defeat in Alarcos (1195). In order to gather more resources and combatants, he obtained a bull of Crusade from the pope Innocent III, and engaged the Almohad caliph in the battle of the Navas de Tolosa (1212), which turned to be a great victory for Castile, and marked the start of the decline of the Muslim presence in Iberian territory.
Two years later, in 1214, Alfonso VIII died and his son Enrique I inherited the kingdom, but died childless only three years later, in 1217. The heir was his sister Berenguela, married to the king of Leon. She refused in favour of her son, Fernando III. In Fernando III (1201 – 1252) the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were again reunited under the same king. Fernando III was very pious and devoted especially to Mary, which gained him the nickname “the saint” (el santo). He instilled this devotion in his son, the king Alfonso X (1221 – 1284), who composed a long book of Marian miracles, called Cántigas de Santa María.

Norway in the 12th and 13th centuries.\(^{13}\)

The first decades of the 12th century were a period of peace, broken in the 1130s by several conflicts that lasted, with interludes, until 1240. Those conflicts have been called, somewhat anachronistically, the “civil wars”.\(^{14}\) The traditional rules of succession, which allowed all male descendants of a king to claim the throne and be recognized by any local assembly (though the Eyraþing in Trondheim seemed to have a special status for royal elections) provoked a series of wars between claimants and kings sharing the throne during this period. The Law of Succession of 1163/64, which introduced individual succession and clear laws of election, was more an attempt to secure the king Magnús Erlingsson in the throne than a response to the actual problem, and was followed by an intensification of the struggles between the claimants.

These divisions have been explained in many terms, from family-clan relations to ideological differences, such as the battle between a church dominated by the king and the Libertas ecclesiae. The statement in the sagas saying that cardinal Nicholas Brekespeare criticised Sigurðr and Eysteinn while calling Ingi “his son” has been taken as representative of Eysteinn and Sigurðr’s support of a National Church and Ingi’s support of Gregorian ideas. However, this can be explained by the kings’ personal lives: Ingi was legitimately born but his brothers were not. The divisions, more than ideological, were essentially random, based on personal loyalty and kinship.\(^{15}\)

The Law of Succession did not stop others from claiming the throne. King Magnús Erlingsson’s position gradually debilitated until he finally died in battle against another

\(^{13}\) For a thorough study of this period, see Sverre Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom. State Formation in Norway, C. 900-1350* (Copenhage: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010). I will be following specially the chapter “The “Civil Wars””, p. 40-66.

\(^{14}\) Sverre Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom...* p. 40.

\(^{15}\) Sverre Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom...* p.47
claimant, Sverrir Sigurðarson, in 1184. The archbishop of Niðarós, Eysteinn, had been a supporter of Magnús and the composer of the Law of Succession, and consequently he was forced into exile, residing in England for three years until he came back to Norway and made peace with king Sverrir in 1183.

Sverrir did not maintain good relations with the Church. He stood for a traditional “national” Church, headed by the king and in opposition to the Gregorian ideas of the prelates. This anti-Gregorianism continued to exist among Sverrir’s successor in the following period.¹⁶

This so-called period of “civil wars” came to an end with the reign of Hákon IV (r. 1217–1263), even though he faced some rebellions himself. Unlike his predecessors, he sought the support of the Church, which was difficult due to his illegitimate birth. He was finally crowned king by cardinal William of Sabina in 1247.

Norway and Castile: Two faces of the same semi-periphery.

The question of Europeanization and Christianization of Scandinavia has been and is still widely discussed, not only by Scandinavian scholars but also by English and American ones. As John Lind acknowledges, it is typical of English medievalists to think of Europe as France and England, their relations with the Holy Roman Empire and a few hints of Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula and Scandinavia.¹⁷ This can be seen in R.I. Moore’s book The First European Revolution.¹⁸ When he refers to “northwestern Europe” or “northern Europe”, he actually means either England or the southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, not Scandinavia. If he refers to the south, he mean the southern parts of France, with some “excursions” (as John Lind calls them) to Catalonia, which orbited around the French kingdom. Besides, Moore does not explain how this European revolution was actually exported, and when he speaks about it, he seems to think that it was exported in its totality and without any changes to the peripheral countries, i.e., to all places that are not France or England.

Moore argues in favor of a pushing, active (culturally, politically, religiously) center sending ‘waves of Europeanization’ to a receiving, passive periphery. However, if it was so, then there

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¹⁶ Sverre Bagge, From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom... p. 61.
should not be any cultural differences between the center and the periphery; yet they exist and can be easily seen. In Kurt Villads Jensen’s opinion, cultural transmission always involve negotiation between sender and receiver, and needs to be adapted to local circumstances.\textsuperscript{19} Kurt Villads Jensen also provides an example: the depiction of Jesus Christ in Scandinavia, who appears more as a god of war than as a suffering Christ. He points out the beginning of this active-center / passive-periphery idea in the historiography of the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, and in the medieval concept of history. It can be traced to the classical Greco-Roman history, which always opposed a developed, civilized center against a barbaric, undeveloped periphery: where Roman institutions or ways of life cannot be found, or Greek is not spoken. This is the meaning of the word “barbarian” itself.

Another hypothesis presented, in this case by Blomkvist,\textsuperscript{20} is what he calls the “catholic world-system”. His book deals only with the Baltic Rim, but his hypothesis can be expanded both to Norway and the Iberian Peninsula. He picks up the idea from Braudel’s and Wallerstein’s concept of World-system, originally intended for the capitalist economy of the Early Modern Ages. Wallerstein and Braudel define the World-system as an economically autonomous part of the world with some organic unity in communications and in internal exchange, linked by the capitalistic core area but without necessarily establishing direct political control. Blomkvist adapts this system but avoids using capitalism as a key concept, using Christianity instead. Hence, Blomkvist understands the core area as an area characterized by wealth, a commodities market, a high level of knowledge and strong and powerful restrictive authorities. The semi-periphery also participates in this commodities market, has some knowledge and a somewhat hierarchical and disciplined society. In contrast, the periphery has a low level of knowledge, participates very little in the market and retains a society of chiefdoms with no central authority. Thus, the core elite with monopolies and privileges who is in command of the “mass media” changes from a capitalist elite to the high clergy, the upper echelons of the urban society and the lay aristocracy; the latter being linked to this high clergy by family ties and mutual interests. Catholicism provided the link for the union of all Europe, and after the Gregorian Reform the Church achieved a position of arbitration that lowered the frictions between the kingdoms, providing codes of international


behavior and sanction, allowing thus fluent international relations and the formation of a European market.

Blomkvist does not think of the semi-periphery and the periphery as passive agents, but as «active re-agents» which form survival strategies in response to the core-area influences. He lists two main reactions in each area. In the semi-periphery he sees a process of state formation and nation-building. Blomkvist considers the medieval statehood as “relatively centralized, institutionalized, hierarchical and class-based polities, which were often subjected to efforts at nation-building as well”. For Norway he follows Sverre Bagge, considering a state society as one with a king dominating a service aristocracy, where ordinary people are without political influence, with systematized rents to the Church and a systematized hierarchy with fixed positions for everyone.

The second main reaction in the semi-periphery is nation-building. Blomkvist defines it as “conscious intentions to build up emotional sentiments for a territory and its properties”. For Norway, he follows Kåre Lunden. Following A.D. Smith, for Lunden a nation includes two features, an integrated economy and common mass culture. He sees the Norwegian medieval economy as an integrated redistributive economy, with the king as the center, creating thus an “economic redistributive basis for nation-building”. A national church provides the second feature, shared mass-culture.

Lunden uses the sagas as sources, even if they are written by Icelanders. The reason given is that Norway and Iceland shared the same cultural patterns, ethnicity and language in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the Icelandic Church was part of the diocese of Niðarós since 1150. He considers the writing of the king’s sagas the “overwhelming testimony to the fact that there was indeed a common Norwegian, subjective identity in this period – a national identity in the sense that I described”.

Sverre Bagge disagrees with Kåre Lunden. He agrees that the 12th – 13th century sagas contain national-patriotic sentiments, but these sentiments are closer to the traditional group

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21 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic...*, p. 82.
23 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic...*.
25 Kåre Lunden, “Was There a Norwegian...”, p.22
26 Kåre Lunden, “Was there a Norwegian...”, p. 26
identification and not evidence of a stronger national unity. Bagge also adds that *Fagrskinna* (Lunden’s main source) “is usually considered to have been written in close contact with the king and the court, thus representing a more patriotic attitude than works such as *Morkinskinna* and *Heimskingla*”, yet there was a strong connection between loyalty to the king and loyalty to the country. He considers medieval Norway a modified version of the traditional authoritarian state with some national features, but not a “modern nation-state”. Also, he adds, the “cultural life of the country was more specifically Norwegian before the rise of a strong and united monarchy, which largely tried to adapt to European models”.

Indeed, there was no modern nation-state Norway in the middle Ages, but the aim of Lunden was to prove that there was a Norwegian national identity, which shifted and changed over time, according to the cultural, political and social circumstances. Hence, as Lunden points out in his paper, medieval identity cannot be the same as modern 19th-century Norwegian identity. It was not an identity firmly attached to the state, but more closely linked to the king. Again, the link nation-state is modern, so it cannot be found in the middle ages. Its roots can be seen there, however, in the loyalty to the king, as there was not a clear line of distinction between monarchy and state. Hence the “patriotic attitude” that Bagge sees in *Fagrskinna*.

Blomkvist places Norway and Castile (including Galicia) in the periphery by the year 1200, but argues that they underwent a parallel process of Europeanization between 1075 and 1225. Later in his book he clarifies what parts of the Iberian Peninsula he considers ‘far from Europeanized areas’, these ones being ‘Galicia, Asturia (sic) Leon, the Basque lands’. Norway is colored around its coast as part of the semi-periphery, as does the lower part of Iceland, Sweden and Denmark. Later in his book he will place as characteristic of this periphery a ‘recently-established, centralized Church organization in close contact with the Papal curia’. The tripartite society was formed and an intensive urbanization started, led by foreign burghers, coming from the core area. Barcelona and Lisbon are cited as examples. The semi-peripheral kingdoms were to some extent subordinated to the core area, either by paying dues to the papal curia, endowing religious orders or obeying calls for crusades.

In the map depicting the Catholic world-system around 1200, Galicia and Asturias (part of the kingdom of Castile and Leon) are placed as periphery, but Muslim-controlled parts of the Peninsula (all the Algarve, for example) are considered semi-periphery. It seems unlikely that

28 Sverre Bagge “Nationalism in Norway…”, p. 6-7
29 Sverre Bagge, “Nationalism in Norway…”, conclusion.
30 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic…*, p. 682
31 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic…*, p. 83
the only places in the Iberian Peninsula that were not fully controlled by the Muslims are not part of a Catholic world-system, while territories that had been–and around 1200 still remained–under Muslim rule for almost half a millennium are part of it, and Castile had started cultural and economic exchange with the core area long before the 12th century. In the case of Scandinavia, Blomkvist considers that it was sealed off from western European influences due to the Viking Age expansion, but it was actually the Viking Age expansion that provoked the first cultural exchanges. Vikings not only took part in looting and destruction, but also engaged in long-distance trade, selling and moving goods all the way from the North of Scandinavia to Al-Andalus, creating outposts and settlements along the way. These mercantile transactions and cultural encounters provided the necessary information about badly defended towns or monasteries, needed for the eventual Viking attack. These Scandinavian merchants and settlers were the first to know and convert to Christianity. First, in the settled zones of Great Britain, Ireland and the Orkney Islands, and then this wave moved with Scandinavian merchants to their homelands. Christian worshipping was not unknown in Scandinavia before the year 1030, even if practiced by few and with a high degree of syncretism, though the area lacked Christian institutions until the 11th century.

The overall situation of Scandinavia on the verge of entering in the European semi-periphery is not that similar to the discoveries of the 15th and 16th century as Blomkvist points out. That Scandinavia was called *alter mundus* or *fere incognita* by the core-area writers (in this case Adam of Bremen) shows us that they knew of Scandinavia and the Scandinavians, and considered them ‘the others’, opposed to ‘us’ (and with different identity, language and religion). The lands discovered in the 15th and 16th century simply did not exist at all for the medieval geographers. In these cases we can fairly say that there were no cultural contacts at all and thus it was a discovery, but the contacts with Scandinavia were either a meeting or a clash with another people and culture that was and had been known for many centuries.

The case of the Iberian Peninsula was quite different, as it was part of the Roman Empire and most of its territory was highly Romanized and Christianized with the empire. By the 7th century, the Iberian Peninsula had abandoned Arianism and the dioceses and church provinces were established.

33 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic...* , p. 680
One of the key pieces of the Europeanization process of Castile was the pilgrimage to Santiago. The tomb of the Apostle St. James was discovered in the first half of the 9th century, but the pilgrimage route did not fully develop until the last half of the 11th century and especially the first half of the 12th, during the archbishopric term of Diego Gelmírez. It became an important link with the rest of Europe and the ground for cultural exchange not only with the centre, but also with the semi-periphery and the periphery of medieval Christendom. New religious orders and ideas came from the center (Cluniacs, Cistercians), together with Frankish merchants, who (especially after the second half of the 11th century) settled in the towns around the way, urbanizing them and giving new life to the trade and the cities. In addition, the Reconquista process led to an increase of political contacts with the rest of Europe, especially with southern France.

On the verge of the 12th century, both Norway and Castile were already part of the semi-periphery, yet due to its background Castile joined it slightly before Norway. It was a logical outcome of its history and geographical situation: Unlike Norway, the Iberian Peninsula had been part of the Roman Empire and Christianized along with it. The structures remaining from the Roman Empire helped to maintain and deepen this Christianity.

Even though due to its background the Iberian Peninsula entered in the semi-periphery before Norway, we can see parallel methods and outcomes of Europeanization. The Christianization process is not comparable between these two areas as the Iberian Peninsula was Christianized several centuries before in a Roman context, but its agriculture, economy, colonization and population policies were very similar: both areas provided the same solutions to the same problems and the result of the implementation of these solutions was their definitive introduction into the semi-periphery.

One of the key features that allow us to see when an area is entering into the semi-periphery is the abandoning of traditional ways of settling and working the land. Both the Iberian Peninsula and Norway had a similar configuration of the land, the villa in the case of the former and the gård for the latter. Both consisted of a self-sustaining and diversified unit ruled by a chieftain. In a process starting in the 11th century for the Iberian Peninsula and the 12th for Norway, they were finally converted into a feudal estate, i.e., a residential unit for the landholder (a nobleman or a churchman) with limited production capacity, from which peasants living clustered in villages nearby were organized for (relative) mass production.34

34 Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic...* , p. 231
The landholder will also place the surplus in the market, led by specialized traders in the cities, while the peasants will become specialized in the production of cereals.

In the case of the Iberian Christian kingdoms, the system of the roman *villa* was the typical settlement system and continued during the Visigoth kingdom and remained as a self-sustaining, diversified unit. The transformation began around the 10th century, when these villas started to break into villages formed by peasants cultivating little pieces of land and finally falling under the rule of the noblemen, eager to expand their territories and influence. This feudal state will grow and consolidate during the 11th century, being completely formed on the arrival of the 12th.

In the case of Norway these changes in settlement cannot be seen until the 12th century. It has usually been assumed that there was a high degree of continuity for the *gård* during the middle Ages, i.e., peasants living isolated in self-sustaining farms, due to the geographical conditions of Norway. Yet, this view has been challenged by recent historiography, stating that the difference between Norway and other Scandinavian countries may have been exaggerated, due to different terminology and source materials. First of all, more or less isolated farms are not unknown in mountainous lands, which is the case of some parts of Norway and of Castile (one example in Castile is the *caserío*) due to the difficulty of communications or the lack of fertile land, but this type of settlement remained only where farms where not able to grow due to the lack of arable lands. Both in Norway and Castile, when the land conditions allowed it, the farm grew up and finally split in several holdings, creating the first villages.

Blomkvist also points to the agrarian colonization, based on a systematic enfeoffment of the conquered land to the leader of the colonization as a basic idea of the Europeanized agriculture. These colonists must have come from the over-populated areas of the core area, bringing with them newly developed technologies that made the land more profitable; yet he points out the equivalent Scandinavian development was internal. The same happened in the Iberian Christian kingdoms, with the different processes of repopulation led by the kings of the different kingdoms. Blomkvist does not give any explanation of why the colonization was internal, but the internal demographic pressure and the Europeanization of the agriculture can lie behind this development: both Norway and Castile already had a population willing and in

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need to move, first because the demographic boom pushed them to find more lands, and also as a way to escape the aspirations of the noblemen, greedy of lands and serfs. For these still free but impoverished peasants, then, the frontier may have sounded like a nice place to go and start over.

In his book *The Making of Europe*,\(^37\) Robert Bartlett brings attention to other points of cultural diffusion between the core-area, semi-periphery and periphery. One of them is the circulation in the 11\(^{th}\) – 12\(^{th}\) centuries of Saints’ names and Carolingian-related names, creating thus a homogenization of names in all Europe, in contrast with the highly localized repertoires of names in earlier periods.

It is difficult to perform an accurate name-survey of the Middle Ages: most people simply do not appear in any document; but the names in the royal families, prominent aristocracy and church clergy can provide a notion of the trend. Besides, royal families and clergy were, as Kåre Lunden pointed, the “mass media” of the time, which may have compelled the population to choose names with prestige, names that denoted them as adherents to the regime or the ideology they were living by (for example, choosing a Christian name instead of an Old Norse name while living under a Christian king), or simply a name that was the local priest’s suggestion. This is more likely to be seen in younger sons or daughters, as first-born males tend to be named after their father or a prestigious forefather; hence the popularity of names like Alfonso in Castile or Hákon in Norway.

Before the Christianization there were virtually no non-nordic names in Scandinavia, except a few names of Celtic origin.\(^38\) This trend starts changing in the 11\(^{th}\) century, when even in the kings’ names we start seeing Christian-related names of Germanic origin and a clear winner of Carolingian origin: Magnús. As previously pointed, heirs follow a more conservative naming tradition, after prestigious ancestors, but their younger brothers, and especially sisters, show the new trends in naming. In the first half of the 11\(^{th}\) century the Christian king of Denmark, Knut the Great (995 – 1035) named three of his four children with Germanic non-Christian names (Hardeknut, Sveinn and Gunhild). The only exception is Harald or Harold, probably named after his grandfather Harald Bluetooth. Only 50 years after, Sigurðr


Jorsalafare (1090 – 1130) used Carolingian or Christian names for his children: Magnús and Kristin. The situation in Castile was a bit different. Being Christianized many centuries ago, there were no non-Christian prestigious forefathers, but actually the opposite. Furthermore, the legitimacy to the supremacy over all the Iberian Peninsula resided in the identification with the Gothic past, so it made sense to keep Germanic names. Hence, Fernando I (1016 – 1075) first king of Castile, gave Germanic names to two of his children: Elvira and Alfonso. The other two are named after prestigious forefathers of him and his wife (García, of Basque origin, and Sancho, of unknown origin). A girl is called Urraca, a typical name of the Spanish Middle Ages, but of unknown origin. It is with Alfonso VII (1105 – 1157), son of a Burgundian nobleman, that names of French origin start to appear (Constanza, Estefanía…), but names like Alfonso or Fernando will survive as the most usual kings’ names until the 20th century.

Another point of cultural diffusion Bartlett mentions is the use of pennies and charters. Charters (a written grant, usually on parchment and sealed) do not only show cultural exchanges in the form of alphabet or language used, but also that there was a central power strong enough to enforce what was written in them. Bartlett notes that the sequence of charters in newly documented regions follow the same pattern: first, charters from authorities outside the area (for example papal bulls); secondly, grants given by local ecclesiastics. Later secular rulers start issuing charters (even though those are still prepared with the help of ecclesiastics). At the final stage the secular and ecclesiastical local chancelleries appear.39

Both Castile and Norway had already developed a writing tradition, in the case of Norway in vernacular and runic script and in the case of the Iberian Peninsula in Latin and Visigothic script, using parchment. The oldest charter found in the Iberian Peninsula is dated to the year 775, given by the king Silo, but the first proper chancery was not created until 1128. In Norway, the oldest charter is from the 1170s40 and the chancery appears around the middle of the 12th century.41

The minting of silver pennies started with Charlemagne and soon spread to the rest of Europe. Moreover, minting does not only show a cultural diffusion through the adoption of patterns

39 Bartlett, The making of Europe..., p. 283.
40 Kim Esmark et al., eds., Disputing Strategies in Medieval Scandinavia (Brill, 2013)., p. 159
from the core area, but also that the areas starting to mint have entered into a commodities market, and have a kingship strong enough to monopolize the minting rights and give legitimacy to the coinage.

Bartlett also points out that there seems to be a pattern of diffusion, with the minting of coins following the Christianization of the area. It is a pattern that applies to Norway, where the first silver pennies were minted under the reign of Olav Trygvasson (995 – 1000), but cannot be applied to the Iberian Peninsula as the first medieval coinage was in Castile under Alfonso VI (1072 – 1109). This may be explained due to the circulation of Visigoth coinage and dirhams, which provided enough coin, at least until the economic decadence of the taifa kingdom of Toledo caused a general downfall in its coinage. At first, Alfonso VI used Arabic patterns, learnt during his exile in the taifa kingdom of Toledo, but after his marriage to Constanza of Burgundy he adopted Carolingian minting patterns.

By the year 1300, Bartlett deems Europe as an identifiable cultural entity, with the common features he has pointed to (saints, names, coinage, charters, universities…). All these features reached Norway and the Iberian Peninsula in the same period of time, the differences being only due to specific peculiarities of each area, like the easy access to coinage in the case of the Iberian Peninsula or the strong vernacular tradition in Scandinavia. No universities were created in Norway during the Middle Ages, but both Castilian and Norwegian scholars travelled to the same core-area universities and shared the same education and values. In conclusion, during the 11th – 12th centuries both Norway and Castile were Europeanized in the same way and at the same pace. Moreover, from the 12th century onwards both also became agents of Europeanization in their own respective peripheries, carrying with them not the core-area culture, but the culture they developed by adapting the core-area cultural influences to their own idiosyncrasies.
Chapter II: The Church as an agent of Europeanization.

The archbishops Diego Gelmírez and Eysteinn Erlandsson. Two reformists in the semi-periphery of Europe.

In Spain, the Gregorian Reform was supported and developed by the archbishop Diego Gelmírez (ca. 1068 – ca. 1140), bishop and then archbishop of Santiago from 1101 to his death around 1140. He was also responsible for promoting the cult of Santiago.

The most complete source for the life and deeds of Diego Gelmírez is the Historia Compostellana, composed in the scriptorium of the cathedral of Santiago between 1107–1149. This chronicle was not written by Diego himself, but it was done under his watch and command, so it is very biased in Diego’s favour.

Diego Gelmírez was part of the Galician low nobility. Destined for the church since an early age, he attended the cathedral school of Compostela and during his youth he was appointed as chancellor and advisor of the count of Galicia, Raymond of Burgundy, who was married to Urraca, the only daughter and heir of the king of Castile and León Alfonso VI.

Diego lived in a very turbulent time of Castile’s history. After the conquering of the Taifa kingdom of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI, the other Taifa kings became wary of the Christian kingdoms and called the Almoravids from Morocco to their aid. In 1086, Alfonso VI suffered a terrible defeat in the battle of Sagrajas, which made the Christians retreat and allowed the Almoravids to start conquering and finally control all the Taifa kingdoms by 1116. This started a new cycle of war and depleted the Castilian treasury, not only due to the war itself but also because of the parias lost in the Taifa kingdoms conquered, Castile’s first source of income.

In 1109, Alfonso VI died and his only daughter Urraca inherited the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. She was married to the king of Aragon, Alfonso I el Batallador (the battler). This marriage annulled the inheritance rights of Alfonso Raimundez (only son of Urraca, from a previous marriage) in favor of the children she could have with the Aragonese king, which enraged the Galician nobility, in favor of Alfonso Raimundez and very anti-aragonese.

43 A tax paid by a Taifa to a Christian kingdom in exchange for peace and protection from other Taifa or Christian kingdoms in case of attack.
Moreover, Alfonso I was not respecting the marital compromise of being only a king consort, entering into the Castilian politics and even taking full control of eastern Castile.

Pedro Froilaz rebelled already in 1109 on behalf of Alfonso Raimundez. As his other guardian, it would have seem logical for Diego to rebel too, but his relationship with Pedro Froilaz had been strained and he had powerful vassals in the other band; hence he at first sided with them. It was short-lived. Later in 1110 he sided with Alfonso Raimundez, due to the poor success that Alfonso I was having in Galicia and the opposition of the pope Paschal II against the marriage due to consanguinity. In 1111, Alfonso Raimundez was hailed as a king in Compostela and crowned as such by Diego, co-reigning with his mother. This coronation prevented any intervention from Portugal in Galicia with the pretext of Alfonso Raimundez’s rights, and gave to Urraca financial and military support from the Galician church and nobility, much needed for the forthcoming war against Aragon. For Diego, it allowed him to increase his influence by inserting Compostelan clerks in the royal chancery, and royal aid against Galician antagonists.

The relationship between Urraca and Diego was difficult, to the point that Urraca plotted to imprison him several times. Diego found in the paternal family of Alfonso Raimundez strong allies: the pope Calixtus II was Alfonso’s uncle. He was also the pope who elevated Santiago to an archbishopric, and consequently Diego became archbishop in the year 1120. When a year later Urraca imprisoned Diego and seized his castles and money, Calixtus threatened her with an interdict, forcing her to release him and return him his wealth and also accepting without further quarrels to co-reign with his son. Even though the relationship was tense both with Diego and with Alfonso Raimundez, it never escalated again to a confrontation. Urraca finally died in 1126 and her son Alfonso Raimundez become the sole king, under the name of Alfonso VII el Emperador (the Imperator). The relationship of Diego with Alfonso VII was not good either, but it never escalated to a full conflict in the remaining years of Diego, who died in Santiago in 1140.

In Norway, the Gregorian Reform, the Europeanization and the fight for the libertas ecclesiae has its best exponent in the archbishop of Niðarós Eysteinn Erlendsson. Eysteinn was born in the decade of 1120 in south Trondheim and was a member of the local nobility. He started his studies in Niðarós, but in 1140 went to study abroad. Even though the usual destination for study was England, especially Lincoln, it seems like Eysteinn studied in St. Victor in Paris.

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44 They both descend from Sancho III the Great. As we have seen, all Iberian dynasties did, and hence consanguinity was always an ongoing problem.
St. Victor was an Augustinian cloister, which exerted great influence on Eysteinn, to the point of choosing Augustinus as his latinized name. According to a propaganda writing for the king Sverrir, “A story against the bishops” (extant in one manuscript of ca. 1320), Eysteinn was chaplain and treasurer of king Ingi, who appointed him as archbishop in 1157, after the death of Jon Birgesson, first and previous archbishop of Niðarós, without consulting anybody. We do not know if there was a cathedral chapter who could run and celebrate an election, but surely king Ingi was behind Eysteinn’s appointment as archbishop. After his appointment, Eysteinn travelled to visit the pope in order to receive his pallium, staying for a while again in St. Victor. He was back in Trondheim in 1161.

Eysteinn played an important part during the period of the so-called “civil wars” of Norway. During this period, the co-reigning of several kings and the law of succession (which allowed a claim to the throne to all male descendants of a king) proved a source of instability in the country. In 1150 the sons of Haraldr Gilli, Eysteinn, Ingi and Sigurðr were co-reigning and had come of age. The conflict started soon, but the sources differ about the reason why. In 1155, Eysteinn and Sigurðr plotted to have Ingi deposed, but he knew of the plan and killed his brothers first. The brothers’ supporters then sided with Sigurðr’s son Hákon Herðibreiðr. War broke out again and Ingi was killed in 1161. His followers then sided with the magnate and former ally of Ingi, Erling Skakke, whose son Magnús was a great-grandson of the king Sigurðr Jorsalafare by his mother Kristin’s side. A year later, Erling killed Hákon Herðibreiðr in battle and his son Magnús was left as the only king. As a former follower of Ingi, Eysteinn sided with Erling and Magnús. In 1162, he crowned Magnús Erlingsson as king in Trondheim, in the first royal coronation done by the Church in Scandinavia. Eysteinn also developed a law of succession, aimed to secure Magnús in the throne and to stop this cycle of war.

Despite this new law, the war continued, as other contenders also claimed to have a right to the throne. All claimants, alleged sons of Sigurðr, were defeated, but one was successful. Sverrir Sigurðarson allied himself with the birchlegs and gained control of most of the country, killing Erling Skakke in 1179 and Magnús in 1184. Eysteinn, as a former ally of Magnús, was forced to flee in exile to England. In 1183 he and king Sverrir reconciled and Eysteinn was able to come back to Norway, where he remained until his death in 1188.

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46 Erik Gunnes, *Erkebiskop Øystein...* p. 82
Eysteinn was a prolific author and lawgiver. He is behind the *Passio Olavi* and was responsible for developing the cult of St. Olav into a system to promote the ecclesiastical and political interests of the Norwegian church leadership. He also wrote the law of succession and the *Canones Nidrosiensis*, a compendium of canon law.

Eysteinn and Diego were dedicated to develop and enhance the cult and pilgrimage to Santiago and St. Olav respectively. Both of them put great effort into building a magnificent cathedral and systematize the cult. Regarding this, two important books were written down in this period: the *Passio Olavi* and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.

The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex Calixtinus* is a long composition. The writer is unknown, probably a French monk of the cathedral’s scriptorium, but Diego was commanded and supervised the composition. The compilation may have started around the year 1130 and was not completely finished until 1150.47

The *Liber* contains five books. The first book, concerning the liturgy of Santiago, makes up over half the compilation. The second book contains 22 miracles. The third is the shortest, and deals with Santiago’s *translatio* from Jerusalem to Galicia. The fourth book is the *Historia Turpini*, also called *Pseudo-Turpin*. Supposedly written by the archbishop Turpin of Reims (†800), it narrates the entry of Charlemagne in the Peninsula, as well as a series of legendary adventures, the defeat of Roncesvalles and the death of Roland. The fifth and last book is a pilgrim’s guide, detailing the Road of Santiago, the city itself and the cathedral.

The *Liber* also received the name *Codex Calixtinus* due to its authorship having been falsely attributed to the pope Calixtus II. In the introduction, Calixtus II appoints himself in first person as the author, also stating his admiration for Diego and his love for Santiago. Also in the *Liber*, a letter is misattributed to Innocence II and the *Historia Turpini* is falsely attributed to the bishop Turpin.

The *Passio et miracula beati Olavi* contains the life and martyrdom of St. Olav and an account of his miracles. There are two surviving versions in Latin, a shorter one called *Acta Sancti Olavis regis* and a longer one, called *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*. The *Acta* seems to have been written first, the *Passio* being a later expansion of it. Scholars disagree about the earlier miracle or *vita* compositions that may lie behind the *Passio* and the extent of

Eysteinn’s involvement in its first composition. Holtsmark thinks that due to the discrepancies between the Homiliebok and the Passio Olavi, there must have been an earlier passio or vita that was the source of them both. Gunnes disagrees, attributing the discrepancies to the adaptation from Latin to Old Norse or from Eysteinn’s own revisions. Gunnes dates Eysteinn’s first composition of the vita to the 1160s, which he revised and completed with more miracles during his exile in England. Anyway, all agree that the Passio written in the Corpus Christi College of Oxford MS 209 is indeed the work of Eysteinn, written during his exile in England (1180 – 1183).

The first part, the Passio itself, deals with the last days and martyrdom of St. Olav. The second part contains the miracles. There is a first block of 20 miracles which also appear in the Acta, followed by a continuation (miracles 6–18) that does not appear elsewhere and an “additional treatise” (miracles 19 – 25) written by one “bishop Eysteinn”, identified with the archbishop Eysteinn, who claims to have written down miracles he has seen himself. There are earlier accounts of Olaf’s miracles before Passio Olavi like in Glaelongskviða (c. 1032) or Geisli (1152/1153).

Both the Liber and the Passio are a response to the same need: to promote the cult of St. Olav and Santiago and increase its importance in the context of the European pilgrimage. They start, though, in different stages. Santiago is a fully recognized saint and martyr, chosen by Christ himself and whose martyrdom is described in the Bible. His sanctity and martyrdom cannot be disputed, but his translatio to Galicia can, as there is no evidence of it other than Teodomiro’s dream. Besides, other shrines claimed to have relics of St. James: for example, the shrine of St. James in Reading claimed to have his hand, which also performed miracles, mostly of curative nature.

Olav, on the other hand, is a king and former pagan. His translatio to Niðarós is undisputed, but his position as saint and martyr can be. His canonization was not confirmed until 1164 by Pope Alexander III, who had asserted his right to qualify or disqualify a saint and his cult. For to qualify as a saint, miracles attributed by popular intuition were not enough, but a saintly...

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48 For a detailed explanation, see the introduction in A History of Norway and The Passion and Miracles of the Blessed Óláfr, vol. XIII, Text Series (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2001). I am also using their English translation in my quotes.
51 It is the one I will be using. Frederick Metcalfe, Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881). From now on it will be referred as “Passio.”
52 A History of Norway... p.XXX
53 Acts 12: 1-2
life and the permission of the Church were also essential. Indeed, in the 1170s Alexander III forbade the cult of St. Eric of Sweden, who had not been accepted as a saint by the Church.\textsuperscript{54} Eysteinn could very well have used an earlier version of a vita (written either by him or by others) and those miracles’ accounts in order to push the case for the official canonization of St. Olav when he went to be confirmed as archbishop by pope Alexander III in 1161. A more complete definitive, version would help assuring the cult and sanctity of Olav.

In order to increase the popularity of the saint, it was important that the miracles were widely known. In a mostly illiterate society, the miracles were composed to be recited, in sermons and in the feast of the saint. In the \textit{Liber} this is stated in the prologue, where it is said that the miracles should be read in sermons, in the refectory and during the saint’s day.\textsuperscript{55} In the composition of the miracles themselves, Herbers notes “The explanations and the moralistic insertions (…) are concrete indications of the purpose of the recitation of the miracles, namely, the further enhancement of the propaganda of the cult”.\textsuperscript{56}

The miracles of St. Olav were also meant to be recited, especially in the sermons or during the feast days. The heading over the vernacular life of St. Olav in the \textit{Old Norwegian Homily Book} points out that it should be read in the feast day of the saint.\textsuperscript{57} Moreover, the little introduction over the miracles of St. Olav states:

\begin{quote}
“It is fitting to make brief mention of the many miracles that the Lord has deigned to perform in order to make manifest the merits of the glorious martyr Óláfr, so that the souls of those who hear may be moved to praise and venerate the divine mercy, and that it may be revealed to the faithful what a great grace and glory the Lord has bestowed upon his saint.”\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

This introduction reveals, then, that the miracles were to be recited –and hence, heard – to an audience, not only with the purpose of edification and praise of God, but also in order to know how great the saint is in the eyes of God. In other words, it also had a propagandistic purpose.

\textsuperscript{55} “Quicquid scribitur in duobus primis codicibus usque ad consimile signum huius signi (XP), quod est Iesus Christus, in ecclesiis prout ordinatum est ad matutinas et missas decantetur et legatur” in Walter Muir Whitehill, \textit{Liber Sancti Jacobi} (Santiago de Compostela: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944)., p.2. I will refer to this work as LSJ.
\textsuperscript{57} A History of Norway and The Passion and Miracles of the Blessed Óláfr, vol. XIII, Text Series (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2001), Introduction XIV.
\textsuperscript{58} “Opere precium est de multis miraculis, que ad commendanda merita gloriosi martriris olaui dominus operari dignatus est, paucu perstringere, quatinus in laudem et reuerentiam diuine piteatis audientiam excitentius animi, et quantam gratiam et gloriom dominus sancto suo dederit fidelibus innotescat”. Passio, p.74
These same insertions that Herbers notes in the Liber can be seen in Passio. An interjection, usually in the form of a question (for example “Why delay more this tale?” or “Why make many words of it?”) presents a moralistic insertion detailing the virtues of St. Olav and those who are helped by him. This can be seen in the miracle The hanged man, where the question “What else?” presents us with the characteristics of St. Olav (true law-giver, merciful and helper) and of the man who he is about to save, pitiful and innocent. 59

The Passio of Olav is a brief text that explains mostly the last years of his reign from a religious point of view. It shows the characteristics of the 12th-century compositions for a new saint and tries to show not only his martyrdom and miracles, but also the saintly life that the papacy was requiring in order to qualify as such. 60

The Passio tell us at the very beginning that Olav was a converted pagan, but “nevertheless benevolent by nature and from a certain nobility of mind very eager to follow the ways of righteousness”. 61 It also stresses through the entire story that he fights for and spreads the faith throughout his Christian life. He “accomplished much in a short time and won a countless multitude for the Lord” (plurinum profecit in breui, et innumerabilem domino multitudinem adquisuit), had a “wonderful devotion and most abstemious life” (Nonnullos ad seculi contemptum (…) deuocio et vita contentissima) 62 and “gave his mind to heavenly matters” (implicatus nichilominus meditabatur celestia). 63 The virtues of a saint are also attributed to him: He was a “model of upright life” and famous in Russia for his “piety, charity, kindness and patience”, 64 of “royal rank but poor in spirit” (In regali fastigio constitutes spiritu pauper erat), 65 and of course “the most noble martyr of Christ” (nobilissimi Christi martiris, excellentissimi Christi martiris). 66

A list of the virtues needed by a saint-to-be in order to be canonized was not compiled until 1242 or 1243, 67 but the attempt to control and systematize the cult of saints had already started when Alexander III asserted his right to decide who could be venerated as a saint and how his life should have been. In such an early stage of the development of the canonization process, a list may have not existed yet, but the idea of how a saint should have behaved and

59 “Quid plura?” Passio, p. 83-84.
60 Aviad M. Kleinberg, “Proving Sanctity: …”
61 (...) rex Olavus, qui, licet gentilis, natura tamen benignus erat, et ad honesta queque sequenda quadam mentis ingenuitate promissimis. Passio, p. 68
62 Passio, p. 69
63 Passio, p. 68
64 Passio, p. 72
65 Passio, p. 68
66 Passio, p. 69
67 Aviad M. Kleinberg, “Proving Sanctity: …”, p. 199
what kind of virtues he or she must have shown was already in the iconographic core of Christianity.

The text also tries to identify Olav as a kind of apostle. After receiving baptism, Olav “as the Apostle said, was buried with Christ by baptism into death”.\(^{68}\) A few lines later, the writer adds “the king played an apostle’s part and he, the ruler, himself preached the grace of the word of Christ to all people far and wide”.\(^{69}\)

The first sentence is a reference to St. Paul’s Romans 6:3. This is no coincidence: St. Paul never met Jesus and was a Jew and prosecutor of Christians until he received illumination directly from Christ. The second reference can be applied to all apostles, but it also matches St. Paul and Santiago, as preachers and martyrs in European lands. To fit with this image of martyr and apostle, the battle of Stiklestad is presented in religious terms: Olav was there in order to convert the heathens, who unwilling to convert and bribed by Cnut fought him and finally killed him off in battle. Olav died “in defense of the faith, cruelly cut off by enemies of the faith”.\(^{70}\)

The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* does not center itself in the martyrdom of Santiago, but on the *translatio* of his body to Galicia. His martyrdom is only mentioned, maybe because it is already written in the Acts of the Apostles. The story of the *translatio* is narrated in the book III of the *Liber*, chapter one. Chapter two is a letter of the pope St. Leo\(^{71}\) about Santiago’s *translatio*. The composition of this prologue is falsely attributed to the pope Calixtus II. It was more important to insist on the idea of the *translatio* of his body from Jerusalem to Galicia, which could have been contested due to the complete lack of evidence. Santiago obviously does not need to be compared and identified as an apostle, but compared and identified with Christ and placed in a prominent position over St Peter and St Paul.

Santiago is soon identified with Christ. In the introduction it is stated that “Santiago had many disciples, but twelve of them were special”,\(^{72}\) the same number as Christ’s apostles. All of them are named and it is told that they preached the faith and some died in martyrdom. At the beginning of the chapter one he is described as

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\(^{68}\) *Et iuxta quod apostolus ait, conseptuls Christo per baptismum in mortem.* Passio, p. 68

\(^{69}\) *Et nouo rerum ordine rex apostolic uice fungens, ipse dux uerbi Christi gratiam passim omnibus predicabat.* Passio, p. 68

\(^{70}\) *Pro fidei defensione ab inimicis fidei crudeliter interemptus.* Passio, p. 73

\(^{71}\) There is no consensus about who is the letter referring to. Leo III, who was the pope in the time the sepulcher was rediscovered, Leo VIII and Leo IX have all been suggested as the most probable ones by different scholars.

\(^{72}\) *Sed sciendum quia beatus Iacobus plures discipulos sed duodecim speciales habuit*, LSJ p. 289
Between the great number of them [the apostles], the saint of admirable virtue, blessed for his life, marvelous for his virtue, illuminated by his intellect, brilliant for his oratory, he was Santiago (…). And to him, really, so much grace was granted by divine will that the Lord himself inestimable in His glory did not reject to transfigure himself with His incomparable clarity over the mount Tador before his [Santiago’s] eyes, and also in presence of Peter and John, true witnesses.  

Hence he embodied all the virtues to a maximum, to the point that God himself, not Christ, appeared before him. In Galicia, his followers suffer persecution by a tyrant but they are saved “by the sudden determination of the all-mighty God” when a bridge collapses under the soldiers who were chasing them, “In the same way it happened to the pharaoh army”. It is again God himself, and not Christ or any other saint who is protecting Santiago.

The chapter ends telling us that two of his disciples finally died after dedicating the rest of his life to protect and maintain the sepulcher of Santiago. But

Not abandoning them their eminent master [Santiago], by the Divine Grace he could place them with him in heaven and earth, and dressed with purple stole and adorned with a crown, he shines with his disciples in the celestial court.

Santiago is given here the attributes of a king (the crown, the stole, the purple color). He was not a king but a fisherman, so these attributes are not coming with him from his mortal life. He is thus placed in a prominent place in the celestial court: he receives and is able to use the Divine Grace to place his disciples in heaven. He is a king not in his mortal life, but in heaven, were he receives the Divine Grace and can use it for his disciples and shines over the others.

The miracles of Saint James are located in book II, describing twenty-two miracles. They are not of curative nature, only three of them involve healing (and in one of them it is not the main theme) and another two involve resurrecting. Healing was not the main theme in Santiago’s miracles in Compostela, but it was in Reading. However, around half of the

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73 “Quorum precluenti numero, mirae virtutis sanctus exitit Iacobus, uita beatus, uirtute, mirificus, ingenio claro, sermone luculentus (…). Haic nempe gratia fuit tanta concessa diuinitus, ut etiam idem inestimabilis glorie dominus incomparabili claritate coram eius uisibus super montem Thabor transfigurari non sit dedignatus, adstantibus cum eo Petro et Iohanne ueridicis testibus” LSJ, p. 290.
74 LSJ, p. 292.
75 LSJ, p. 292.
76 “Quos preceptor non deserens egregious celo terraque secum collocari obtinuit diuinitus, stolaque purpurea purpuratus in ethereal curia sui cum asseclis micat redimitus corona, miseris se desposcentibus inuicto suffragio patrocinaturus” LSJ, p. 294.
miracles of St. Olav do involve healing, an element much more present in his miracle stories. Even the miracle that Eysteinn claims to have received himself is actually of healing nature.

The miracles of Santiago are quite uniform. Most of the protagonists are knights, pilgrims or both; only in a few are they commoners, and it is usually when the miracle involves healing. Besides, Santiago always appears as a knight and a helper of pilgrims. In the miracle IV he helps a knight in pilgrimage to bring his dead companion to the closest city for burial, and he does so presenting himself “as a knight riding a horse”. As a knight, Muslims are his preferred target, either in order to help pilgrims (miracle VII), free captives or in a Reconquista context. The miracle XIX shows it clearly. In it, a pious former bishop called Esteban prays every day in front of the altar of Santiago. One day, he overhears some peasants calling Santiago “good knight” (bone miles). Enraged, he tells to the peasants “Stupid, stupid people, you should call Santiago a fisherman, and not a knight”. The next night

“To the same saintly man who had remembered that of Santiago [that according to the Bible he was a fisherman], he himself appeared dressed in very white clothes and with weapons that shone with the sun rays, like a perfect knight, and also with two keys in his hand. And after calling him three times he spoke – Esteban, servant of God, who commanded them not to call me knight, but fisherman. That is why I appear before you in this way, so you do not doubt any longer that I am a knight in the service of God and I am his champion, and in the war against the Muslims I precede the Christians and win for them. (...) And for you to believe that completely, with these keys that I have in my hand I will open the nine doors of the city of Coimbra, which has been besieged for seven years by Fernando, king of the Christians, and bringing them inside I will return back the city to them.”

77 LSJ, p. 266.
78 LSJ, p. 284.
79 “Stultissimi rustici, gens fatua, beatum Iacobum non militem sed piscatorem uos uocare conuenit”, LSJ p. 284
80 A city in Portugal. It was besieged for several months and finally taken by the king Fernando I of Castile in 1064. This miracle also appears in other works, like in the Historia Silensis, but instead of a bishop, the protagonist is a poor pilgrim.
81 “(...) qua sanctissimus ille uir de beato Iacobo illat commemorauerat, beatus Iacobus candidissimis uestibus ornatus, nec non militaria arma, titanis radios excedencia, indatus, quasi miles effectus, duas claves insuper manu tenens, apparauit. Que, tertio uocans, sic alloquat us est: Stephane, servae Dei, qui me non militem, sed piscatorem uocari iussisti, eo namque taliter tibi appareo, ut me Deo militare eiusque atque suo, meque in pugna contra Sarraconos Christianos anterit, et pro eis uictorem existere amplius non dubites. (...) Et ut firmius hoc credas cum his clauibus, quas manu teneo, portis Conimbricis Urbis aperitis, que septem annis a Fredermando rege Christianorum obsidione premitur, (...) intromissis Christianis, eorum reddam potestati” LSJ, p. 284
Some of those miracles will later be re-adapted and used around all Europe. It is the case of the miracle XVII, the pilgrim who lured by the devil mutilated himself and died, being saved and resurrected by Santiago. It will later become a Marian miracle, with Santiago still appearing but Mary being the one who fights off the demons and resurrects the pilgrim.\footnote{This miracle will be reviewed among the Marian miracles at the end of this chapter.}

The miracle V, called *The hanged man* or *The hanged innocent*, was typical of the saints of the Road of Santiago and later spread to the rest of Europe. In the miracle, two rich pilgrims, father and son, are wrongfully accused of robbery by a man who wishes to get hold of their riches. The judge decides that one should be hanged and the other acquitted, and the son offers himself in order to save his father. The father continues his pilgrimage to Santiago, and a later comes back to see his son’s body hanging. Then he discovers that his son is alive; in fact, his son explains that Santiago has been holding his body and saved his life.

This miracle is attested both before and after the composition of the *Liber*. In the Road of Santiago, it is also performed by St. Dominic de la Calzada (de la Calzada means “of the road”) an 11th century Castilian saint known for fixing and promoting the Road in La Rioja. In the miracle, written in the 14th century, the pilgrim is not framed by a greedy man, but by a young girl angry at him for rejecting her advances. St. Dominic saves him in the same way as Santiago did, and when the mayor does not believe that it was an actual miracle, the saint proves his point by resurrecting the hen and the rooster the mayor was eating.

*The hanged man* miracle appears a third time in the Road, in the miracles of St. Gilles (*Liber miraculorum Sancti Egidii*). Later, it can also be found in several other collections or attributed to other saints, like in the *Legenda Aurea*, as well as in several Marian miracles collections and as a miracle of the bishop Thomas of Cantilupe in England. It is also one of the miracles of St Olav.

The miracles of St Olav are less uniform in their themes in order to cover a wider audience. A saint who performs only one type of miracles –healing, for example- will always attract less pilgrims than one who can perform different miracles. Besides, if Olav is to be placed as one of the universal saints it is important to reach an audience as wide as possible.

Healing is one of the main themes of Olav’s miracles, while a few other miracles deal with pagans, either freeing Christians from pagans, healing or saving converted pagans or helping the Christians against them. The miracles also show the special features of Olav as a saint. As a saint, Olav is considered a protector and enforcer of the law on behalf of the common
people. He is also a law-giver: until 1319, the kings commonly referred to the authority of St. Olav and swore to enforce the “laws that St. Olav first gave”. Also, the commoners argued against new laws by saying that they violated their rights established by St. Olav.83

This feature of St. Olav as protector and law-giver can be seen in his version of The hanged man. In Olav’s miracle, the innocent man is not rich, but a poor peasant. He is wrongfully accused of theft by a powerful man of his district, out of malice. When he was going to be hanged, he prayed to St Olav, the “true lawgiver” (Uerum legis statutor),84 who placed a plank under his feet and saved him. When his family came to retrieve his body, they found him alive and well. The man went later to Niðarós in a thanks-giving pilgrimage and told the archbishop about the miracle.

This miracle, then, resembles its European counterparts, but there is a remarkable difference: the protagonist is not a pilgrim (yet he later does a pilgrimage in gratitude) nor a rich man, but just a poor peasant. In the miracle, Olav is called “the true lawgiver” and helps the man not because he is a pilgrim, but because he is an innocent man unlawfully framed. The miracle has been shaped in order to adapt to the image of Olav as law-giver and protector of the people, yet also maintaining the purpose of bringing pilgrims to his shrine.

This intention can be seen in many other miracles. After the miracle has been performed, the recipient undertakes a thanks-giving pilgrimage in gratitude. In others, the receiver is already a pilgrim. There is also a warning for those who vow to go on pilgrimage but then break their vow: A Christian freed from the pagans and healed by St Olav later forgets his vow of serving his church for the rest of his life. Awakened by a vision which reminds him how powerful St Olav was, and threateningly asks him how he dared to withdraw from his service he comes back and dedicates the rest of his life to the service of St. Olav’s church.85

In order to attract more pilgrims, it was not rare to attribute to a saint a successful miracle, most usually of healing nature, where other and supposedly more powerful saints have failed. This can be seen in the miracle stories of several saints along the European pilgrimage routes,86 and also in the miracles of St. Olav, concerning Chartres and Galicia. In one of the miracles, two brothers from Chartres - a cleric and a layman- killed their mother, step-father

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84 Passio, p. 83
85 Passio, p. 88
86 For a longer examination of these type of miracles, see Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000 - 1215 (Aldershot: Wilwood house, 1987).
and a younger brother in a fire over a quarrel for the inheritance. Chained and exiled in a penitential pilgrimage, the brothers went to Jerusalem, where “the iron that bound the arm of the layman broke apart”. As the cleric was still not pardoned, “they traversed all the Christian world for the sake of absolution”, until they reached the altar of St. Olav. In the Sunday of Lent, the cleric’s chain broke and thus he was pardoned.

The second miracle again concerns two brothers, this time from Galicia. They had killed their mother when she tried to protect their step-father, whom they had attacked with swords. The man escaped and took refuge in a monastery, but the brothers set fire to it and killed him along with five monks. Chained and exiled in a penitential pilgrimage, they “made a pilgrimage throughout all the lands of the faithful” until they decided to go to Niðarós, “led by the fame of the martyr”. In a Sunday night before the matins, in front of the altar of the Saint the younger brother was miraculously freed from his chains, and healed from the pain and swelling that those had provoked in his arm.

Both miracles appear in the first block of miracles, and they are obviously alike. The protagonists (the brothers, the killed mother and step-father), the penitence, the journey throughout all Christendom and even the way of murdering (arson) are the same. Moreover, both miracles happen in the same day, a Sunday. The miracle of the brothers of Chartres appears before, and seems to be the original. The miracle of the Galician brothers is very alike and appears to be based on the other, but lacks of some information: it does not say why the murder is perpetrated – due to an inheritance quarrel, in the case of Chartres’- nor what happens to the older brother. In the Galician brothers’ miracle, only the younger is healed by St. Olav. This lack of information comes from shortening and adapting the first miracle: in the Galician brothers’ miracle, it is stated that they travel through “all the lands of the faithful”, but the whole passage in Jerusalem is missing, which is where one of the Chartres’ brothers is healed.

Other clue may point the Charrtes’ brothers miracle as being the elder. Chartres was a very important pilgrimage destination in the centre, while Santiago was a semi-peripheral pilgrimage site whose importance started to rise later, not long before the miracles of St. Olav were written. It is worth noting that the Chartres’ brothers were not pardoned at their shrine,

87 Ierosoliman usque uenerunt, ibique ad sepulchrum domini ferrum, quo laicus frater in brachio ligatus fuerat, abruptum est. Passio, p. 96
88 Totum pene christianum orbem absolutionis gratia peragrarunt. Passio, p. 96
89 Uenerunt itaque ad ecclesiam beati olau. Passio, p. 102
90 Unde ferro et grauissima penitentia asstricti uniuersos fidelium peragrant fines. Passio, p.102
but travel specifically to Jerusalem, and yet they had to come all the way back and until Niðarós. The first miracle, longer and more complete, can thus have been adapted before, trying to wrest importance from Chartres in favor of St. Olav. Only the rising importance of Santiago as a pilgrimage site made the writer adapt it later, this time using two Galician brothers.

Paganism is also one of the main themes in the miracles. Olav takes a prominent position as a Christian saint against paganism, which is consistent with the reason for his martyrdom according to his Passio. In his miracles, St. Olav mostly frees Christians who have been captured by pagans, something which Santiago also does. He also reconverts pagans to Christianity, or heals those who convert. St. Olav, though, usually never takes an aggressive position or fights off the pagans himself in the way Santiago does, but instead helps through indirect miracles, like opening a door or freeing a Christian captive from his chains.

St. Olav takes a more aggressive position only once, in a miracle granted to the emperor of Constantinople. In a battle against the pagans, the emperor finds himself losing, and asks for the saint’s help, whom “appeared to some of the soldiers and preceded the vanguard of the Christians as an illustrious standard-bearer”. The Christians slaughter the pagans, and later a church devoted to the Virgin Mary and St. Olav is built in Constantinople.

This miracle also appears in Snorri’s Heimskringla, written ca. 1230. The emperor is identified as Kirjalax (i.e. Alexios Kommenos I, †1118), who encountered a great army of heathens in an incursion into Blökumannaland (probably Romania). After the Greeks, the French and the Flemish are defeated by the heathens, the emperor finally sends the Varangians. The Varangians, who were badly outnumbered, called upon St. Olav, promising to build and consecrate a church to him if he aided them in battle. When they charged against the heathens, the pagan king, who was blind, asked “Who is this noble man who rides on a white horse in front of the troops?”

It is difficult to say what sources Snorri used in order to present this miracle. Certainly, white horses are not uncommon in the Christian iconography: it is the color of one of the Apocalypse raiders, who is also given a crown and a bow, and sets out as a conqueror. Today, this rider is identified with Pestilence, but this interpretation is modern. St. Irenaeus

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91 Apparet martir quibusdam de exercitu, et christianam aciem signifier insignis precedit, Passio p. 77.
92 Par var eigi minni liðsmunr en svá, at sexti heiðingja væri i móti einum kristnum manni, en eigi síðr hélđu Verringjar til bardaga allðjarfliga, HK, Hákoni herðibreidd saga ch. 21
93 “Hverr er sá hinn tiguligi maðr, er þar riðr á þeim hvita hesti fyrir líði þeirra?”
94 Revelations 6:2.
identified it with Christ in his book *Adversus Heresiae* (ca. 180). He considered that it was the same rider on a white horse mentioned a bit later, “called Faithful and True (...) [who has] on his head many crowns (...) and the armies of heaven were following him”. A similar passage can be read in *Niðrstigningar Saga*: «Then he came on a white horse. And the commander who rode the horse is the most noble of all».

Even though this is not an unusual iconography, there are only three saints who usually appear riding a white horse: Santiago, St. George (St. Jordi in Catalanian) and St. Millán. All three saints usually appear fighting off pagans, and in the Iberian Peninsula, all three are *matamoros* saints. Santiago is identified with the kingdom of Galicia and León (and later Castile), St. Millán belongs to Castile and St. Jordi is usually the saint helping the Catalanian counts and Aragonese kings against the pagans.

Santiago, in his facet as *matamoros*, always appears as a knight riding a white horse. In the miracles, he is also usually in front of the Christian troops, leading them as a standard-bearer. This can be seen in the miracle of the battle of Clavijo, whose author was a monk of the scriptorium of Santiago. According to the legend, during the battle of Clavijo (ca. 844), Santiago appeared on a white horse, holding a white standard in front of the Christian troops, leading them to victory. In payment for his help, the king of Asturias Ramiro I granted to the church of Compostela the *Voto de Santiago*, consisting of an annual tax and a part of the booty taken from the moors, as much as is due to a knight.

St. Millán and even St. Isidoro will also appear as *matamoros* saints, but later and modelled after Santiago. St. Millán, a hermit from the 6th century, appears as a *matamoros* in Gonzalo de Berceo’s Life of St. Millán, written in the first half of the 13th century. According to Berceo, in the year 934 the emir of Cordoba Abd-ar-Rahman III, decided to attack the lands of the Christians. The king Ramiro II of León consulted with his noblemen and churchmen and decided to pay an annual tax (the *Voto de Santiago*) to Santiago, hoping to have his aid in battle in return. The count of Castile Fernán González thought it was wise to do the same with San Millán. The day after, during the battle of Hacinas, San Millán appeared along with

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95 Revelation 19.
99 Castile was not a kingdom yet, but a very powerful, semi-independent county.
Santiago, both in horses “whiter than crystal” (dos cavallos plus blancos que cristal), with Santiago wearing a cross and St. Millán wearing a mitre. In front of the Christian troops, they led them to battle and, of course, killed many Moors. St. Isidore of Seville also appears once as a matamoros saint, again modelled as Santiago. It is in the legend of the battle of Baeza (1147). The legend appears in De Miraculis Sancti Isidori (Miracles of St. Isidore), written by the canon Lucas of Tuy ca. 1221 – 1239. According to the legend, St. Isidoro appeared to the king Alfonso VII of Castile and León in a dream, urging him to keep fighting for Baeza and promising his help. He called himself “Isidore, successor of the Apostle Santiago by grace and preaching. This right hand who goes with me is of the Apostle Santiago himself, defender of Spain”. The banner of Baeza, supposedly used in the battle (but actually crafted at the end of the 13th or the 14th century) represents Isidore welding a sword and riding a white horse.

In conclusion, we can see in the miracles reviewed, both from Olav and Santiago, a common European tradition, which has been adapted in the semi-peripheries to match the personality of their saints. Consequently, the common European miracle The hanged man is taken from the center and adapted in both semi-peripheries accordingly with the saint’s personality: Olav helps as a law-giver and enforcer, Santiago saves his pilgrim from a malicious innkeeper. Santiago takes a strong position against Saracens, but as they were not a concern in Norway, Olav is shown as a fighter against paganism instead. As a new saint, it was needed to build Olav’s position as a powerful and universal saint and Niðarós as a first-line pilgrimage site. Therefore, a miracle is adapted to show that a pilgrimage to him in is Niðarós more powerful and beneficial than one to Jerusalem or to Chartres. Once another influential site starts to rise –in this case, Santiago de Compostela – the miracle is re-adapted again in order to serve the same purpose.

Diego Gelmírez was the launcher and sponsor of the canon law in the Iberian Peninsula in the 12th century, being the one who successfully introduced the Roman canon law in place of the Visigoth canon law. Not a legislator himself, when he travelled to Rome in the year 1104 to see the pope, he visited Gregory of St. Crisogno, at this time archdeacon of Lucca, and urged him to write a treatise of canon law. He composed the so-called Polycarpus around 1104 –

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100 Baeza was not taken by force, but actually surrendered after a long siege.
1113, which he dedicated to Diego Gelmírez. This treatise would heavily influence Gratian’s Decretum.

Polycarpus has Buchard of Worms’ Decretum as its most important source, yet it is not so noticeable in the first book, where the works of Anselm of Lucca are more influential. The 74 titles and the letters of St. Gregory the Great are also between the sources used for the composition of this treaty. Texts from the Liber Pontificalis are included, as in many other Gregorian canon compilations. The tone of this compilation, and especially of the first book – which deals with the primacy and the special rights of Rome – is strongly papalist, an indication of Diego’s commitment to the Gregorian reform.

Almost all the canons from the Polycarpus can be found in Gratian’s Decretum, which also has Isidore’s Etymologiae among its sources. The Spanish conciliar texts were also of central importance in the making of Gratian’s Decretum.

Gratian’s Decretum was the main source of Eysteinn’s legislative work. He was behind the law of succession for the Norwegian throne, given in the time of Magnús and the Canones Nidrosienses, a compendium of canon law. Gratian’s Decretum forms the rock of European legal culture. Its content and methodology shaped the core of the Western legal tradition, including the establishment of natural law as an important element of the legal system.

The Canones Nidrosienses are a compendium of canon law written by either by Eysteinn or under his supervision and command. These CN were found in a document in the British Library in the 1930s, and can be dated before the year 1200. The canons begin with the coronation oath of king Magnús (1163/1164), followed by fifteen canons.

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104 R.A. Fletcher, St. James’s Catapult:... p. 117.


108 From now on referred as CN.

109 Erik Gunnes, Erkebiskop Øystein..., p. 136

110 Winroth considers it may have been Stephen of Orvieto, supervised by Eysteinn. See Tore Iversen, ed., Archbishop Eysteinn as Legislator: The European Connection (Trondheim: Tapir academic press, 2011), p. 84

111 Erik Gunnes, Erkebiskop Øystein..., p. 66

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The CN are aimed to introduce the European canon law in Norway, as well as develop the Gregorian Reform and protect the *libertas ecclesiae*, the Church rights and protect its property. This can be seen already in the first canon: Gratian based this canon in the canon I of the 9th council of Toledo (year 655).

In Gratian’s and Toledo’s canon, if a priest is defrauding his church, the founder or his heirs must warn the bishop or the judge. If the bishop and the archbishop were also corrupt, then they should go to the king. The Norwegian canon, however, eliminates the judge in the first case. In the second case, the bishop and the archbishop being also corrupt, the Norwegian canon adds that the person to go to is the pope, through the king (*per regem domno pape denuntient*). The king is not mentioned as the one who should provide judgment, but as the intermediary between these seeking justice and the one who should provide it, the Pope, as head of the Church.

The CN are here updating the law according to the Reform. The judge and the king are secular powers, who should not intervene in Church legal matters. Moreover, the CN tries to draw the lines of the *ius patronatus*, a system in which the layman founder of the church could nominate its incumbent, but could not dispose of the church’s property or income.

Diego faced the same problem Eysteinn was addressing in this canon, but he was no legislator. Instead, he obtained a papal disposition from Paschal II in 1104. It was aimed to protect “the freedom of the Church of Compostela”. In it, Paschal established that “nobody will be permitted in any way to recklessly invade these churches or seize their riches or retain them once seized, but all those riches must be preserved for your [Diego’s], the clergy’s and the poors’ use”.

This same letter gives us another hint of the reformist program Diego was carrying out. In this case, it is the new Roman liturgy, alike in all churches throughout Christendom. The power of Diego as archbishop is also stated later on in the same sentence: “And we add too that bishops and ministers of bishops of these same churches cannot impose new uses, nor excommunicate

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113 For a full study about the differences in this canon between Gratian and Eysteinn, see Winroth in *Archbishop Eysteinn as Legislator…* p. 76 – 79.
115 *Decernimus ergo, ut nulli omnino liceat easdem ecclesias temere inuadere aut bona illarum auferre vel ablata retinere, sed omnia integre seruentur tam tuis quam clericorum et pauperum usibus profutura*. HC, p. 31
or forbid other clergymen of the same churches without your examination and sentence of guilt”.

He also obtained from the same pope more specific resolutions regarding the subdeacon Suero, who using his secular power had seized the church of St. Michael. He commanded the church to be restored to the archbishopric of Santiago or Suero would be “removed from the Church”.

The privilege letter and the oath of the king Magnús, given during Eysteinn’s archbishopric, have also received a lot of scholarly attention. Gunnès has compared the relationship between the king Magnús and St. Olav in this document with the relationship between Santiago and the king in the Spanish documents. According to Gunnès,

“The Æystein knew the Privilege of Charlemagne and probably all the book of Turpin. (…) In 1124 the archbishop [Gelmírez] made the young king of Galicia a knight, and made him, the chronicle says, a miles St. Jacobi – Santiago’s knight. (…) Three years later the king appeared in Santiago as «Santiago’s standard bearer», at the same time as the archbishop is granted new privileges in a letter placed at the altar. The standard bearer is the kingdom’s first man after the king. The parallel is striking with what happened in Norway forty to fifty years later”.

Gunnès does not say what chronicle he is taking these references from, and I have not been able to locate any of them either in Historia Compostellana or in Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. In the Historia Compostellana, Alfonso VII does not become a knight of Santiago, but becomes a knight in front of the altar of Santiago. That is actually a common sentence of Pedro Marcio, one of the authors of the Historia Compostellana. He will repeat it several times, when he wants to assert Diego’s moral superiority. For example, in the chapter Gunnès cites it says:

Because he loved him since he baptised him and anointed him and crowned him king, and as adult with his own hands he made him a knight in front of the altar of Santiago.

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116 “Adicimus etiam, ut nec episcopis uel episcoporum ministris facultas sit in eisdem ecclesiis quaslibet novas imponere consuetudines, nec ipsarum clericos uel ipsas ecclesias excommunicare aut interdicere absque tua examinatione et certioris culpa cognitione” HC, p. 31

117 HC, p. 76

118 Erik Gunnès, Erkebiskop Øystein..., p. 126

119 (…) tum quia eum a se baptizatum semper dilexerat et in regem uncxerat et coronauerat et postea adultum propis manibus ante altare beati Iacobi in militem aramuerat HC, p. 403

120 Tum quia eum a se baptizatum semper dilexerat et in regem unicxerat et coronauerat et postea adultum propis manibus ante altarem beati Iacobi in militem aramuerat HC, p. 403
And again, in the chapter CI:

“\[\text{\textit{I baptised you and I was and still are your godfather. In the right moment, I anointed you and crowned you, with my own hands I made you a knight in front of the altar of Santiago.}}\]\textsuperscript{121}

Furthermore, Alfonso VII does not appear as “Santiago’s standard bearer” in the \textit{Historia Compostellana} while giving a privilege to the Church. His son Fernando II\textsuperscript{122} did call himself Santiago’s standard bearer (\textit{beati Iacobi vexillifer}) in a privilege letter to the archbishop Martin of Santiago (Diego had died many years before) given in Compostela in 1158.\textsuperscript{123}

The reason why there can be seen parallelisms between these two saints is that both have their roots in the transformation of European culture. Eysteinn draws from the Privilege letter of Charlemagne and Louis VI of France giving the crown to St. Denis in 1120, naming the saint head and protector of the realm.\textsuperscript{124} In Santiago’s case, the Cathedral was heavily influenced by the French culture. Even, the writer of the \textit{Liber Sancti Iacobi} and at least one of the writers of the \textit{Historia Compostellana} were French.\textsuperscript{125} In this context, St. Olav is used to give legitimacy to the king, and moral superiority to the archbishop in his role as representative of the saint in the world; in the same way the pope acts as representative of Christ. However, in \textit{Historia Compostellana} Santiago is used to support and provide a higher moral ground to the bishop over the king: this sentence appear when Pedro Marcio wants to argue the primacy of the Church of Compostela in a quarrel with the king. In the case of the first example, the king had extorted Diego for money. In the second example, Diego is obtaining a privilege.

Both saints are taking very different character and giving response to different situations. King Magnús Erlingsson had a legitimacy problem: his claim to the throne had not more nor less legitimacy than Sverrir’s or any other claiming to have royal blood. The Law of Succession, another important legislative work of Eysteinn, addressed the problem by introducing a law which restricted the legitimacy to a fixed line of succession. Once the king is dead, a council of churchmen and rich farmers should proclaim the new king, following this set line of succession.\textsuperscript{126} This law reflects European principles like the concept of \textit{rex iustus} and Augustinian concepts of kingship; and also texts like the Canon 75 of the Fourth council.

\textsuperscript{121} “\textit{Ego te baptizavi et patrinus tuus sum et fui. Te in rege opportuno unxi et coronaui, te in militem ante altare beati Iacobi propriis manibus armaui}” HC, p. 412

\textsuperscript{122} Born in 1137 and king in León from 1157 until his death in 1188. His brother Sancho III inherited the kingdom of Castile.

\textsuperscript{123} Julio González, \textit{Regesta de Fernando II} (Madrid, 1953), p. 350

\textsuperscript{124} Erik Gunnes, \textit{Erkebiskop Øystein…}, p. 123


of Toledo (year 633), which also tried to set a framework for succession in the Visigoth kingdom.  

This law is not exempt from a reference to St. Olav:

But after the king’s passing all bishops and abbots and leaders of the hird with all the retainers should seek north of their own accord to the holy king Olav to council with the archbishop, and each bishop should appoint 12 of the wisest men to go with him. And they should all be on the road within the first month after hearing of the king’s passing. And there should be offered the crown of the king that has passed, for his soul, and it should hang there for eternity to the honour of God and the holy Olav, as king Magnús promised, the first crowned king in Norway.  

In the Law of Succession, the Privilege and the coronation oath of king Magnús, the figure of St. Olav is giving response to a legitimacy problem. Magnús is identified with Olav, being the temporal king of Norway on behalf of St. Olav, the spiritual, perpetual king of Norway. By surrendering the crown to St. Olav the legitimacy to the throne resided now in the council which, according to the Law of Succession, should gather to choose the new king. No other assembly (or thing) could appoint another king, as it had happened before, except the one at Niðarós under the auspices at the Archbishop.

The case of Santiago is, though, different. Nor Urraca nor Alfonso VII had any legitimacy issue: she was the sole and rightful heir to the previous king, and so was Alfonso to his mother Urraca. The Historia Compostellana is deeply biased against Urraca, whom is usually referred as “a second Jezabel” or “this Jezabel”; but her right to the throne is never in doubt. The kings of León draw their legitimacy from claiming to be descendants of the Visigothic royal line and kingdom. This way of legitimize kingship had nothing to do with the role of Santiago as a saint, and it is previous to the saint’s tomb “discovery” in the 9th century.

Nevertheless, as St. Olav, Santiago also played a political part. Not providing legitimacy, as that was not the issue for Diego, but providing political protection in his role as patron saint. Diego was also a temporal lord, and during Urraca’s time he was subject to several plots against him, to the point of having his temporalities seized and being imprisoned. Later,

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127 Erik Gunnes, Erkebiskop Øystein..., p. 112
128 En efter frafall konongs, þæ se sílabbōd biscopom ollom, oc abotom, oc hirðstiorom með hirð ælre at sækia norðr til hins helga Olafs konongs, til umræðes við ærkebiscop, oc nemne biscox hvevri xii hina vitrastu men með sér, se aller a for innm fyrsta manadaðar, siðan er Peir spyría frafall konongsins, oc se Par ofrað korona konongs, Peess er Pa er fra fallenn firí sal hans, oc hange Par eliğlega gauði til dyrðar oc hínun helga Olave kononge, effer Pvi sem iatte Magnus konongr, hinn fyrsti koronaðr konongr í Norege. Norges Gamle Love, p. 4
129 According to the Bible, Jezabel was a queen of the ancient Israel, guilty of massacring the priests of Yahweh and idolater of the god Baal.
Alfonso VII would threaten him with seizing his temporalities if Diego refused to lend him money. Diego’s problem, then, was of political nature. The Historia Compostellana tries to show it by depicting a supposed conversation the queen Urraca has with him, in the church of Santiago, after her plot to imprison him failed:

“Reverend father [Diego], under whose protection is the kingdom of Galicia; you, the only one I have as protector after my father the king Alfonso’s death (...) I would prefer to lose my kingdom before laying hands on you, my lord and protector. Because, who can be as criminal and lost as to do even the least dishonor against the bishop of Santiago?”

It is noteworthy that the one referred to as patron and protector is not the saint, but the archbishop. Diego needed not only to protect and secure himself as temporal lord, but also as the most prominent churchman in the peninsula: his battle for supremacy against the archbishopric of Toledo was constant. For this he needed an important, universal saint, who could give him prominence over the archbishopric of Toledo. Using Santiago, Diego places himself as the head of the Church in the peninsula, protector and patron of the temporal just as Santiago is of the spiritual.

Both Eysteinn and Diego were deeply influenced by the new ideology and culture coming from the French center. Eysteinn studied in Paris and Diego had several French scribes in his scriptorium, not to mention all the influences coming to Compostela through the Way of Santiago. They are using the same sources and ideology they are receiving from the center, but changing and reshaping them according to their needs and culture.

In the case of the saints, Eysteinn was not in need of a «Reconquista saint», as nor Islam or paganism was a serious threat in Norway; but he needed a saint who could provide legitimacy to a newly appointed king. Diego did not face a legitimacy issue, but a «Reconquista saint» fit with the legitimizing ideology of the Leonese kings. The political Augustinian concepts of kingship and society that the Gregorian Reform tried to implement are present in the work of Eysteinn and Diego. By giving to St. Olav –and hence, to the Church- the legitimacy of the throne (Eysteinn) and placing himself as protector of the temporal realm (Diego) they place the spiritual sword (the power of the Church) over the temporal sword (the power of the king).

Both needed, though, a powerful saint popular among the masses, who could attract many

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130 “Reuerende pater, cuius patrocinio uertitur Gallicie regnum, quem solum post obitum patri mei regis (...) Ego enim mallem priuari regno meo, quam in te dominum meum patronum manum mittere. Quis enim tam sceleratys tamque perditus qui episcopum sancti Iacobi ael in minimo dedecoret?” HC, p. 182

131 For a longer explanation of Diego’s quarrels with the archbishops of Toledo, see f.ex. R.A. Fletcher, St. James’s Catapult...
pilgrims and alms. The same miracles, previously attested in the center, are now re-shaped by Diego and Eysteinn in order to match the personal characteristics of each saint (a knightly saint, a law-giver), using the same methods to attract pilgrims as we have seen in other places of Europe, i.e. placing them above other saints by performing a miracle those could not perform.

For Eysteinn and Diego, introducing the Gregorian Reform was also a way to protect themselves from the kings of their respective kingdoms, in a context of war and political disputes that lasted most of their lives. The *Libertas Ecclesiae* meant for them not only a new way to see the Church and its relationship with the temporal powers, but also a new instrument that could ensure their personal and economical safety.

**Linking the semi-peripheries: The pilgrimage to Niðarós and Santiago de Compostela.**

The beginning of pilgrimage is rooted both in pre-Christian practices and in the cult of the martyrs of the early church. A common practice of the Roman world was to resort to some places for healing, divination, or in order to perform some special kind of ritual. On the other hand, early Christians soon started to go on little pilgrimages to cemeteries in order to visit the remains of martyrs. Rome’s laws against disturbing or replacing mortal remains maintained these relics in their original location until around the year 600 in the West.¹³² Later these relics where spread (sometimes sold, sometimes stolen) through all Christendom. In the same time the emergence of new saints and holy men and women in the west created more relics, holy places and the foundation of more shrines.

The most important pilgrimage was to Holy Land, followed by Rome and Compostela in the west, the most important center of pilgrimage in the Iberian Peninsula. There is no tradition relating the body of Santiago to Compostela until the 9th century, but there was a tradition of venerating a tomb in the area.¹³³ According to the legend, in the year 813 a hermit living there warned the bishop Teodomiro about some strange lights he had been seeing in the area. After fasting for three days, Teodomiro went there and found the tomb of the Apostle. The king of Asturias, Alfonso II (783 and 791–842) knew of the discovery and hurried to build a church for the Apostle.

¹³³ Which some scholars identify as the resting place of Priscillian.
The legend does not appear before the 11th century, so the real history of how the tomb was found remains unknown. A document issued by Alfonso II in the year 834, and conserved in the Cathedral of Oviedo, gives rights to the land surrounding the tomb of Santiago to the new church (built in 829), hence the discovery must have been claimed shortly before.

The pilgrimage to Santiago gained importance in the subsequent centuries and reached its zenith in the 11th and 12th centuries, corresponding to the decrease of the pilgrimages to Rome. Horton and Davies point out that the reason why the pilgrimage to Rome decreased was related to the translatio of relics from the catacombs to churches in the center of Rome. However, not all these relics abandoned Rome (some were, of course, sold or stolen), but merely placed out of the catacombs and into the cathedrals in the very same city. It does not seem likely that the pilgrimage to Rome decreased due to the lack of relics, even more if we take into account that Rome also has two Apostles buried there.

On the other hand, the rapid rise of Compostela is explained as the “Spanish need to find a Christian equivalent to the Muslim Kaaba”. The importance of pilgrimage to Mecca is undeniable, and obviously nothing unheard of in the Spanish Middle Ages, but the developers of the Road of Santiago most probably had other pilgrimages in mind. Rome seems like the most likely candidate, as by the time that the pilgrimage to Santiago appears it was the most important pilgrimage center in the west, and its pilgrimage is also based on the assumption that two Apostles are buried there. This idea is also reinforced by the treatment given to the figure of Santiago by the promoters of his pilgrimage and image. Santiago is presented as the most important of the Apostles, displacing even Saint Peter (as he, and not Peter, was the first to enter into Paradise). In the liturgical celebrations he is presented as an image of Christ. In his miracles, like Christ, he walks over the waters. The idea was not to have a “Christian Kaaba”, but to replace Rome as the center of the western pilgrimage.

It is difficult to know what the motivations for pilgrimage were. Most pilgrims were illiterate and left no account of their pilgrimage. There were as many motivations as pilgrims, but pilgrimage being first and foremost a religious activity we can assume that most of them had a religious motivation, even if this was not the only one or even the most important in their pilgrimage.

135 Horton Davies and Marie-Helene Davies, *Holy Days…*, p. 51
A pilgrimage was a quest for sanctity, for the enlightening and cleansing of the soul. Following the precept “take your cross and follow me”, pilgrims departed in a hazardous quest that would prove their commitment to God. Renouncing to their previous lives, travelling as sacred wanderers in contrition and austerity, they became alike to a monk. They expected to be cured or have their wishes granted by the pilgrimage and the contemplation of relics; a new start with a now cleansed soul and a bit of help from the saint in order to enter into Heaven. Some of them travelled when already sick, expecting to die on the way, for a pious pilgrim who dies during pilgrimage will surely go into Heaven.

Many pilgrims were on pilgrimage in order to fulfill a vow, either for themselves or in behalf of others, like a relative, a friend or a lord. Pilgrimages appeared also in the last wills, to be done by the heirs for the soul of the deceased and sometimes even as a pre-requisite for inheritance. Professional pilgrims entered in this category, doing pilgrimages on behalf of others for a price. Only the Pope could grant a dispensation of these vows, petition common enough by the 12th century to make the Pope Innocence III to lay down a procedure for granting them. Several examples of these petitions have survived in the papal archives.

Guilt and penances were another reason to make a pilgrimage. The Chronica Naierensis (ca. 1173) tells us that the king García Sanchez III, still a prince then, went on pilgrimage to Rome on penance for falsely accusing his mother of adultery. García went indeed to Rome, yet maybe penance was not the true reason why, as the whole story of the adultery accusation is false. Anyway, the passage shows us that penitential pilgrimages were normal in the 12th century, when the Chronica was composed.

Penitential pilgrimages are also depicted in the Old Norse sources. In Orkneyinga saga we can see a penitential pilgrimage done by the pilgrim both himself and in behalf of a relative: Saint Magnúss offers his kinsman the earl Hákon to go on penitential pilgrimage to Rome or to the Holy Land, both for his soul and for Hákon’s.

Penitential pilgrimages could be imposed too, by a priest or a court. In this case the pilgrim may or may not have been willing to go, but had no option. It resembled more an exile than a

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137 Horton Davies and Marie-Helene Davies, Holy Days…, p. 20
139 “(…) Sá er hinn fysti, at ek mun ganga suðr til Róms, eðr allt út í Jórsala-heim, ok sakja heim helga staði, ok hafa tvau skip ör landi með Því sem vör Purfjum at hafa, ok bata hvárs-tveggja okkars sál” Gudbrand Vigfusson, ed., Orkneyinga Saga and Magnus Saga (London, 1887), p. 52. From now on, I will refer to this book as OS.
pilgrimage, and some of these pilgrims had no other motivation than to fulfill the sentence. The pilgrims constituted a group apart and they were made public examples, wearing special clothing, chains and going barefoot to be recognized.

The rising popularity of pilgrimages from the 11th century also dragged people to the road, seeking honor and glory in their homelands after a long and dangerous pilgrimage. Compostela was, in this regard, a very good choice. The road was difficult and dangerous. The Codex Calixtinus (ca. 1150) gives the best description of the road in this time. It lists several natural threats in the road: In France there were large forests where it was easy to get lost, difficult rivers (for example, the Loire) or marshy lands in Orleans. Crossing the Pyrenees was of course one of the most difficult parts of the journey, just to find on the other side the deserts and the unmerciful sun of the Spanish plateau. Bandits, robbers and wild animals were a problem too. And of course, as in the Holy Land, there were heathens. Yet, contrarily to Jerusalem, the pilgrimage roads were never closed, which added an advantage to the Compostelan pilgrimage. Therefore, the pilgrimage to Santiago had all the features of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land (infidels, difficult roads, deserts…) but the advantage of being closer to home and having the routes always open. Consequently, once the Seljukian Turks closed the road to Jerusalem, the pilgrimage to Compostela flourished.140 Additionally, the road to Compostela was connected with several other shrines and relics, allowing the pilgrims to visit them along the road or with very short detours. The shrines of St Martin of Tours, in France or St Isidore of Seville in Spain are just two examples of them.

In Norway, the most important center of pilgrimage was the tomb of St. Olav in Niðarós. The cult of St. Olav started almost immediately after his death in 1030; as soon as 1050 he is already referred to as a saint in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.141 With time, his popularity rose to became the second most important saint in the Norse world, surpassed only by Mary, and an identity symbol both for the monarchy and the common people as well. However, it was not until the erection of an archbishop’s see in Niðarós that the cult of St. Olav was made into a system to promote the ecclesiastical and political interests of the Norwegian church leadership.142

140 Horton Davies and Marie-Helene Davies, Holy Days…, p. 54
142 Steinar Imsen, “The Nidaros Church… p.23
Already in Eysteinn’s time pilgrims gathered for the annual celebration of the saint on 28 and 29 July. The first accounts of miracles of St. Olav prior to the writing of the *Passio* were meant to be read to the crowds that gathered in the saint’s days. The people integrated in a common Christian identity in connection with the cult of St. Olav. A local saint made the territory part of God’s world.143

Attracting pilgrims to the shrine was also a major concern. Pilgrims offered not only popularity and a good reputation for the shrine, but also their alms greatly helped the economy of the diocese, a special need both for Diego and Eysteinn, who engaged both in costly building programs for their cathedrals. As we have seen, the miracle stories were aimed to be read and enhance the popularity of the saint. That is why those who do not comply with the promises given to the saint are punished later (like the Christian freed from the pagans, in the case of St. Olav) and those who could not be cured or helped by another saint received their miracle once they underwent a pilgrimage to St. Olav (in the case of the brothers of Chartres and of Galicia) or to Santiago (in the case of the children resurrected at the Oca mountains). This type of miracles is targeted against those shrines who are regarded as competitors: Jerusalem and Santiago, in the case of Niðarós; and St. Martin of Tours, in the case of Santiago.

Eysteinn also searched for a legal way to protect the pilgrims to St. Olav. Pilgrimages to St. Olav are mentioned extensively in the Privilege letter of the king Magnús. Pilgrims, «both locals and foreigners», should be able to undergo their pilgrimage and give their alms in peace, no matter if there is unrest in the kingdom. Whoever kills, robs or abuses a pilgrim in any way will be declared an outlaw and if killed, cannot rest in holy ground.144 Indeed, even though Niðarós never reached the same popularity as pilgrimage site as Santiago or Rome, it become the most important shrine in Scandinavia, and St. Olav the most important king-saint of the Nordic countries. The alms and the trade that came with this permanent influx of pilgrims enriched the archbishopric of Niðarós.

Pilgrimage, alms-giving or promises to the saint are an integral part of each miracle story. In the case of St. Olav, in twelve miracles the protagonist receives the miracle either after completing the pilgrimage or when promising to make it. In ten miracles it is stated that the miracle happens during Olav’s day. In the case of Santiago most of the receivers are pilgrims,

144 Eirik Vandvik, ed., *Latiniske Dokument...* p. 60
if not knights. Only in 4 miracles it is not stated that the protagonist was or was going to be a pilgrim, but in these cases they are knights or pilgrims coming back from Jerusalem.

In contrast with the Passio, there are only three miracles where it is said that the receiver arrives in Santiago for the saint’s feast. The reason for that is unclear, and it may also be a variety of reasons, ranging from the climate to simply the writing style of the compiler. Anyway, if the miracles are to be read during the saint’s feast and the goal is to enhance the popularity of the saint, it makes sense to try to get as many pilgrims as possible during the saint’s feast. In Santiago’s case, though, his sainthood and martyrdom was already known and accepted by all, and by the 12th century the Way of Santiago was structured enough to have pilgrims listening to miracles and stories of the saint in the hospices and inns throughout the Way all year.

The first accounts of a Scandinavian pilgrimage to Compostela are two 12th century pilgrimages covered extensively in Heimskringla and Orkneyinga saga: those of the king Sigurðr in the year 1109 and the earl Rögnvaldr in 1151.

Sigurðr Jórslaðari is the first Scandinavian known by name who visits Santiago. Heimskringla tells us that Sigurðr planned to winter in Galicia and trade there for goods, but those lasted only until Christmas, because it was a poor land. Then, Sigurðr attacked the local earl’s castle and took a lot of provisions and booty, which he loaded into his ships and proceeded to leave Galicia.145

The trip of earl Rögnvaldr to Santiago is more elaborated.146 Rögnvaldr goes to Galicia, where he tries to trade with the folk living there. The townspeople tell him that they are poor and constantly bullied by a foreign chieftain, Guðífrey, who takes everything he wants from them. Rögnvaldr promises to help them, and in return he will keep all booty he can take from the castle and be allowed to trade. After a while, Rögnvaldr decides to attack the castle, as it would not be honorable to break a promise, wins and earns a lot of booty. Nevertheless, the chieftain escapes with the aid of Eindriði the Young, one of the Rögnvaldr’s fellows.

Rögnvaldr’s pilgrimage in Orkneyinga saga is modeled on Sigurðr’s pilgrimage, based on the source behind Fagrskinna, Morkinskinna and Heimskringla;147 but a real event may lie behind it. The Historia Compostellana tells us about some «pirates from England», who arrive in

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145 C.R. Unger, Heimskringla Ellers Norges Kongesagaer (Christiania, 1868), Saga Sigurðar jórsalafara, Eysteinns ok Ólafs, ch. 4. I will refer to this book as HK.
146 OS, p. 162 – 167.
Galicia around the year 1111 or 1112 on their way to Jerusalem. In this moment, the king Alfonso I of Aragón was trying to control the kingdom of Castile and war had broken out in Galicia between those supporting Urraca and her son Alfonso (later Alfonso VII) and those supporting Alfonso I of Aragón. Pelayo Gudesteiz was one of the noblemen supporting the aragonese king.

The Compostellana tells us that Pelayo Gudesteiz had hired those English pirates as mercenaries. They had ransacked, kidnapped and stolen “as it is their custom”, but finally and with the aid of Santiago, the pirates were defeated. Those who were not killed were later freed by Diego after they swore not to attack Christians anymore.

The similarities between this story and the passage in Orkneyinga saga have led many scholars to identify Guðifrey with Gudisteiz. The castle does not appear in the pirates’ chapter, but in the next chapter we are told that the castles of Sampayo and Darbo were being besieged at the same time. It is also worth noting that the pirates are called anglie, and not normanni, nordomanni or lordomanni as the Scandinavian pirates are usually called in the Iberian medieval chronicles. The Galician coasts have suffered several Viking attacks, and thus Scandinavian raiders were well known to them. Hence, the choice of word is not accidental, but shows clearly where those pirates came from.

Moreover, the Compostellana tells us that they had come to loot “as it is their custom”. The chronicle is biased and the pirates are portrayed in a bad light, but this remark seems candid: it probably reflects more the author’s acknowledgement of these pirates as part of the Scandinavian world than the bias of the chronicle against Diego’s enemies.

If the Guðifrey of Orkneyinga saga has been correctly identified with Pelayo Gudisteiz, Rögnvaldr’s party could not have been the English pirates of the text, as they arrived to Galicia decades after the event. It is also unlikely that it refers to Sigurðr’s party: He arrived in the year 1109, but the events described in the Compostellana happened two years later. Anyway, the details that may link Guðifrey with Gudisteiz appear only in Orkneyinga saga, so if the identification is correct, the author of Orkneyinga saga may have based this event both in the source underlying the accounts of Fagrskinna, Morkinskinna and Heimskringla and another unknown source or oral tradition depicting the event also present in Historia Compostellana.

148 HC, Liber I, ch. LXXVI, p. 118
149 «spolia ad classem comportabant», p. 118
150 See e.g., R. Dozy or Emma Falque.
In any case, *Orkneyinga saga* probably has some direct influence in the emphasis of the secular concepts of prestige. These pilgrimages must be seen in the context of a journey and the establishment of secular prestige by journeying.\(^{151}\)

The element of secular prestige is present since the beginning. In order to convince Rögnvaldr to go to Holy Land, Eindriði does not use piety, but prestige:

"Thus Eindriði said: It seems very odd to me, Earl, that you would not go to Jerusalem, but are content to listen to other people’s stories about it. Men of your skills are the kind who should go there; it would bring you great respect to mix with people from the noblest families"\(^ {152}\)

In *Heimskringla*, Snorri points out that as well:

> Some had been to Jerusalem, some to Constantinople (...) and there they had made themselves renowned\(^ {153}\)

Sigurðr and Rögnvaldr earn prestige during the journey not only by going to a far land, but also by showing their resourcefulness, skills and by being accepted as equals by foreign rulers. There are several examples along the passage: In the case of Rögnvaldr, he is splendidly received by the queen of Narbonne, who acknowledges him as a great man and is advised by her kinsmen that her reputation will grow by having him as visitor.\(^ {154}\) He impresses her and the people of Narbonne, who suggest to him to settle down and marry her. Upon returning to Norway, he is praised for the prestige gained by the journey:

> This journey became very famous and everyone who made it was considered much greater.\(^ {155}\)

Sigurðr shows pride and disdain for wealth, both to king Baldwin and the Byzantine emperor Alexis, and he is honored and acknowledged as an equal to them.\(^ {156}\) Upon his returning, he is

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151 OS, p. 43

152 *Ok eitt-hvert sinn er Þeir töluðu, Þá mælti Eindriði: “Þat Þykki mèr undarligt, jarl, er Pá vill eigi fara út I Jórsala-heim, ok haфа eigi sagnír einar til Þeirra tíðnda, er Þaðan era at segjá. Er sílkuð mönnum best hent Þar sakír yðvarra lista; muntú Þar best virðr sem Pá kemr með tígnum mónum”*

153 *Þá er synir Magnús konungs váru til konunga tekir, kómu utan or Jórsalaheimi, ok sumir or Miklagarði, þeir menn (...) ok váru þeir hínir frægstu ok kunnu margškonor tíðindi at segja...

154 *(...)* hon skýldi hjóða jarli til veizú virðilígrar; sögða at við Þat mundi hon fræg verða, ef hon fagnaði vel svá gófgum mónum Peim er svá langt víða kominir, ok enn mundu viða bera frægð hemarr.

155 *Ok varð Þessi ferð in frægsta; ok Póittu Peir miklu meira háttaar menn síðan, en ádr, er farit höfðu. OS, 179.*

156 Something the empress says herself, after being impressed because Sigurðr has burned wallnuts instead of wood: “hon mælti: Víst er konungr sjá stórlátr, ok mun fátt til spara sínns sóma; engi viðr logar betr en þetta. Hafði þetta til raunar gert, hvert ráð hann tæki.”
also praised for the journey and his prestige enhanced, as everyone in Norway considers him great and honourable.  

Sigurðr and Rögnvaldr go on a journey that is sometimes pilgrimage, sometimes crusade and sometimes raid, but in the episode of Galicia, we can see that, in the case of Orkneyinga saga, the frame of mind has changed. For Sigurðr, the battle against the chieftain is depicted simply as an act of raiding after a disagreement. However, Rögnvaldr engages to protect his honor and the townspeople’s rights.

In the case of Heimskringla, Sigurðr attacks and plunders his castle simply because the chieftain agrees with him to trade during the winter but refuses to keep the agreement after Christmas. However, in Orkneyinga saga Rögnvaldr attacks him upon request of the townspeople, to whom he has promised his help. Moreover, the loot taken was bestowed to him by the townsfolk, in payment for the attack, so it rightly belonged to him. He does not acquire prestige due to a blunt attack, but using a carefully planned strategy where he shows his qualities, like for example when he infiltrates the castle and speaks in French with Guðifrey, who does not notice it, in order to gather information.

Several details are given in order to justify Rögnvaldr’s attack: Guðifrey is a foreigner (útlendr), a tyrant (kúgan), very greedy and unjust (maðr ágjarn, ok újafnaðar-maðr mikill). By defining Guðifrey as a foreigner and a tyrant, the compiler is depicting Guðifrey as the antithesis of what a rex iustus should be, and unable to keep the harmony (pax) in his lands. The compiler thus removes Guðifrey’s legitimacy to rule this people, making Rögnvaldr’s attack an honorable act of liberation, and not a raid for loot. Even though the others accepted the townsfolk’s proposal because they expected to get booty from the castle, Rögnvaldr keeps his promise to the townsfolk out of honor.

The ideas and culture of Norse pilgrims can be seen in the Way of Santiago. An example of this is the church of Santa María la Real of Sangüesa, a town located in the Way of Santiago in Navarre (northern Spain). This church, built in the 12th century, has a Romanesque façade depicting the saga of Sigurðr Fáfnirsbane.  

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157 Ok var þat mál manna, at eigi haft verit farin meir i virðingarför or Noregi, en þessi var . HK, Saga Sigurðar jórsalafara, Eysteins ok Ólafs, ch. 14

The elements were sculpted by two different artists. Of one we know the name, the master of San Juan de la Peña. The other is known as “the sculptor of the big hands”, due to the big disproportionate hands that his creations have. This is the one who carved, on the left side of the façade, the scene depicting Sigurðr killing Regin. The scene bears resemblance with the one depicted in Hylestad’s church portal. A bit down in the façade, Sigurðr appears again hearing the birds singing, along with his horse. The birds may appear again in the tree, but the scene is badly damaged.

On the right side more scenes of the legend appear: the dragon Fafnir, the trial of the sword, the killing of the dragon, the smith Regin and Sigurðr with Fafnir’s heart. A very damaged figure appears seated on the left side of the anvil. It has no head, but the strong resemblance of this scene with the one appearing at Hylestad has permitted the scholar to identify it with Sigurðr taking the bellows for the forge.

However, not everyone agrees with this interpretation of the pictures. Blindheim\textsuperscript{159} considers that what the smith has is too little to be a sword. In addition, the scene is too damaged to assess anything further; therefore he did not include Sangüesa as an example of the images from this saga.

Anyway, Sangüesa was during the Middle Ages an important town, both due to its placement in the Way of Santiago and its proximity to the border with Aragon. It also has another 12\textsuperscript{th} century church dedicated to St. James, but the church of Santa María la Real is one of the most important examples of the Iberian Romanesque. The influx of pilgrims from all Europe was constant in the town, from which the legend of Sigurðr could have come. Why it was depicted in the church façade is difficult to know, but it is represented in several churches mostly in Norway, but also in Denmark and Sweden.

But pilgrims also took with them the ideas and culture they entered into contact with on the Way back to Norway. Karlamagnús saga is one example of this. There are two versions of Karlamagnús saga, the older (or “A”) written in the first half of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, and the younger (or “B”) written at the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century or the beginning of the 14\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{160} The

\textsuperscript{159} Martin Blindheim, Sigurds Saga I Middelalderens Bilder (Oslo, 1972).
\textsuperscript{160} C.R. Unger, Karlamagnus Saga Ók Kappa Hans: Fortællinger Om Keiser Karl Magnus Og Hans Jævninger. (Christiania, 1860). It is the A version.
compilers are not known, but the “A” version is written by three different hands, while the compiler of the “B” version seems to have been an Icelander.\(^{161}\)

The chapter about King Agulandus is the longest in *Karlamagnús saga*. It is based in the *Historia Karoli et Rotholandi*, also known as the *Pseudo–Turpin* Chronicle and the 12\(^{th}\) century *Chanson d'Aspremont*. *Pseudo–Turpin* is the chapter four of the *Liber*, and describes the discovering of the tomb of Santiago by Charlemagne (changing thus the traditional legend of Teodomiro’s dream), his deeds in Spain against the moors, the battle of Roncesvalles and his death. The king Agulandus is a Muslim king of Al-Andalus and the primary opponent of Charlemagne in the chronicle.

The “A” version basically translates, with few omissions, the Prologue and the first eighteen chapter of the original *Pseudo–Turpin* chronicle. The “B” version compiler, however, used the *Pseudo-Turpin* version of Vincent of Beauvais.\(^{162}\)

The *Pseudo–Turpin* was an enormous success in its time, with more than 150 manuscripts preserved in Latin, and around the same number in other vernacular languages. It has been assumed that the Old Norse version derived from the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions of the chronicle, all of them stemming from an Old French translation. However, the main characteristic of this group is that the allusion to Ogier the Dane and the songs in his honor is omitted, while it appears in the A version of *Karlamagnús*. Other features of the text also indicate that a version closer to the *Liber* than to the abridged Anglo-Norman may be the source used by the Norse compilers.

**An example of shared common culture: the Marian Miracles.**

The 11\(^{th}\) and the 12\(^{th}\) centuries saw an increase of liturgical veneration for the Virgin through all Christendom. There are two main reasons for the increase of the Marian devotion. Firstly, the Virgin did not need to establish her claim of Sanctity. She was the first of saints, mother of Christ and intercessor for the human being. Secondly, no shrine could centralize her devotion. She was assumed into heaven in body and soul so there were no mortal remains of


\(^{162}\) Constance B. Hieatt, “Karlamagnús Saga…” p. 141
her to turn into relics; yet some shrines claimed to have relics that belonged to her, like cloth pieces or breast milk.\textsuperscript{163}

The liturgical veneration of Mary as the greatest saint of the Church made her devotion more general. As her miracles were not linked to a particular relic or shrine, she could be invoked by anyone anywhere. In her miracles, the Virgin helps her devotees in very different ways: she could heal, free souls from damnation, help knights win battles or perform any type of miracle with her infinite power. Her miracles were so varied that everyone could feel identified.

Marian miracles became known by the circulation of collections of miracles. These collections appeared as an appendix of the \textit{Vitae Sanctorum}. Finally, in 11\textsuperscript{th} century France they became an independent genre, the \textit{Miracula}, and were spread through all Christendom. From the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, due to the rise of devotion and the new role of the Virgin Mary in Christian belief, collections of Miracles of the Virgin were profusely composed and copied.

Adolf Mussafia\textsuperscript{164} grouped the miracles in two blocks. The first and oldest were local miracles that happened close to a Marian shrine. The second block were universal miracles, happening around all Christendom. In this later block he classified three cycles, named after their first and last miracle: Hidelfonsus – Murielidis (H-M), Toledo – Samstag (T-S) and the cycle of the four elements (4E) which consists of four miracles where the Virgin deals with each of the elements.

In the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, there are two collections of miracles written in vernacular in Castile and Norway: \textit{Milagros de Nuestra Señora}\textsuperscript{165} (Miracles of Our Lady), in the case of the former and \textit{Maríu saga} for the latter.

The \textit{Milagros de Nuestra Señora}\textsuperscript{166} is a collection of miracles written in Old Castilian around the year 1246. The compiler was the monk Gonzalo de Berceo, who lived in the monastery of Yuso in San Millán de la Cogolla, one of the most important scriptoria of the Spanish Middle Ages. There were relics of the Virgin in the monastery at least since 926 and she had been


\textsuperscript{164} Adolf Mussafia, \textit{Studien Zu Den Mittelalterlichen Marien Legenden} (Vienna, 1886).

\textsuperscript{165} García Turza, \textit{Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora. Edición Crítica Y Glosario de Claudio García Turza}. (Logroño: Ediciones Colegio Universitario de La Rioja, 1984). In successive notes this book is referred as Berceo.

\textsuperscript{166} From now on refered as “\textit{Milagros}”

worshipped at least since then. It became the main cult even over the cult to the founder saint, St. Millán, probably due to cluniac influence.\textsuperscript{167}

The monastery was involved with the pilgrimage to Santiago. Not quite on the road itself (around 17 km. off the French Way), it was one of the many detours the pilgrims could do in order to visit other saints and relics. Moreover, its patron saint and founder, St. Millán, is also a \textit{Matamoros} saint alike to Santiago. The monastery owned pilgrim facilities along the way as well, like the hospital and cemetery for pilgrims of Azofra, 19 km away from San Millán de la Cogolla. The works of Gonzalo de Berceo are primarily aimed at these pilgrims, with the intention of attracting them to the monastery.\textsuperscript{168}

\textit{Milagros} consists of 25 miracles read or translated from another document, as Berceo points out in the introduction of each miracle. The miracles 1 – 15 correspond to the cycle H-M, except for two miracles that do not appear. There are only two miracles of the T-S cycle and three miracles of the 4E cycle. Of the other four miracles left, three are well-known miracles that appear in several collections, and one is original of Berceo.

Being the first \textit{miracula} in verse and vernacular written in the Iberian Peninsula, it was compared with three other works: \textit{Miracles de Nostre Dame} of Gautier of Coinci (1177 – 1236), which as in Berceo are written in verse and vernacular language, the miracles also sharing the same theme; \textit{Speculum Historiale} of Vincent of Beauvais (†1264) and \textit{Golden Legend} of Jacobus de Voragine (†1298). However, the similarities with these works were only partial and they could not have been Berceo’s source.

Berceo’s Marian miracles show closer affinity with the \textit{Liber de Miraculis Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae}, edited by Pez in 1781, but its closest affinity is with MsThott 128\textsuperscript{169} of the library of Copenhagen. The miracles correspond almost exactly with the ones in this manuscript, except for four miracles that do not appear in Berceo’s compilation. Given the resemblance to the Thott document, the document Berceo refers to should have been very similar to it or the source of them both; probably a \textit{miracula} of the MsThott tradition adapted for the cult of the Virgin of Yuso.\textsuperscript{170} The monastery of Yuso was one of the most important libraries and scriptoria of the Iberian Middle Ages, and hence Berceo had access to several

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{168} Gonzalo de Berceo, \textit{Los Milagros...}, p. 12
\item \textsuperscript{169} The MsThott 128 has been edited in Latin and translated to Spanish by Avelina Carrera de la Red and Fátima Carrera de la Red, \textit{Miracula Beate Marie Virginis (Ms. Thott 128 de Copenhague). Una Fuente Paralela a Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora de Gonzalo de Berceo}. (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000), p. 49 – 58. In successive notes I will refer to their work as “\textit{Miracula}...”
\item \textsuperscript{170} \textit{Miracula}..., p. 51-52
\end{itemize}
books. Moreover, the monk Fernandus, who lived with Berceo in the monastery and wrote a book of miracles for San Millán, states that there is a book about Mary in the library of the monastery.\textsuperscript{171} Besides, Gonzalo de Berceo’s \textit{Milagros} are not an exact match to MsThott: He omit many prologues, a feature that distances him from the Thott tradition, but typical in many other collections.\textsuperscript{172} Berceo also adds, changes or omits things in each miracle. As will be seen in the discussion of each miracle, these changes are not present in MsThott but do appear in \textit{Maríu saga}, reinforcing the possibility of another source or sources behind both the Old Norse and the Castilian version of the Marian miracles.

In Old Norse, there is an account of the miracles of the Virgin in \textit{Maríu saga},\textsuperscript{173} after the apocryphal gospel of the life of Mary. According to the appendix of \textit{Guðmundar saga}, it was written by Kygri-Björn, who has been identified with Kygri-Björn Hjaltason, first secretary of at the bishopric of Hólar (Iceland) and from 1236 elected by the Icelandic chieftains bishop of the same place, in an attempt to maintain their power over the Icelandic Church and stop any Gregorian reform or ideas that could threaten it. His appointment was rejected by the archbishop of Niðarós Sigurðr Eindridesson (1231 – 1252), who appointed a Norwegian for the bishopric instead.

Kygri-Björn was a well-educated and travelled man. He was a participant of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which is described in chapter 23. Hence, the saga must have been written between this date and the death of Kygri-Björn, in 1237 or 1238. The writing of this saga responds to the increase in Marian devotion in Iceland, and the intention of the author of presenting a model of perfection (embodied in the Virgin Mary) and resolving some theological difficulties concerning her earthly life.\textsuperscript{174}

This identification of Kygri-Björn as the compiler of \textit{Maríu saga} has been challenged in the last few years, by Ole Widding, Laura Tomassini and Wilhelm Heizmann between others. However, scholars have agreed on several points: there are at least three versions of \textit{Maríu saga}, written at different moments, and the latter version is not compiled from the same

\textsuperscript{171} “Notandum quod est liber scripture Beate Marie...” “Noting that there is a book about Holy Mary...” in Brian Dutton, \textit{La Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla, de Gonzalo de Berceo (Estudio Y Edición Crítica)} (London: Tamesis Books Ltd, 1967), p. 33.

\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Miracula}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{173} There is only one edition, C.R. Unger, \textit{Maria Saga. Legender Om Jomfru Maria Og Hendes Jertegn.} (Christiania: Brögger & Christie, 1871). In successive notes this work is referred as “MS”

sources as the previous two. If Kygri-Björn compiled one of the versions it is not known which one.\footnote{Fairise, Christelle R., “Relating Mary’s life in Medieval Iceland: \textit{Maríu saga}. Similarities and differences with the continental \textit{Lives of the Virgin}”, unpublished article.}

The miracles in \textit{Maríu saga} can be sorted in two different classes. The legends of the first class (1 – 51) are the oldest, translated from a non-identified Latin manuscript with the same content.\footnote{MS, IV} Here are present all the legends of the H-M and 4E cycle, and also most of the T-S except for four legends. The traditional order is not maintained for more than four legends. The T-S cycle is younger than the H-M, having had less propagation than H-M. They come from different traditions, H-M being continental and T-S of anglo-norman tradition.\footnote{Ole Widding, “Norrøne Marialegender På Europæisk Baggrund,” in \textit{Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, Vol. XL.}, vol. Opuscula vol. X (Denmark: Den Arnamagnænske Komission, 1996), 1 – 128. p. 9} The miracles are also related to other Latin collections; 18 of the 30 legends in \textit{Maríu Saga} appear in MS Thott 128.\footnote{20}

Twenty four of the twenty five miracles of Gonzalo de Berceo are present between the first and oldest 51 miracles of \textit{Maríu saga}, with the exception of \textit{The stolen church}, the Castilian miracle that appears only in \textit{Milagros}.

Three miracles occurring in or related to the Iberian Peninsula appear both in \textit{Maríu Saga} and \textit{Milagros}. The first one, \textit{Hildefonsus} (after the Toledan archbishop of the same name), is the first miracle of the H-S collection. It is actually a Spanish miracle, but both in \textit{Milagros} and \textit{Maríu saga} it is written in the continental way. In the Latin miracle, Hildefonsus receives the visit of the Virgin, who thanks him for his books about her and gives him a sacred piece of cloth (an alba or a casulle). Nobody but Hildefonsus, Mary warns, can wear it. Anyway, after Hildefonsus’ death, the new archbishop, Siagrio, is tempted by the devil and dresses himself with it, falling dead in the same moment.

Except for a few details, both in \textit{Milagros} and \textit{Maríu saga} this miracle is almost the same as in the Latin continental version in MS Thott 128. Berceo adds a brief commentary about the books the Virgin was referring to (it is very probably that he had read them) and praises the city of Toledo. \textit{Maríu saga} follows the Latin continental miracle, without these additions and also in the detail of having the Virgin seated in the chair, which is not in \textit{Milagros}. However,
both Berceo and Maríu saga agree in attributing the acts of Siagrio to his stupidity\textsuperscript{179} and not to the devil’s influence.

The second miracle, The pilgrim of Santiago, also belongs to the H-M collection. It cannot be said for sure that it occurs in the Iberian Peninsula, but the protagonist is a pilgrim to Santiago. In fact, this miracle was previously a miracle of Santiago, and as such appears in the Liber Sancti Jacobi (ca. 1140) and in the Libellus miraculorum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli of Vicente of Beauvais.\textsuperscript{180} Later it was changed and became a Marian miracle. In the continental version, the miracle story is attributed to Hugo, abbot of Cluny, who knows of it as the protagonist was a monk in his monastery. This monk, called Giraldus, decided to go on pilgrimage when he was still a layman. Giraldus laid with his concubine the day before going on pilgrimage, breaking thus the ritual that imposes pilgrims-to-be to keep vigil and chastity the last night before starting the pilgrimage. A few days later the devil appeared to him disguised as Santiago and convinced him that the only way to clean his soul was by mutilating his genitals and committing suicide. The pilgrim did as told, and his soul was taken by the devil. Santiago and Saint Peter (whose church was near the scene) appeared and confronted the devil, calling for the intercession of Mary. She took away the poor pilgrim’s soul from the devil and resurrected him (yet still mutilated) so he could do penance. The miracle does not say if Giraldus finished his pilgrimage; it is only said that he becomes a monk in Cluny and lives in service of God for the rest of his life.

The structure of the story is the same in Berceo’s version, but this miracle is probably the one having the most additions by the Castilian poet. Its importance is obvious for the poet: He belonged to a monastery with a strong Marian devotion, located close to the Way of Santiago. Berceo added or changed details to make the miracle very explanatory. For example, the continental version simply points out that Giraldus (Guiralt in Berceo’s version) lays with his concubine; it is implied that the reader knows he is breaking the pilgrim’s ritual. Berceo adds a dialogue between the devil in disguise and Giraldus, explaining why he sinned. When he commits suicide, Berceo also points out that by committing suicide he died excommunicated (\textit{murió descomulgado}).

\textsuperscript{179} Milagros: Era mucho sovervio e de seso liviano ‘He was arrogant and of thin brain (stupid)’
Mariú saga: hann virði litils goðfysi (…) var hann fulIr drumbs øk metnaðar ‘He was low-minded (…) he was full of pride and ambition’.
\textsuperscript{180} Miracula…, p.88
The figure of Santiago in Berceo’s version is also more alike to the warrior-like saint Santiago Matamoros. He appears alone (no mention of Saint Peter or his church) and physically stops the devils by running before them and cutting their paths, after which he enters in an aggressive dialogue with them. Mary appears and saves the pilgrim like in the continental version, but this time also his mutilation is fixed.

Of course, in Berceo’s version the pilgrim reaches Santiago, where everyone is astonished by the miracle, and comes back safely to his land, where everyone acknowledged and praised the miracle. Only afterwards he becomes a monk in Cluny.

In Maria saga, the miracle is a translation of the continental version, matching it completely. Santiago faces the devil along with Saint Peter, but he does not physically or aggressively engage like in Berceo’s version. As in the continental version, in the Old Norse version our unlucky pilgrim is resurrected yet still lives mutilated. It is not mentioned if he finished his pilgrimage or that he became a monk, which the continental version does. Probably it was considered redundant as at the beginning of the miracle it is stated that the abbot Hugo had this Giraldus, now a monk, in his monastery.\footnote{Maðr hét Hugi, hann var áboti í munklifi einu, hann var vanr at segia frá bróður einum, þeim er Girall dus hét. ‘A man name Hugi, who was abbot of some monks, tells of one brother [monk] who was called Giraldus’. MS, p. 85}

The third miracle is called The crucified image. It belongs to the T-S collection, being one of the only two of this collection appearing in Milagros (the other is The drunk monk). It starts with a short prologue omitted in many versions, probably the work of William of Malmesbury.\footnote{Miracula…, p. 129}

The miracle is located in Toledo, during the mass in the Assumption of Mary’s day. The parishioners hear the voice of Mary coming from the Heavens, complaining because the Jews will mistreat, abuse and crucify her son again. The Christians then start searching the houses of the Jews, until they find a figure of Jesus made of wax, which they planned to spit on, slap and finally crucify. The Christians took away the image and killed all the Jews.

Berceo’s version does not have the introduction and adds more details about Toledo, which in the continental version is merely named: it has a judería (a Jew district), an archbishop’s see and there are mozárabes\footnote{Iberian Christians living in the Muslim territories of the Peninsula. They had their own mass rite, typical of all the Iberian Peninsula until it started to be substituted by the Roman rite, in the second half of the 11th century. Nowadays some churches still perform the mozarabic rite in Toledo.} in the Christian crowd. The Virgin does also speak longer, insisting on the abuses suffered by Jesus in the Jews’ hands. The image, which is described, is
found in the house of “the most honest rabbi” (del raví más onrrado). In the continental version, the Christians enter in the house of the rabbi and the synagogue, but it is not stated where the image is found\(^\text{184}\) nor the honesty of the rabbi. This addition is not casual, because obviously if the most honest rabbi was willing to do that, the common Jew then must be even worse. As in the continental version, the Jews are also massacred. At the end, Berceo substitutes the epilogue of the continental version with a stanza pointing out that those who offend Mary will be punished.

In Old Norse, this miracle is closer to Berceo’s version than the continental version appearing in the MsThott. The introduction in Old Norse derives, a bit shortened, from the Latin introduction given probably by William of Malmesbury. After it, the miracle is placed in “Toledo, which the Norsemen call Tolhus, a city in Spain”.\(^\text{185}\) It is an archbishop’s see and one third is populated by Jews, another third by Christians and the last third by heathens (Muslims). Those are the same details given by Berceo, with the exception of the mozarabic population. The Old Norse version does not call the Jewish district as such, but it points out that a third of the city is populated by Jews. They ransack the houses of the Jews, including the one of the “Jewish bishop” (byskup gyðinga), a denomination that sounds like a too literal translation of the Latin iudeorum pontificis of the continental version.

In the end, they find the Jews defiling Jesus’ wax image in their Þinghus (i.e. synagogue), and of course they kill them all. As in Milagros, the Old Norse version substitutes the long and rather complicated ending of the continental version for a short paragraph praising Mary and Jesus.

*The drunk monk* is the other T-S miracle appearing in Milagros. In his miracle, this monk had been very devout of the Virgin since he was a novice, guarding himself of committing sins. But one day, he entered in a wine house and became very drunk. He laid drunk until late, and then woke up and went to the church. On the way he found the devil, disguised as a bull, who threatened him, but the Virgin interceded and the devil disappeared. The monk continued on his way, but was later attacked again by the devil disguised as a dog and a lion. Fearing being devoured, he begs the help of the Virgin, who appears with a long stick and starts punching the lion. Once the devil was beaten, he disappeared, and the Virgin took the monk to his bed. There she told him to confess to a certain priest, her friend, whom will give him a proper

\(^{184}\) Yet for the phrasing it seems to be the synagogue: *Quibus itaque domos iudeorum pontificis intrantibus et sinagogam, (...) a circumdantibus inventa nec mora quedam est ymago cerea*, Miracula..., p. 224

\(^{185}\) *i Toleta, er Norðmenn kalla Tolhus — sú borg stendr á Spania-landi*, MS p. 110
punishment and absolution. The monk did so, and spent the rest of his life as a good monk and devout man of the Virgin.

In *Milagros*, the miracle ends with an epilogue, typical of him, praising the Virgin and encouraging the readers and listeners to be good and devout servants of the Virgin, in order to save their souls.

Berceo describes with details the beasts and the attack. The continental version is brief, describing the animals and the attacks in only a few words: for example, the devil appears in the guise of a “bull of great corpulence”\(^{186}\), while Berceo details it profusely:

\[
\text{In the figure of a bull who is raging}\\
pawing the ground with his hooves, his forehead frown\\
with fierce horns cruel and angry\\
(…) he made bad gestures at him this devilish thing\\
he would put his horns in him, into his entrails}\(^{187}\)
\]

Berceo also adds an oration, prayed by the monk to Mary in order to save him. As the fierce beasts and their attacks were described, so is described the lion’s punishment, i.e., how he is punched by the Virgin with a long stick. As in the miracle of the *Pilgrim to Santiago*, Berceo seems interested in educating his public. Hence, when the monk goes to confess, he adds the different parts of the sacrament of Penance.

Berceo alters or omits a few details. In the continental version, Mary stops the bull with a “white cloth” (*niueam mapulam*).\(^{188}\) Maybe too abstract for Berceo, in his miracle she does it with her cape (*con la falda del manto*), a typical depiction of Mary when she saves people.\(^{189}\) The monk stops being drunk after he sees the Devil for the first time, but in Berceo he keeps being drunk, which would explain why he does not recognize Mary until she tells him who she is. The devil’s arts are not behind his drunkenness in Berceo’s version, who simply says that the monk entered into a wine house. Lastly, Berceo omits the long presentation of Mary when she confirms her identity to the monk, leaving it simply in “I am the one who gave birth to the true savior”.\(^{190}\)

In *Maríu saga*, the miracle is much closer to the continental version, with few variations. Again, in the Old Norse version the Devil is not tempting the monk to drink: he just finds his brother and some friends, and goes to drink with them:

\(^{186}\) Miracula, p. 234  
\(^{187}\) Berceo, p. 81  
\(^{188}\) Miracula, p. 234  
\(^{189}\) Like for example, in the miracles *The Jewish kid* or *A marvelous birth*. Berceo, p. 81  
\(^{190}\) “*Yo só la ge pari al vero Salvador*” Berceo, p. 82
It happened to this monk that he fell into temptation, so he met one of his brothers in his path, and entertained himself and drink with them. Apart from that, the Old Norse version follows the Latin continental version as closely that some passages are almost completely identical as in MsThott. For example, in MsThott Mary confronts de Devil (as a lion) with these words:

"Because you have refused to obey me, now you have earned this beating and, if you dare to approach him again, you’ll get beaten more, here and in the other world." And the Old Norse version reads:

"Because you refuse, you evil, my message, you will be beaten and if you come again against that monk, you will be beaten both here and in the other world."

The remark is alike both in the continental version and the Old Norse, but not in Milagros, where Mary says something completely different. However, the Old Norse version has the same alteration as Berceo’s when Mary presents herself. The continental version says:

And she answered she was called Mary, mother of God, by whom she was made when she did not exist, as all other things were made, so she could defend his servants.

But Berceo simply says:

“I am the one who gave birth to the true savior.”

And Maríu saga:

“This is Mary, mother of God.”

In the Castilian and the Old Norse version, then, the passage becomes a dialog where Mary speaks in first person, presenting herself shortly and as mother of Jesus (“the true savior”) or mother of God. It seems too much coincidence that two different compilers decided to make the exact same change; it is more probable that there was already as a dialogue where she...
presents herself as “mother of God” in the source they were both using. The reason why in *Milagros* this wording is changed to “true savior” may be in order to keep the rhyme and the symmetry, as he is writing poetry, a problem the compilers of MsThott and *Maríu saga*, both in prose, did not encounter.

Both the Castilian and Old Norse version of this miracle are close to MsThott, but again, the story is changed where the compiler thought it could improve the story for his audience. Berceo’s monk simply enters in a wine house, very common in Berceo’s home place, without intervention of the devil. A wine house sounds like a strange place for 13th-century Iceland, so the Icelandic compiler had his monk run into some friends and family, a much more common situation. The alteration in Mary’s speech when she presents herself, so similar in both vernacular miracles but absent in MsThott, suggests that they were again using the same Latin source(s), both very alike and derived from MsThott, but with a few changes that were copied in the vernacular versions.

The miracles of *The Jewish kid* and *Theophilus* that belong to the 4 Elements cycle are present both in Berceo and *Maríu saga*. The miracles of this cycle come to represent the power of the Virgin over the four elements.

The *Jewish kid* is the first miracle of this cycle, representing the element of fire. In Berceo’s version, the Jewish kid attends school with other Christian boys and usually plays with them. On Easter he goes to church with them, and sees the Virgin – whom he does not identify – first in one statue in the altar, and then giving the communion. He receives communion too, and when he tells his father he, enraged, throws his son into the oven. Upon the cries and screams of his mother, Jews and Christians alike gather and rescue the boy. Noticing he is unharmed, they asked him how he survived, and he tells that the woman depicted in the statue of the altar was there and did not allow any harm to come to him. The people recognize the miracle, and punish the father by throwing him in the oven and leaving him there until he becomes ashes.

Berceo expands and embellishes the continental version of the miracle. He explains where the miracle happened, the friendship between the Jewish boy and the other Christian kids and that all of them attended school. Berceo also writes the conversation between the boy and his father and expands the death of the father. At the end, Berceo adds a short epilogue reminding us that Mary is merciful with those who praise her but severe with those who disdain her. However, Berceo also leaves some details out of his version. In the continental miracle, the boy receives the communion along with the other kids without the priest noticing it. He
should have not received the communion, as he was not baptized. Berceo may have omitted it because he considered that the boy converting to the Christian faith was part of the miracle, the act of communion being his acceptance of the Christian faith. Upon his father’s reaction he is paralleled to a martyr. Berceo also leaves out the final passage of the continental version, in which the Jews who saw the miracle convert to Christianity. He also omits that Mary was giving communion along with the priest, probably because he thought that Mary did not need any priest to sanction her actions.

In *Maríu saga* the miracle is shorter and more concise, much closer to the continental version, and includes the passages Berceo omitted, like the conversion of the Jews. The explanation of the child is also more detailed: he says that Mary sat him over her knee and covered him with her cape. This passage is not in Berceo neither in MsThott. On the other hand, the first part explaining where the miracle happened (Borges) and who wrote it for the first time (the monk Michael of Clausa – Clusa in Berceo’s) is absent.

Several passages differ from the continental version and are alike to Berceo. In *Maríu saga*, the priest is also a teacher. He does not teach in a school, though, but in church (‘The jewish boy went with the children to the church, where the priest taught lay studies and the glory and merit of the Blessed Mary’).^197^ There is nothing in the miracle that indicates that the Old Norse and the Castilian version were sharing a source different as MsThott. Both miracles are very alike to the MsThott version, each compiler stressing or omitting the elements they deem necessary. Berceo, always interested in educating his public, warns them of wronging Mary and advise them to serve her. Of course, the way to serve a saint is by oration, alms and pilgrimages to the shrines.

Differences between Scandinavia and the Iberian Peninsula can also be seen in other adaptations done in the miracle, in this case in the passage about the school the Jewish boy attends. In the continental version, it is simply said that the boy learns along with the Christian kids.^198^ In the Castilian version, the town “as it is needed” has a school lead by a cleric, where he learns “to sing and read”.^199^ There was a tradition of schools in the Iberian Peninsula coming from Visigothic times. Most of them destroyed or disappeared after the year 711, but from the 11th century onwards new *schola*, or parish schools, start to appear in

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^197^ *gyðingsbarn eitt rann með kristnum börnum til kirkju, þá er prestr kendí monnum kenningar af dyrð ok verðleik sællar Marie*, MS, p. 71
^198^ "(...) puer de gente hebreorum, qui, cum eis litteris instruebatur* Miracula...p. 216
^199^ "Tenié esa villa ca era menester, / un clérigo escuela de cantar e leer“ Berceo, p. 68
the documentation. Generally, children learned hymns, orations and a little Latin grammar, therefore Berceo mentions they learn to “sing”. Precisely in Berceo’s monastery, the Versus ad Pueros, dated in 1122, gives a bit of information about the subjects taught at these schools, even with a brief mention of Virgil and Cato.200

However, the situation our Icelandic compiler experienced was different. Iceland had no previous tradition of schools nor did the Carolingian school reform ever spread there. Instead, scholarly education was introduced by the Church, which had cathedral schools in Iceland already by the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th. These schools gave religious education along with the trivium and the quadrivium.201 Hence, the Jewish boy in the Old Norse version goes to church, where the priest taught both lay studies and “the glory of the Blessed Mary”.

Mary shows her power over the element of Earth in the Miracle of Theophilus. It is the longest miracle in MsThott and in Milagros and one of the most widely spread, with around 30 different versions. The great amount of alterations and additions in Milagros compared with MsThott suggest that Berceo used other sources with different versions of this miracle.202 Roughly, in all three versions the miracle happens like this: Theophilus (Teófilo in Berceo) was an episcopal vicar, loved by the people and praised for his skills and good behavior. When the bishop died, everyone requested the metropolitan to appoint Theophilus as the new bishop, which Theophilus refused thinking he was not worthy of such post. Finally the metropolitan accepted Theophilus’ refusal and appointed someone else as bishop.

Soon, the new bishop appointed another vicar, and Theophilus started to long for his now lost position and popularity. Consumed by vanity, he went to see an evil Jew of the town, who promised to help him by taking him to his master. The night after, the Jew took Theophilus to the amphitheater (to a crossroad in Berceo’s version and to the forest in Maríu Saga), where the devil was waiting. Then Theophilus signed a pact with the devil and reneged of Christ and Mary.

The next day the bishop reappointed him as vicar, giving him much more power and prerogatives than he had before. But soon, God, who wants the souls to be saved and who appreciated how Theophilus had behaved himself before, helped him to recover his senses.

200 Michael E. Gerli, Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia (Routledge, 2003)., p. 294
202 Miracula, 150
and start repenting what he had done. He started to pray to Mary for help, whom after 40 days of praying and fasting, finally appeared in front of him. She at first refused to help him because he had reneged, but after his begging and penitence, she accepted to intercede in front of Christ for him. Theophilus kept praying and a few days after, Mary came back and told him he had been pardoned, under the condition that he did all he had promised to Christ in his prays. A few days later, she appeared again, this time returning to him the pact he had signed with the devil.

The day after, which was a Sunday, Theophilus went to church and in front of the bishop and everybody else, he confessed all and gave the pact to the bishop, for him to read it aloud. The miracle ends with a speech of the bishop, praising Mary and Christ for their mercy and Theophilus’ death, which occurred a few days later.

Berceo enlarges and elaborates this miracle. He adds details of how evil the Jew is, his malicious arts and how he sold it to everybody in town. The night Theophilus goes to meet the Jew for the first time is also detailed, while in MsThott it is simply said that he goes to meet the Jew. In MsThott, Mary returns the pact letter to Theophilus on her third visit; but in Berceo he begs her to in order to convince her to do so, and she finally comes again and returns it. Two short details are also added: When describing Theophilus’ virtues in the beginning, it is said he was nice to the pilgrims (acogié a los romeos qe vinién fridolientos). After selling his soul to the devil, he feels sick and loses his shadow. As it is the last miracle of Berceo’s composition, an explicit is included at the end.

_María saga_ presents a far more summarized miracle, which shows similarities both with _Milagros_ and with MsThott. Both _Milagros_ and _María saga_ omit the prologue with the date and the place where the miracle happened, and have their own prologue instead. _María saga_’s prologue praises Mary for her mercy, while Berceo states in his that Mary help those who pray to her, and promises his lectors and listeners to be concise.

In MsThott, the devil induces Theophilus to sin, poisoning his mind with envy and bad thoughts. This also appears in _María saga_, but not in _Milagros_, who has repeatedly omitted the luring of the devil in other miracles, placing all the blame on the sinner.

_Milagros_ and _María saga_ explain that Theophilus was also feeling ill out of his jealousy for the new vicar, while the continental version says nothing. Both _María saga_ and _Milagros_
describe his state in similar terms: in Old Norse he is described as full of hatred, agitated and exhausted by anxiety, depressed and neither eating nor sleeping.\textsuperscript{205} In the Castilian version, he is severely disturbed, crazy with envy, feeling depressed and casted out, sad and anxious.\textsuperscript{206}

The versions disagree on where Theophilus meets the devil: in the continental version it is in an amphitheater, in \textit{Milagros} at a crossroad and in the forest in the case of the Old Norse version. More than a difference in the source, this seems to be a personal adaptation of each compiler: In northern Spain, the crossroads are popularly associated with places where demons, ghosts or evil spirits can be encountered. There were no amphitheaters in Iceland—or all Scandinavia for that matter – so a dark forest seemed more suitable.

However, the words of the devil demanding Theophilus’ apostasy and Theophilus answer are very similar in the three versions, but the Icelandic compiler eliminates the first-person dialogue and changes to an omniscient narrator, which he will keep for the sake of summarizing the rest of the miracle. Mary’s visits and subsequent miracle are shortened and summarized, following the continental version in which Maria delivers the letter without any imploration by Theophilus. The bishop’s speech is also summarized and shortened, as is Theophilus’ death.

As we have seen, these legends appear in vernacular both in Norway and the Iberian Peninsula at around the same time, in the second half of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century. As semi-peripheries, these areas do not show the first development of these legends, which occurred in the core area.

Around Europe, we encounter the same legends over and over, in an almost identical way, and sorted in discernible collections. Both in Norway and the Iberian Peninsula these collections are present, but while the continental H-M collection is represented entirely or almost entirely in \textit{Milagros} and \textit{Maríu saga}, the Anglo-Norman collection (T-S) is almost non-existent except for two miracles in Berceo (one of them involving a place in Castile, Toledo). In \textit{Maríu saga} the T-S miracles appear scattered and after the H-M legends, suggesting a later addition and development, thus giving the Castilian and Old Norse Marian miracles a strong continental background.\textsuperscript{207} These miracle collections also appear with the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{205}] \textit{ok tók hann at maðaz  i áhyggiu, ok svá kom, at hann neytti hvárki svefns nó matar fyrir óyndi.} MS, p. 66
\item[\textsuperscript{206}] “\textit{Fo en so voluntat  fierament conturbado, / aviélo la envidia de su siesto sacado. / Teniéése por maltricho e por ocasionado, / de grandes e de chicos  vediése desdennado; / cegó con grand despecho e fo mal trastornado, / asmó fier locura,  yerro grand, desguisado}” Berceo, p. 115.
\item[\textsuperscript{207}] Ole Widding, “Norrøne Marialegender ….” P. 10 – 12.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
same format and content through all Christendom, showing us that they were part of a European common culture in which both Castile and Norway-Iceland participated.

These miracles were not only being copied through all Christendom, they were also set in several different places of it, which is characteristic of the second development. Seeing the miracles related with the Iberian Peninsula in *Maríu saga*, it can be seen that it was not a strange or unknown land for the Norsemen of its time. Every time it is presented, no further explanation is needed: there is no need to point out where it is, or that it is Christian, or that there is a pilgrim way to the place Santiago is buried. In the last miracle, even one more hint of this knowledge is given to us: Toledo has a Norse name, Tolhus.

Even though most of these miracles appear in Latin in other collections, our authors decided to write in their vernacular languages. This was not rare for Norway or Iceland, but it was for Spain: Berceo is regarded as the first Castilian poet whose name is known to us. The decision was not casual: both authors tried to reach a wider audience, beyond Latin-learned scholars and clergymen. In Iceland, the idea was to present and spread a model of perfection: *Maríu saga* aims at showing Mary in her new role as merciful mother and intercessor for humankind. Berceo wanted to attract pilgrims to the Marian shrine of his monastery, and educate his public in religion and Christian religious practices. While the Icelandic version usually omits it, Berceo explains why the pilgrim dies excommunicated or how penance is done and absolution is achieved. In order to achieve this, they needed first to write in a language that could be understood by everyone, literate or not. Also, the Old Norse miracles are usually shortened. All the important information is there, but without superfluous disquisitions or long introductions. In Berceo’s case the miracles are written as poems, so they can be easily learnt and recited.

Besides, the miracles are adapted to be easily understood. In *The pilgrim of Santiago*, a very important miracle for Berceo, he makes sure it is understood how the pilgrim’s ritual must be, and exactly why the pilgrim is punished. In the Old Norse version of *The crucified image*, the rabbi becomes a “Jew bishop” and the synagogue is a “Þinghus”. Even if *Maríu saga* was mistakenly attributed to Kygri-Björn, the author was obviously a learned man, enough to read and translate from Latin without problems, so it would be strange that he did not know what a synagogue or a rabbi is. In Latin the building is referred to as a synagogue, and he obviously understood what it was. In a country with a large Jew population like Castile, Berceo could

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simply keep the word “synagogue” and translate “iedorum pontificis” as “ravi [rabbi]”. However, there was not an established Jew community in Norway or Iceland, so these words would have been very difficult to understand for the general population. Thus, the Old Norse version used known concepts in order to represent as close as possible what a rabbi or a synagogue is.

Both the Old Norse and Castilian versions are alike to the continental version, in this case represented by the legends appearing in Ms Thott 128. Ms Thott is not the direct source of the Milagros nor of Maríu saga, yet a document very close to or the source of Ms Thott 128 may have been behind the Milagros (the sources behind Maríu saga are still uncertain). They are alike because these miracles were alike through all Christendom, yet we can see that both Milagros and Maríu saga sometimes disagree with the Latin version and agree between themselves: that is especially visible in The crucified image, but it can also be seen in another miracle taking place in Spain, Hildefonsus. If, as Avelina and Fátima Carrera de la Red think, those are additions of Berceo,209 it is quite surprising that they are present in Maríu saga: if Kygri-Björn really wrote or commanded its writing, it would have to have been before his death, which occurred more than fifteen years before Berceo wrote his Milagros. Hence, Berceo could not have been the author of these additions and changes. Both writers must have worked with the same source(s), alike to Ms Thott 128 but with the additions or changes present in both vernacular collections, widespread from the southern to the northernmost part of Europe in a common and shared European culture.

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209 Miracula…, in the chapter of each miracle.
Conclusion.

In the previous chapters I have examined the cultural exchange and the Europeanization process of Norway and Castile in three different cases, trying in each case to determine the exact nature of the exchanges and to what extent European ideas were altered and re-shaped by the semi-peripheral actors to accommodate to their circumstances and needs, becoming in turn centres of their own peripheries. In light of what I have presented I can reach some general conclusions regarding the degree to which the Church acted as an agent of Europeanization and the cultural reshaping of European ideas in Norway and Castile.

As we have seen in the persons of Eysteinn and Diego, the Europeanization processes and the arrival of new ideas from the centre had in learned churchmen one of its best sponsors. These men may have been primarily educated in the Church’s cultural centre, like in Eysteinn’s case, or may have received these ideas by other churchmen and other paths of cultural exchange, as in the case of Diego. Unlike Eysteinn, he did not study abroad but in the cathedral of Santiago. However, the position of the city and the cathedral as a great pilgrimage center receiving a constant influx of pilgrims and churchmen from the cultural centre of Europe, allowed him to imbue himself with these ideas without the need of travelling to the centre.

Both Eysteinn and Diego faced a different set of problems during their tenure as archbishops: Eysteinn was in need of promoting St. Olav as a universal saint and assure Magnús Erlingsson’s legitimacy. Diego was in need of protecting himself as a temporal lord, and the temporalities belonging to the Church of Compostela from the predation of kings and the aristocracy, along with confirming beyond any doubt Santiago de Compostela as the eponymous apostle’s last resting place. Influenced by the new ideas from the centre, both used them in response to the problems they faced during their life, but reshaped them according to their own cultural background and particular needs.

This can be seen in how they promoted the cults of St. Olav and Santiago respectively. Instead of simply reproducing the saint cults as they had been developed in the centre (for example, in the case of Saint Denis or Saint Martin of Tours), they took these ideas and reshaped them to comply with their own agendas and cultural background. In the case of St. Olav, he was known by the people as king and law giver. He will appear as such in his miracles and the written law. Santiago will cease to be a fisherman to become a matamoros knight; in his miracles he is always on guard and protecting his pilgrims.
Moreover, they tried to increase their saints’ importance using the same strategies known around all Europe, for example by composing miracles in which the saint miraculously help a Christian when other –more powerful– saint could not. In the case of Santiago we have seen it in the miracle of the children resurrected in the Oca mountains, when it is explicitly stated that Santiago, even after death, was able to resurrect the boy, while St. Martin of Tours (whose shrine was one of Santiago de Compostela’s greatest competitors) could not. In St. Olav’s case the presence of the same miracle adapted twice allows us to see an evolution: in the first and older miracle, it is Chartres where the brothers could not be pardoned and healed. In the second and younger miracle, it is Santiago. In the second miracle the rise of Santiago as one of the most important pilgrimages sites is clear, to the point of making the Norse compiler to rank Santiago himself as a less powerful saint in comparison to St. Olav.

The pilgrimage ways of these two saints acted both as senders and receivers of new European ideas. These pilgrimage ways linked them to the centre and made them part of the Christian world, sending waves of pilgrims, merchants and churchmen not only from and to the centre, but also from and to the peripheries: such is the case of the pilgrims who travelled from one semi-peripheral shrine to another. Culture and ideas travelled with them: that is the case of the church of Sangüesa, if its images have been correctly interpreted as scenes of Sigurðr Fáfnirsbane, and it is surely the case of Karlamagnús saga and the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle. In addition, the festivities, masses and other events related to the saint helped these churches to spread the message they wanted to give, in the form of sermons, reciting miracles and other forms of oral or visual manifestations. In doing so, Santiago de Compostela and Niðarós became a centre for their own periphery, further spreading ideas to areas that now related directly to them, and only indirectly to the European cultural centre of France.

The Marian miracles are a good example of this last feature. Maríu saga and Milagros de Nuestra Señora were composed in what could be thought of as peripheral areas: Iceland and the mountainous region of La Rioja. These areas relate not to the European cultural centre, but to the semi-peripheral centre: Iceland belongs to the archdiocese of Niðarós, and the monastery of Yuso is linked to the Way of Santiago. In more or less the same period of time, they both came to compose the same type of work: a miracula of Mary in their vernacular tongue. The miracles they used were well-known, based on those that were composed in the European centre, and that had been circulating through all European Christendom.

It is clear in these miracles how the compilers reshape them and adapt them to their own environments, cultures and backgrounds. These miracles closely resemble their continental
counterparts, but their plots and details are reshaped where the composer thinks it can better fit their own culture an environment: a Scandinavian monk will hardly be visiting any amphitheater, in the same way that a Castilian man would find it very odd listening to somebody calling a rabbi “a Jew bishop”.

Yet, even though Ms Thott 128 is a very representative manuscript of the continental miracles, many times we can see that Maríu Saga and Milagros de Nuestra Señora disagree with Ms Thott but not between themselves. As the sources of these compositions are not known it is impossible to say where those changes come from, but we can safely conclude that many other miracle collections may have been circulating not only from the centre to the peripheries, but also from one periphery to another, carried orally or in writing by pilgrims and churchmen.

In giving response to the social and political problems it faced, the Church in Castile and Norway influenced all strata of the society and furthered new ideas from the centre. In trying to implement the Gregorian Reform and maintain the libertas ecclesiae, the churchmen employed these new European ideas in lawmaking, becoming effective agents of Europeanization who tried to spread Augustinian ideas of kingship, legitimacy and social organization. By trying to develop or enhance their pilgrimage shrines or increase a particular saint’s fame, the Church effectively created «mass media» channels, such as sermons, liturgical music or miracle stories that extended these new European ideas along their area and the periphery surrounding it.

Maríu saga and Milagros de Nuestra Señora mark a point where speaking about centre, semi-peripheries and peripheries may not be accurate anymore. The first semi-peripheral centers had increased their influence enough during the previous century and had been Europeanized to the point of becoming the Europeanization centres of their own region. By the 13th century, their semi-peripheries had started to create and spread culture, in the form of miracula, pilgrimage shrines, literary compositions and other forms of art and ideas. They received these European influences already reshaped from the semi-peripheral centres, further adapting and sharing them with the rest of Europe. A culture that had been molded to become both singular and common, regional and international. A new European culture.
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