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THE *LIBELLUS SANCTI IACOBI* IN DOUAI 842: NEW ELEMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

EL LIBELLUS SANCTI IACOBI *EN DOUAI 842: NUEVOS ELEMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA COLECCIÓN*

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Abstract: This paper studies a collection known as the *Libellus sancti Iacob*i, copied in manuscript Douai 842, Part II. The *Libellus* is a shorter version of *the Liber sancti Iacobi*, whose most well-known copy is the famous Codex Calixtinus from the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. After providing historical context for the manuscript and briefly describing its contents, I examine the *Libellus* in order to determine the origins of its texts. I argue that the Douai 842 copy was made in the second half of the twelfth century, most probably between 1177 and 1179, based on a model from southern Flanders. I conclude with a discussion of the reasons for the popularity of this collection.

Keywords: *Libellus sancti Iacobi*; Douai 842; *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4067); *Ps.-Callisti opus de S. Iacobo, libris 5. Prologus* (BHL 4076a); Sainte-Rictrude of Marchiennes; relations between Iberia, northern France, and southern Flanders.

Resumen: Este artículo estudia una colección conocida como *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, copiado en el manuscrito Douai 842, Parte II. El *Libellus* es una versión abreviada del *Liber sancti Iacobi*, cuya copia más famosa es el célebre Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela. Después de proporcionar un contexto histórico para el manuscrito y describir brevemente su contenido, examinase el *Libellus* con el fin de determinar los orígenes de sus textos. Argumentase que la copia del Douai 842 fue realizada en la segunda mitad del siglo XII, probablemente entre 1177 y 1179, basada en un modelo del sur de Flandes. Concluyese con una discusión sobre las razones de la popularidad de esta colección.

Palabras clave: *Libellus sancti Iacobi*; Douai 842; *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4067); *Ps.-Callisti opus de s. Iacobo, libris 5. Prologus* (BHL 4076a); Sainte-Rictrude de Marchiennes; relaciones entre Iberia, el norte de Francia y el sur de Flandes.

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Summary

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1. Introduction: Marchiennes

The *Iacobus* or *Liber sancti Iacobi*[1] has long been a subject of debate among scholars. The codex that seems to be at the origin of the entire tradition of this book is the so-called Codex Calixtinus,[2] housed today in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.[3] It is composed of diverse texts

[1] Joseph Bédier, *Les légendes épiques* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1966), 3:75. *Cf*. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la catedral de Santiago. Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos, 1988), 42, n. 40.

[2] The bibliography is very abundant. Xosé M. Sánchez Sánchez, *Catálogo de manuscritos do arquivo-biblioteca da catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2008), 284; Walter Muir Whitehill, ed., *Liber sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela: s. n., 1944); Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia, *Liber sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1998). See also Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*; André Moisan, *Le livre de Saint Jacques ou Codex Calixtinus de Compostelle: étude critique et littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1992).

[3] René Louis, «Aimeri Picaud, compilateur du Liber Sancti Jacobi», *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1948-1949 (1952): 94: «le Calixtinus est la source d'où dérivent toutes les autres copies, intégrales ou partielles. Autrement dit, le manuscrit de Compostelle, s'il n'est pas l'original de l'auteur, est du moins le premier exemplaire d'apparat qu'il ait fait exécuter à ses propres frais, et il est l'archétype d'où dérive toute la tradition manuscrite»; Adalbert Hämel, «Los manuscritos del falso Turpino», in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas,

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intended to exalt St. James and the Compostela pilgrimage. It begins with a letter attributed to Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124) addressed to the abbey of Cluny, whose name is not indicated, to William of Malines, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1130-1145), and to Archbishop Gelmírez of Compostela (archbishop between 1120-1140). Since the terms of office of these prelates do not coincide, it is clear that this letter is a forgery. Nevertheless, it is important: this Ps.-Calixtus declares himself as the author of the compilation and explains the circumstances of its composition, referring especially to books I (an extensive collection of liturgical texts) and II (a *liber miraculorum*). However, the *Iacobus* also includes three more books: the short book III (with texts on the *translatio* of the body of Saint James and on some festivals dedicated to the Apostle), book IV (the so-called Ps.-Turpinus, on Charlemagne and Iberia), and book V (a pilgrim's guide to Compostela).

The debate surrounding the unity, authorship, and date of the *Liber sancti Iacobi* remains unresolved. There are two main theses: the Compostelan compilation theory, primarily championed by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, which nevertheless acknowledged the possible involvement of French compilers;[4] and the French composition theory, which attributes the *Liber* to a certain Aymeric Picaud (who, in a bifolio added to the Calixtinus codex —f. 221r— is said to have delivered the codex to the cathedral), supported more recently by Diego Catalán, among many others.[5] Nevertheless, even this French authorship is thought to have been «linked to Compostela's interests».[6] Regarding the date, opinions vary between 1131-1134 (Catalán, who suggests that the Calixtinus was copied between 1137-1139),[7] 1135-1139 (Louis),[8] 1137-1144 (Stones),[9] 1140-1150 (Herbers),[10] 1150 (David),[11] and 1160 (Díaz).[12]

Some of the texts that were copied in the Calixtinus had an independent circulation. For example, the miracles attributed to St. James that are part of book II must have been circulating in Compostela since at least the beginning of the twelfth century. The same goes for the two *passiones s. Iacobi* (ff. 18r-

1953), 4:68: «el *Liber sancti Iacobi* en su forma más completa se halla en el Codex Calixtinus»; Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 95: «el Códice Compostelano es el más antiguo conservado de cuantos nos trasmiten ese texto [el *Liber sancti Iacobi* …]. Parece ser el arquetipo del que arrancan todos los ejemplares conocidos»; Diego Catalán, *La épica española. Nueva documentación y nueva evaluación* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal - Seminario Menéndez Pidal - Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001), 796: «En el estado descrito, el *Codex Calixtinus* vino a ser el arquetipo de innumerables copias, completas (tipo *Liber beati Iacobi*) o abreviadas (tipo *Libellus beati Iacobi*), y de outra descendencia manuscrita limitada a algunas de sus partes (es el caso, especialmente frecuente, de la *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, el llamado Pseudo-Turpino)».

[4] Hämel, «Los manuscritos del falso Turpino», 68; Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der* Liber Sancti Iacobi*: Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1984); Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, «El *Liber Sancti Iacobi*. Situación de los problemas», *Compostellanum* 32 (1987): 359-442; Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 81-87, 309-314; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, «El Codex Calixtinus: volviendo sobre el tema», in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of Saint James*, ed. Alison Stones and John Williams (Tübingen: Gunther Narr Verlag, 1992), 1-9; Klaus Herbers, «Politik und Heiligenverehrung auf der iberischen Halbinsel», in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 177-275; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, «Para una nueva lectura del Códice Calixtino», in *Pervivencia de la tradición clásica. Homenaje al profesor Millán Bravo*, ed. Maurilio Pérez González, José María Marcos Pérez and Estrella Pérez Rodríguez (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1999), 83-90; Klaus Herbers, «El Códice Calixtino. El libro de la iglesia compostelana», in *Compostela y Europa. La historia de Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Manuel Castiñeiras (Milan: Skyra, 2010), 122-141.

[5] Élie Lambert, «Aymeric Picaud», in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1931), 5:1296-1298; Louis, «Aimeri Picaud, compilateur», 89-90; Pierre David, «Études sur le livre de Saint-Jacques attribué au Pape Calixte II (4)», *Bulletin des Études Portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal* 13 (1949): 102-103; André Moisan, «Aiméri Picaud de Parthenay et le *Liber sancti Jacobi*», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 143 (1985): 5-52; Jan Van Herwaarden, «L'integrità di texto del Codex Calixtinus», in *Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacopea: atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi: Perugia 23-24-25 settembre 1983*, ed. Giovanna Scalia (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1985), 255; Moisan, *Le livre de Saint Jacques*; Denise Péricard-Méa, *Compostelle et cultes de saint Jacques au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2000), 35-37; Catalán, *La épica española*, 791-808; See also Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult*, 36-39.

[6] Catalán, *La épica española*, 808.

[7] Catalán, *La épica española*, 845-860.

[8] Louis, «Aimeri Picaud, compilateur», 89.

[9] Alison Stones, «Four Illustrated Jacobus Manuscripts», in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford: BAR, 1981), 205.

[10] Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult*, 38, 47.

[11] David, «Études sur le livre de Saint-Jacques», 101.

[12] Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 77-81.

19v < Rufinus, *Hist. eccl*. 2.8.1-10.9; ff. 48r-53r: BHL 4057) and the two *translationes* (ff. 156v-159r: BHL 4067; ff. 159r-160r: BHL 4061).[13]

According to Díaz, who extensively studied the *Liber*, «no manuscript has been discovered that is independent of the famous and important manuscript from the Archive of the Cathedral of Santiago».[14] The exception may be only MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2631, copied in Spain at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[15]

A shorter version of what seems to be this same collection circulated as early as the mid-twelfth century, surpassing the success of the *Liber* likely because it was easier to copy and handle. Adalbert Hämel identified and studied it, terming it *Libellus sancti Iacobi* due to its reduced length. He suggested that this short version was produced using the *Liber* as a model.[16] However, Hämel's view has not garnered unanimous support. Instead of asserting a direct dependence between the two texts, Díaz proposed an alternative possibility: the existence of a primitive lost short collection that served as the basis for both the *Libellus* and the *Liber*.[17]

In regard to the *Libellus*, it is clear that it was never regarded as a closed collection. In its fullest version it came to include the following texts:

a) an abbreviated version of the prefatory epistle to the *Liber* by Ps.-Calixtus II (BHL 4076a);
b) book III of the *Liber sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4062 + 4067 + 4061 + 4072h + 4076b);
c) book II of the *Liber sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4072 + 4075 + 4072d + 4072f);
d) *Historia Turpini* (BHL 1589 + 1590 + 1591 + 1592 + 1593 + 1594 + 1596);
e) book 5 (BHL 4073), chapter 7 of the *Liber sancti Iacobi* (up to *quod similes illis sunt moribus et similitudine*);
f) book V (BHL 4073), chapter 8 of the *Liber sancti Iacobi*;
g) *Passio sancti Eutropii Sanctonensis* (BHL 2784);
h) *Carmen Aimerici Picardi* (BHL 4076; WIC 353) + *Salue festa dies* (Codex Calixtinus, ff. 116v-118r; WIC 17099) + *Siderei proceres* (Codex Calixtinus, ff. 17v-18r = Venant. Fort. *carm*. 8.6; WIC 18173);
i) the epistle by Ps.-Innocent II (BHL 1595 = 4064);
j) *Vita Amici et Amelii* (BHL 386/387).

The *Libellus* spread rapidly, but its copies rarely had that «complete» structure. In the list made by Hämel, only seven manuscripts transmit all these texts.[18] In fact, the *Libellus* had various configurations, with copyists adding, removing, or rearranging texts as they saw fit.

In this paper, I will focus on a case study. I am interested in studying the version of the *Libellus* transmitted by MS Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 842, copied at the end of the twelfth century in the monastery of Sainte-Rictrude de Marchiennes, located in southern Flanders. This is a remarkable codex, because it preserves the oldest version of the *Liber chronicorum* attributed to Pelagius of Oviedo, copied in a location far removed from its place of production.[19] It was through this Ovetensis collection that I came across this manuscript: the presence

[13] The best description is by Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 187-195; 223-224. See also Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult*, 23-27.

[14] Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 34: «no se ha descubierto ningún códice que sea independiente del célebre e importante manuscrito del Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago».

[15] Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 135-136, 327.

[16] Adalbert Hämel, Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpinus (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1950), 43; Hämel, «Los manuscritos del falso Turpino», 73-74; Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 38-42. See the list of manuscripts in Hämel, «Los manuscritos del falso Turpino», 74-84 (§§ 6, 7, 10, 12); and André de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe*, vol. 1, *La geste de Charlemagne et Roland* (Geneva: Droz, 1961), 364-397.

[17] Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino*, 40-41.

[18] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 649 (389); Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine, H 39; Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine, H 139; Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine, H 142; Paris, BnF, lat. 3550; Paris, BnF, lat. 13775; Reims, Bibliothèque d'Étude et du Patrimoine (Bibliothèque Carnegie; *olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 1414 (M. 822).

[19] Rodrigo Furtado, «MS Douai 842: A New Testimony of the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo», *Aevum* 97 (2023): 249-279.

of Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum* and the *Libellus sancti Iacobi* in the same manuscript prompted me to study this second collection as well and to attempt to establish its origin.

In fact, geographically distant from the Iberian Peninsula, like various other monastic establishments in the northern France-southern Flanders area Marchiennes bears witness to the remarkable popularity enjoyed by the *Libellus* in the latter half of the twelfth century. This study focuses on this particular version of the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. Throughout this paper, I will offer a comprehensive description of this *Libellus* and explore its connections to other existing copies. Furthermore, I also aim to provide contextualization of the *Libellus* within the setting of this monastery and the codex in which it was transcribed. Finally, I will delve into the factors contributing to the flourishing of the veneration of St. James the Great in the region towards the conclusion of the twelfth century, which can explain the collection's enormous success in Southern Flanders.

2. The manuscript

The manuscript Douai 842 is a miscellaneous codex consisting of three distinct parts (I: ff. 1-7; II: ff. 8-47; III: ff. 48-173), which were copied at the end of the twelfth century. The folio dimensions are approximately 290 mm x 200 mm.

Part I of Douai 842 was copied in the twelfth century, but was added to the beginning of the codex probably at the end of the thirteenth century. It is formed by a quarto, whose last two folios were cut off. It transmits only the *Passio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4057): ff. 2r-3v; and the *Passio sancti Christophori* (BHL 1770): ff. 4r-6r. In the Roman calendar, the feasts of St. James and St. Christopher coincide on July 25, which is why many legendaria link the two texts, as they are here. In Iberia instead, before the Mozarabic liturgical calendar was replaced by the Roman calendar in the late eleventh century, legendaria did not associate these two passions, because St. James was celebrated on December 28 and St. Christopher on July 10. Hence, the main Visigothic Iberian manuscripts transmit both these *passiones*, but not together.[20] In addition, BHL 1770 seems to be relatively rare: the Bollandists list only four manuscripts prior to 1300 that transmitted it (including Douai 842). The oldest, MS Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale et patrimoniale Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale), MS 1400 (*olim* U. 3), was copied in the second half of the eleventh century in the abbey of the Trinity in Fécamp, but the *Passio s. Christophori* was not associated with the *Passio s. Iacobi*.[21] In the remaining two manuscripts, the associated *passiones* are indeed BHL 4057 + 1770, as in Douai 842. Of these manuscripts, the most relevant is the København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 133 ff., pp. 265-271, 271-277: Baudouin de Gaiffier suggested that it may have been composed in the Seine-et-Loire region.[22] This combination of BHL 4057 + BHL 1770 always refer to a context outside of Iberia.

On folio 6rb, only four lines were used. The rest of the folio and all of folio 7 were left blank.

Parts II and III of Douai 842 were first brought together (still without Part I) in the thirteenth century. A brief index of this manuscript can be found on f. 8r, at the end of which the copyist added the note *liber sancte Rictrudis ecclesie Marciannensis*.

Douai 842, Part II (ff. 9-47), was completed towards the end of the twelfth century (see below). It consists of five quaternions, all of which were written by the same scribe in two columns of 39 lines.

[20] London, British Library, Add. 25600 (Cardeña, 950-960), ff. 75vb-79va (BHL 4057); ff. 212vb-220va (BHL 1764, which was the version of the *Passio sancti Christophori* circulating in Iberia); Paris, NAL 2180 (Cerrato? *ca*. 975), ff. 66r-69v (BHL 4057); ff. 203r-210v (BHL 1764); Paris, NAL 2179 (Silos, 11th c.med.), ff. 40v-43v (BHL 4057); ff. 202v-208v (BHL 1764). The Passionary of Lorvão, Ms. Lisboa, ANTT, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Lorvão, códice 16, (Lorvão, 12th century), ff. 140ra-142va, 142va-147va, from the twelfth century, eventually reveals a different pattern: here, after the Roman reform in Iberia, the *Passio s. Christophori* (BHL 1764) was already copied right after the *Passio s. Iacobi*. Still, the version of the *Passio s. Christophori* copied in Lorvão (BHL 1764), is that which was already known in Iberia before the liturgical reform that imposed the Roman uses, not corresponding to the text copied in Douai 842.

[21] Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. 7, *Ouest de la France et pays de Loire* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), 327.

[22] Baudouin de Gaiffier, «Le passionnaire du collège de Clermont conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague», *Scriptorium* 5, no. 1 (1951): 20-25.

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It is worth noting that only the first quire is numbered («I^us^») at the end of f. 15v, indicating that it was originally the first quire of the manuscript prior to the addition of what is now known as Part I.

Part II transmits two different collections: the *Libellus sancti Iacobi* (ff. 9ra-22ra) and the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo, in a primitive version of the so-called Compilation B (ff. 22ra-45rb). At the end, the copyist added an anonymous short chronicle of the history of the Franks (ff. 45va-47vb).[23]

Part III of the manuscript (ff. 48-173) transmits a legendarium from the second half of the twelfth century.[24] It consists of 16 quaternions, written in two columns of either 33 (ff. 48r-142r, 143v-146r, 166r-171) or 34 lines (ff. 143r, 146v-165v). The thirteenth quire (ff. 143-149), which includes the beginning of the *Vita s. Iohannis Eleemosinarii Alexandriae episcopi* (BHL 4388), has only seven folios: the first was cut off without compromising the text. The quires are numbered from I to XV, with the exceptions of quire XII and quire XVI, which were not numbered at the end, probably because the last folio was, in both cases, initially left blank.

This part contains several distinct sets of texts: 1) a dossier on the translation of St. Nicholas; 2) a dossier on some miracles of the *imago Christi*; 3) the lives of the Breton saints Winwaloeus and Ethbinus; 4) a small collection of religious poems; 5) a dossier of St. Stephen's *miracula*. With the exception of Bertha, abbess of a monastery in Blangy-sur-Ternois, and Amatus of Sion, whose life the *Vita Amati* was authored by Hucbald of Saint-Amand (*c*. 850-930), none of the saints featured in the manuscript are local to the region.[25] Instead, the manuscript privileges saints from the wider region of France and the Rhineland, including Eucharius and Valerius of Trier, Maternus of Cologne, Leodegarius of Autun, and Winwaloeus and Ethbinus of Landévennec. Only five texts refer to «universal» saints: Nicholas, Genesius of Rome, Cosmas and Damian, Pantaleon, and Fides, Spes, and Caritas and their mother Sapientia. None of these texts is unique to Douai 842, as they were all well-known and attested in various monasteries in the region and correspond to the region's taste for hagiographic literature.[26]

The last two folios of the codex were left blank after the *Vita Iohannis Eleemosinarii*. However, in the thirteenth century, someone ruled these folios in a very irregular manner: 2 columns and 44 lines on f. 172r, 3 columns and 51 lines on ff. 172v-173rb, 53 lines on f. 173rc, and 2 columns and 56 lines on f. 173v. At least three different scribes copied four metric (no. 25) and rhythmic (no. 26-28) poems about miracles, two of them with a Jacobean theme and two about miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary.[27]

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[23] Furtado, «A New Manuscript». See Enrique Jérez, «Arte compilatoria pelagiana: la formación del *Liber cronicorum*», in *Poétique de la chronique. L'écriture des textes historiographiques au Moyen Âge (péninsule Ibérique et France)*, ed. Amaia Arizaleta (Toulouse: CNRES - Université de Toulouse, 2007), 47-87.

[24] These are the texts transmitted by Part III: (1) *Translatio s. Nicolae Barium anno 1087 auctore Nicephoro clerico Barensi* (BHL 6183 + 6184 + 6185 + 6186): ff. 48ra-63va; (2) *Miraculum s. Nicholae post mortem ante translationem* (BHL 6176a): ff. 63va-64va; (3) *Miracula: in imagine Christi anno 742 Lucam translata, auct. Leboino diac*. (BHL 4236): ff. 64va-67vb; (4) *Miracula: in imagine Berytensi Christi crucifixi* (BHL 4228): ff. 67vb-72vb; (5) *Miracula: in imagine Christi crucifixi deiecta in puteo ecclesiae S. Sophiae Constantinopoli* (BHL 4231): ff. 73ra-74rb; (6) *Miracula: in imagine a Iudaeo transfossa* (BHL 4223): f. 74rb-va; (7) *Vita Eucharii et Valerii Treverensium episcoporum et Materni Coloniensis episcopi* (BHL 2655 + 2656): ff. 74va-81va; (8) *Vita s. Leodegarii Augustudonensis* (BHL 4851b): ff. 81va-86vb; (9) *Vita s. Winwaloei Landevenecensis* (BHL 8962): ff. 86vb-89va; (10) *Vita s. Ethbini monachi* (BHL 2621): ff. 89vb-91vb; (11) *Vita s. Genesii martyris* (BHL 3322): ff. 92ra-93vb; (12) *Carmen in s. Benedictum Casinensem auct. Paulo Warnefridi* (BHL 1106; ICL 11423): ff. 93vb-94vb; (13) *Inc*. de puero quodam ueram componimus odam; *expl.* que sunt retro latent anteriora patent (Poncelet 10): ff. 94vb-95rb; (14) *Rub*. hic fit comparatio de natura cristalli et de conceptu uirginis marie; *inc*. sol cristallus aqua dant qualemcunque figuram; *expl*. hoc animam carni reddet utrique deum (Walther 18366; 18369): ff. 95rb-95va; (15) *Inc*. sol hodie nobis apparuit unus et alter; *expl*. sol petit auroram luciferumque dies (Walther 18377): f. 95va; (16) *Passio ss. Cosmae et Damiani* (BHL 1970): ff. 95va-99vb; (17) *Vita s. Berthae* (BHL 1266): ff. 99vb-106ra; (18) *Vita s. Amati Senonensis* (BHL 364): ff. 106ra-112va; (19) *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi factorum Uzali liber I* (BHL 7860): ff. 112va-119vb; (20) *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi factorum Uzali liber II* (BHL 7861 + 7862): ff. 119vb-130va; (21) *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi facta in Africa* (BHL 7868 + 7869 + 7870): ff. 130va-132ra; (22) *Passio s. Pantaleonis* (BHL 6440a): ff. 132ra-139ra; (23) *Passio ss. Fidei, Spei, Caritatis et earum matris Sapientiae* (BHL 2971): ff. 139ra-142rb; (24) *Vita s. Iohannis Eleemosinarii Alexandriae episcopus* (BHL 4388): ff. 143ra-171va.

[25] François Dolbeau, «Le dossier hagiographique de S. Amé, vénéré à Douai. Nouvelles recherches sur Hucbald de Saint-Amand», *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979): 89-110.

[26] See a partial list in Snidjers, *Manuscript Communication*, 415-423.

[27] (25) *Tit*. Insigne miraculum de sancto iacobo metrice conscriptum; *inc*. Eructare uolo uerbum dulcedine plenum; *expl*. ut tibi protector sit et preconia soluas (Poncelet 489 + 1188): f. 172ra-b; (26) *Tit*. insigne miraculum de beata dei genitrice maria ad laudem ipsius, rithmice conscriptum; *inc*. erat quidam cuius uita mundi malis irretita; *expl*. ad eterna gaudia amen (Poncelet

The poems on St. James (no. 25, 28) were likely added due to the manuscript's association to *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. These two poems are versified versions of miracles in prose: no. 25 refers to miracle 17 and no. 28 to miracle 5 of the well-known *Miracula sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4072). Poem no. 26, which recounts a Marian miracle, appears to be a version of a prose story identified by Albert Poncelet as no. 454 and 602, and previously published by Adolf Mussafia.[28] Poncelet also identifies other versions of the stories transmitted by these poems, suggesting a possible circulation in the French-Rhineland region.

Douai 842, Part III, does not conform to the typical structure of a legendarium, which is usually organized thematically or chronologically according to the liturgical year. Instead, it appears that the copyists simply transcribed texts as they found them, perhaps with the aim of expanding Marchiennes' library. While a more systematic analysis of the texts is necessary, all the evidence suggests that their direct models circulated in these regions and were not imported from more distant climes. Although the model for Douai 842, Part III, is unknown, its proximity to manuscript Douai 865, which was copied around the same time or shortly thereafter in Anchin, confirms the possibility of copying and/or borrowing relationships between manuscripts from these two abbeys.[29] In fact, all the texts copied in Douai 842, ff. 48ra-99vb, are also transmitted by Douai 865, although not in the same sequence.[30]

3. The *Libellus sancti Iacobi* in Douai 842

The first collection of Douai 842, Part II, is a version of the so-called *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. In this manuscript, it consists of the following texts:

1) *Liber sancti Iacobi: capitula*: ff. 8va-9ra.
2) *Ps.-Callisti opus de S. Iacobo, libris 5* (BHL 4076a): f. 9ra-va.
3) *Epistula apocrypha Callisti II* (BHL 4062): ff. 9va-10ra.
4) *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4067): ff. 10ra-11va.
5) *Epistula apocrypha Leonis* (BHL 4061): ff. 11va-12ra.
6) *De tribus sollemnitatibus s. Iacobi, auctore Ps.-Callisto II papa* (BHL 4072h): ff. 12ra-13rb.
7) *Miracula auctore Ps.-Callisto II papa* (BHL 4072): ff. 13rb-21va.
8) *Miraculum adscriptum Alberico ab. Vizeliacensi* (BHL 4075): f. 21va-b.
9) *Additamentum (Miracula)* (BHL 4072d): f. 21vb.
10) *Additamentum (Miracula)* (BHL 4072f): ff. 21vb-22ra.

In Douai 842, the list of chapters copied in ff. 8va-9ra (no. 1) includes 28 texts that were usually part of this *Libellus*: the prefatory epistle to the *Liber* by Ps.-Calixtus II (no. 2); the prologue to book III (no. 3); the *Translatio s. Iacobi* (no. 4); the so-called *Epistula Leonis* (no. 5); the *De tribus solemnitatibus* (no. 6); the prologue to book II and the 22 miracles of book II of the *Liber*, including miracle 13 (no. 7). In Douai 842, the *capitula* that identify these 22 miracles are the same as those of the Codex Calixtinus at the beginning of book II (ff. 140r-141r). Additionally, two more miracles that were usually included in the *Libellus* (BHL 4075 and BHL 4072d+f) were also copied and numbered in Douai 842,

458): ff. 172va-173rb; (27) *Tit*. aliud miraculum de eadem matre domini; *inc*. signum quoque nouitatis stilo scriptum breuitatis; *expl*. laus sub eius nomine. explicit (Poncelet 1655): f. 173rb-d; (28) *Miraculum de sancto iacobo apostolo* (BHL 4078a): f. 173va-b. See Albert Poncelet, «Index miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae saec. VI-XV latine conscripta sunt», *Analecta Bollandiana* 21 (1902): 242-360. See also Adolfo Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden* (Vienna: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1887).

[28] Adolfo Mussafia, ed., *Uber die von Gautier de Coincy benützten Quellen* (Vienna: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1894), 42-48.

[29] Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, «Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques. Contribution à la connaissance des anciennes bibliothèques bénédictines», *Révue bénédictine* 96 (1986): 271-326.

[30] Douai 865, ff. 1r-20v (BHL 6183 + 6184 + 6185 + 6186 + 6176a); ff. 68v-78r (BHL 4236+4228, 4231, 4223); ff. 97r + 116v (BHL 2655 + 2656 + 4851b + 8962 + 2621 + 3322 + 1106) + ff. 80r-84r (BHL 1970). Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général*, 6:620-623; Charles De Smedt, Joseph De Backer, Francis Van Ortroy, Joseph Van den Gheyn, Hippolyte Delehaye, and Albert Poncelet, «Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae publicae Duacensis», *Analecta Bollandiana* 20 (1901): 389-393.

although not listed in the *capitula* (no. 8-10). None of the remaining texts identified by Hämel as usually part of the *Libellus* were copied in Douai 842.[31]

The manuscripts that transmit this same structure (BHL 4076a + Lib. III + Lib. II) of the *Libellus* are:

a) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H1, tome 3 (*c*. 1170-1180; Notre-Dame de Clairvaux; 142 ff.), ff. 102vb-117ra,[32] which is part of an extensive passionary in five volumes;
b) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5272 (13th c.inc.; Limousin; 56 ff.), ff. 1r-24rb. It is part of a dismembered manuscript which also included MSS Paris, BnF, lat. 1788, 3800A, and 5358.[33]
c) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14464 (12th c.; poss. Saint-Victor de Paris; 271 ff.), ff. 138ra-156vb.[34]

In addition to these manuscripts, I have also seen 30 other manuscripts that transmit the *Libellus* in different forms.

Libellus sancti Iacobi (BHL 4076a + Lib. III + Lib. II + Lib. IV):

a) Bruxelles, KBR (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale «Albert Ier») II 993 (3293) (Phillipps no. 4793) (2/2 12th c.; Saint-Ghislain; 70 ff.), ff. 1v-70r.[35]
b) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 318 (D. 11), Part II (12th c.; Rochester; pp. 363-516), pp. 363a-454b.[36]
c) Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 190 (2/2 12th c.; Sygny-l'Abbaye, Ardennes; 162 ff.); ff. 90va-136rb.[37]
d) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 88 (13th c.; Berry, France; 207 ff.), ff. 190r-207v.[38]
e) Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 649 (2/2 12th c.; Citeaux; 88 ff.), ff. 1r-78r, 79r-88v.[39]

[31] It lacks all texts listed under items (d) to (k), and BHL 4076b, considered by Hämel under (c).

[32] Georg Heinrich Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts: Bibliothek zu Montpellier», *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtkunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* 7 (1839): 192; Guillaume Libri, ed., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'école de Médecine de Montpellier* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849), 1:281-282. *Cf.* Cécile Lanéry, «Nouvelles recherches sur le Légendier de Clairvaux», *Analecta Bollandiana* 131 (2013): 115-120.

[33] Joseph Lemarié, «Fragment d'un nouveau sermon inédit de Chromace d'Aquilée», *Corona Gratiarum* 1 (1975): 201-203; François Dolbeau, «Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris», *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979): 189; Andreas Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063-1114)*: *ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des cluniacensischen Klösterverbandes* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1989), 142-150.

[34] Johannes Scotus Erigena, *Homilia super «In principio erat Verbum» et Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*, ed. Édouard Jeauneau (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), xxxviii.

[35] Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, 5:279-280.

[36] Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1912), 2:128-130; Francesco Marzella, ed., *Aelredi Rievallensis opera historica et hagiographica. Vita sancti Aedwardi regis et confessoris. Anonymi Vita sancti Aedwardi versifice* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 14-15.

[37] Jules Quicherat, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements. Publié sous les auspices du Ministre de l'Instruction publique*, vol. 5, *Metz-Verdun-Charleville* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 627-629.

[38] Albert Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910), 305-306; Andreas Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, vol. 1, *Codices 1-250 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices amnu scipti recensiti jussu Pii XI pontificis maximi, praeside Johanne Mercati card.)* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937), 193-198.

[39] Auguste Molinier, Henri Omont, Étienne Symphorien Bougenot and Philippe Guignard, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 5, *Dijon* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 186-187; Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de dates, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. 6, *Bourgogne, Centre, Sud-Est et Sud-Ouest de la France* (Paris: Centre nationale de le recherche scientifique, 1968), 579; Yolanta Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon* (Paris: Centre nationale de le recherche scientifique, 1991), 142, no. 112.

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f) Gravenhage's, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 70 H 45 (12th c.med. 1/2 13th c.; Cambron-Casteau; 159 ff.), ff. 1r-126v.[40]
g) Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale 119 (13th c.; ?; 184 ff.), ff. 151va-184r.[41]
h) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 1617 (14th c.; ?; 72 ff.), ff. 2r-72v.[42]
i) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 39 (12-13th c.; poss. Abbaye Sainte-Marie de Pontigny; 111 ff.), ff. 42r-101v, 103r-111v.[43]
j) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 78 (1190-1210; ?; 67 ff.), ff. 1r-30r; 67r-73v.[44]
k) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 281 (14th c.; ?; 90 ff.), ff. 2r-89r.[45]
l) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3550 (13th c.; ?; 163 ff.), ff. 11v-162v.[46]
m) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13775, Part I (12th c.; poss. Saint-Germain-des-Prés; 86 ff.), ff. 1r-86v.[47]
n) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 516 (471D) (1198; Saint-Amand; 182 ff.), ff. 112r-135v.[48]

Libellus sancti Iacobi (Lib. IV + BHL 4076a + Lib. III + Lib. II):

a) Durham, University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Cosin MS V.ii.12 (15th c.inc.; East Anglia; 146 ff.), ff. 109r-141v (Lib. IV + BHL 4072 + BHL 4062 + BHL 4061 + BHL 4072h + BHL4072b + BHL 4075).[49]
b) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 139 (15th c.; ?; 361 ff.), ff. 270r-321r, 338r-353v.[50]
c) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 142 (13th c.med.; Aurillac, Auvergne?; 233 ff.), ff. 107ra-154rb, 154vb-161rb.[51]
d) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 235 (13th c.; ?; 130 ff.), ff. 108v-130v.[52]

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[40] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1922), 264, no. 724.

[41] Nicolas van Werveke, *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg* (Luxembourg: Lamort, 1894), 1:251-267.

[42] Paul Ewald, *Codices manuscripti Hispanici ad historiam medii aevi et praesertim ad res historicae Germaniae spectantes: reise nach Spanien im Winter von 1878 auf. 1879* (Hanover: Hahn, 1881), 308-309; *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional - Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1959), 5:16-17; Hélin M. Smyser, *The Pseudo-Turpinus Edited from BN. Lat. 17656 with an Annotated Synopsis* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1937), 7-8.

[43] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 196; H. Moretus, «Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae scholae medicinae in Universitate Montepessulanensi», *Analecta Bollandiana* 34-35 (1915-1916): 247-248; Henri Villetard, «Catalogue et description des manuscrits de Montpellier provenant du département de l'Yonne», *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* 54 (1900): 332-334, no. 7; Monique Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XIIe-XIXe siècles): histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 2001), 537-539, no. 90.

[44] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 198.

[45] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 203. This manuscript does not transmit the prefatory letter by Ps.-Calixtus (BHL 4076a).

[46] Accessed April 30, 2024, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61481g.

[47] Léopolde Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de Saint-Germain-des-Prés conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale sous les numéros 11504-14231 du fonds latin* (Paris: Durand and Pedone-Lauriel, 1868), 114; Dolbeau, «Anciens possesseurs», 229.

[48] Auguste-François Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 25, *Poitiers-Valenciennes* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894), 416-418.

[49] *Catalogue of Durham University Library Cosin MS V.ii.12*, accessed June 6, 2023, https://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150s2gh93gz52z.xml.

[50] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 195; Emil J. Polak, *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters: A Census of Manuscripts Found in Part of Europe. The Works on Letter Writing from the Eleventh through the Seventeenth Century Found in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, France, Germany, and Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 211-212; Hans Martin Schaller and Bernhard Vogel, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea* (Hanover: Hahn, 2002), 179-180; Kristina Stöbener and Matthias Thumser, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua. Auf Grundlage der Vorarbeiten von Hans Martin Schaller* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 64-65 n. 40.

[51] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 199-200.

[52] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 202.

e) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 11319 (13th c.; northeastern France/Lower Rhine (Cologne?); 104 ff.), ff. 1r-51v.[53]
f) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13774 (3/3 12th c.; Le Bec? Conflans?; poss. Saint-Germain-des-Prés; 122 ff.), Part III, ff. 81r-106v.[54]
g) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14703, Part II (13-14th c.; poss. Saint-Victor, Paris; ff. 260-307), ff. 260ra-307vb.[55]
h) Reims, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine (Bibliothèque Carnegie; *olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 1414 (M. 822) (13th c.ex.; ?; 102 ff.), ff. 1ra-35ra, 35va-40va, 52ra-54ra.[56]
i) Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 1403 (*olim* U. 134) (13th c.; Jumièges Abbey; 318 ff.), ff. 106r-155v.[57]
j) Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 1421 (*olim* O. 34) (12th c.; Jumièges Abbey; 92 ff.), ff. 1r-20r, 75r-92v.[58]
k) Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale) 1422 (*olim* Y. 198) (12-13th c.; Lyre Abbey; 168 ff.), ff. 1r-40v.[59]
l) Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 1040 (13th c.; ?; 133 ff.), ff. 1r-80r (w/ BHL 386).[60]

Libellus sancti Iacobi (other structures):

a) Bruxelles, KBR (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale «Albert Ier») 12131-12150 (2156) (13th c.; poss. Liège/Luik, abbey of St. James; 166 ff.), ff. 123v-125v; 134v-135v (part of the *Translatio* is copied in ff. 123v-124r).[61]
b) Bruxelles, KBR (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale «Albert Ier») 14775-14776 (3237) (*post* 1187; *ex libris* Saint-Germain-des-Prés; 8 ff.), ff. 1r-4v (Lib. IV *excerpta* + BHL 4067).[62]
c) Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 2 (12th c.; poss. Clairvaux; 144 ff.), ff. 59r-61v (BHL 4076a + Lib. III: BHL 4067 + 4061).[63]
d) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6188 (14th c.; ?; 70 ff.), ff. 4r-61r (Lib. IV + BHL 4076a + BHL 4062 + BHL 386).[64]

In sum, these manuscripts exhibit one of two fundamental structures. The one which begins with the prefatory letter attributed to Calixtus II (BHL 4076b), followed by the texts concerning the *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (book III of the Codex Calixtinus), the *Book of Miracles* (which corresponds to book II of the Codex Calixtinus), and the texts of Ps.-Turpinus (BHL 4076b + Lib. III + Lib. II + Lib. IV). In some cases, other texts (*e. g*. BHL 2784, 4074, 4076) are also present. There are other versions

[53] Karl Halm *et al*., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 2-2, *Codices latinos 11001-15028 complectens* (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis, 1876), 13; Elisabeth Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 273-274.

[54] Delisle, «Inventaire», 114; Dolbeau, «Anciens possesseurs», 228-229; Jenny Weston, «Manuscripts and Book Production at le Bec», in *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, ed. Benjamin Pohl and Laura L. Gathagan (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 166; Franz Dolveck, «A Census of the Manuscripts of Sidonius», in *Edinburgh Companion to Sidonius Apollinaris*, ed. Gavin Kelly and Joop van Waarden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 540.

[55] Gilbert Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor. Catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999) 2:441-442.

[56] Henri Loriquet, ed., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 39-2, *Reims* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1904), 650-655.

[57] Henri Omont, ed., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 1, *Rouen* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886), 393-396.

[58] Omont, *Catalogue général*, 425-426.

[59] Omont, *Catalogue général*, 426-427.

[60] Gaston Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 37-1, *Tours* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905), 755-758.

[61] Joseph Van den Gheyn, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 3, *Théologie* [*nos 1534-2491*] (Brussels: Lamertin, 1903), 317-319.

[62] Joseph Van den Gheyn, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 5, *Histoire-Hagiographie* [*nos 3047-3594*] (Brussels: Lamertin, 1904), 242; Hans Eberhard Mayer, ed., *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1962), 217-219.

[63] Pertz, «Handschriften der Universitäts», 193.

[64] Accessed April 30, 2024, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc652479.

of the *Libellus* without the texts of Ps.-Turpinus, such as our Douai 842, Montpellier H 1 t. 3, Paris, lat. 5272, and Paris, lat. 14464, as well as versions without the *Book of Miracles* (Montpellier H 2) or the prefatory letter by Calixtus II (Montpellier H 281).

The other structure begins with the book of Ps.-Turpinus, followed by some scattered texts that are also present in the first structure (BHL 2784, 4074, 4076), then the prefatory letter attributed to Calixtus II, the texts concerning the *Translatio sancti Iacobi*, and the *Book of Miracles* at the end.

4. The *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4067)

To analyze the relationships between all these manuscripts, I have collated one of their texts: the *Translatio sancti Iacobi*. This is a text of about 7.500 words, which was transmitted in complete form by all these manuscripts.[65] It is typically copied between the prologue attributed to Calixtus II and the *Epistula Leonis*. It briefly describes the preaching of James the Greater, one of Christ's disciples, in Palestine, the names of his seven disciples, his martyrdom, and his disciples' journey with his body to Galicia (there is no reference to a previous visit of the apostle to Iberia). On reaching Iria, the disciples take the body «ad orientem» to a place that is «fere quinque miliariis ab urbe», where they are welcomed by a noble widow named Luparia, who initially appears hospitable but soon sets a series of traps for them. These traps involve being persecuted by the king of the region (who is killed with his army crossing a bridge, in an episode that recalls the crossing of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Pharaoh's army), a threat by some angry bulls, and a final fight against a dragon. Despite these difficulties, Luparia eventually converts to Christianity and has a church built on the site, destroying the pagan shrine; this church later became the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Although the text sometimes uses unusual language and employs wordplay, alliteration, and rhyme, the narrative structure is simple. While the text has never been critically edited, several transcriptions have been made from the Codex Calixtinus[66] and a few other manuscripts.[67]

Based on the Codex Calixtinus and MS Bruxelles, KBR (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale «Albert Ier») 98-100, Baudouin de Gaiffier identified two important differences between these manuscripts.[68]

CODEX CALIXTINUS	BRUXELLES, KBR 98-100
FERTURSEPTEMCLIENTULOSPREELEGISSECHRISTOSUBNIXUS QUORUMNOMINAHECSUNT:TORQUATUS,SECUNDUS,ENDALECIUS,TISSEPHONS,EUFRASIUS,CECILIUS,YSICIUS, QUORUM COLLEGIO	FERTUR SEPTEM CLIENTULOS PREELEGISSE CHRISTO SUBNIXUS QUORUM COLLEGIUM [NOMINA DESUNT][69]
DUOAUTEMMAGISTRIPEDISSECEPROREVERENTIAILLIUS, DUMSUMMOCUMAFFECTUPREFATUMSEPULCRUMPERVIGILES INDESINENTER PERVIGILARENT	TRESAUTEMMAGISTRIPEDISSEQUIPROILLIUSREVERENTIA, DUM SUMMO CUM AFFECTU AD PREFATUM SEPULCHRUM PERVIGILES INDESINENTER PERVIGILARENT

I collated the text of the *Translatio sancti Iacobi* transmitted by all the manuscripts listed above. Since the *Translatio* also circulated autonomously, without any relation to the *Libellus*, I also col-

[65] It is only missing in Paris, BnF, lat. 6188.

[66] Whitehill, *Liber santi Jacobi*, vol. 1; Herbers and Santos Noia, *Liber sancti Jacobi*.

[67] *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, vol. 1, *Codices Latini membranei* (Brussels: Polleunis, Ceuterick and Lefebvre, 1886), 66-69 (transcription made from MS Bruxelles, KBR 98-100, ff. 101v-103r); Frédéric de Reiffenberg, «Suite des notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale - Addition au faux Turpin - Légende relative à St-Jacques le mineur - Voyage de Guillaume Bolunzele à la Terre-Sainte», *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des sciences et belles-lettres de Bruxelles* 11, no. 1 (1844): 178-183 (from Bruxelles, KBR 14775-14776, ff. 3r-4v); Paul Meyer, «La vie et la translation de saint Jacques le Majeur, mise en prose d'un poème perdu», *Romania* 31, no. 122-123 (1902): 257-261 (from MS Paris, BnF, lat. 13775, ff. 3v-7r).

[68] Baudouin de Gaiffier, «Notes sur quelques documents relatifs à la translation de Saint Jacques en Espagne», *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1971): 47-66.

[69] MS Bruxelles KBR 98-100 includes the names of St. James' disciples only at the end of the text, after the final doxology. It is evidently an addition: its model did not transmit any names.

lated ten other manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, where the text is included in legendaria.[70]

Although a critical edition of the *Translatio* is lacking, and regardless of which one transmits the «better» text,[71] the manuscripts transmitting it can tentatively be grouped around the variants identified by Gaiffier: one group (α) includes the Codex Calixtinus and manuscripts transmitting the names of the seven disciples of Saint James and mentioning the vigil at the tomb by two magistri, while another group of manuscripts (β) does not include the names of the disciples and mentions the vigil by three magistri.

In addition to these two examples mentioned by Gaiffier, there are still other minor variants that distinguish manuscripts as belonging to α or as belonging to β:

> 4. ad portum hirie qui est in gallecia α iriam/ad terram β; 9. prefate matrone α, illius/supradicte femine β; 13. extimplo lenitatis α lenitatis extimplo β; 15. reconditur α conditur β; ecclesia α altera/altitudo β; alumpnis fidei α alumnis innumeris in fidei β; 16. asseclis α asseclis uernifica β.

Surprinsingly enough, α is a group of manuscripts where the *Translatio sancti Iacobi* is always included in the *Liber* or in the *Libellus sancti Iacobi* (as it is the cases of the codex Calixtinus and MS Douai 842). Hence, all manuscripts listed above and transmitting the *Translatio* belong to α too. In the same way, MS Bruxelles KBR 98-100 transmits the *Translatio* as part of a legendarium, with no connection to the *Liber/Libellus sancti Iacobi*. The same situation applies to the other ten manuscripts which I grouped under β: here, the *Translatio* stands always without the *Libellus*. Therefore, α represents the *Translatio* transmitted by the *Liber* and by the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*; β represents the *Translatio* transmitted within legendaria.

Let's focus, then, only on α. Regarding the *Liber sancti Iacobi*, I also accepted Díaz's conclusion that all manuscripts transmitting the *Liber* depend on the Calixtinus, MS Salamanca, BU 2631 excepted. Therefore, I only examined the Calixtinus.

Due to the absence of a critical edition of the text, until more information becomes available, I have considered it as the reference text whenever the text of the *Translatio* is shared by both the *Liber*/Calixtinus and β. Consequently, I came to identify a small set of variants that distinguish all manuscripts of the *Libellus* from both the *Liber*/Calixtinus and β. While these variants may appear individually insignificant, their consistent presence in the *Libellus* across all analyzed manuscripts suggests that they cannot be mere coincidence; rather, they originate from a common model where these variants were present. I will refer to this sub-family of the *Translatio* as γ. It represents the *Libellus sancti Iacobi* (that is, the shorter version of the Calixtinus) and it was at the origin of all the manuscripts listed above. Here is a short list of these variants:

> 2. hesperie Calix+β hiberie γ; 5. *ante* preelegerit] dare γ *om*. Calix+β; comportant Calix+β componunt γ; 6. *post* nobilium] et ignobilium γ *om*. Calix+β; 13. imitando Calix+β sequendo γ; 15. apostoli alum(p)nis Calix+β alumnis apostoli γ; edoctis squalentibus Calix+β scalentibus edoctis γ; 16. peruigiles Calix+β *om*. γ.

Within sub-family γ (= *Libellus*), the *Translatio* transmitted by Douai 842 (= *D*) is closer to the following manuscripts, which form what I call sub-family δ:

[70] Besides Bruxelles, KBR 98-100, I saw MSS Firenze, Plut. 17.37 (11th c., Tuscany); Heiligenkreuz, SB 13 (1183-1200, Heiligenkreuz); Lilienfeld, SB 60 (13th c., Austria); Lisbon, AN/TT, Lorvão 16 (12th c. med., Lorvão, Coimbra); Madrid, BRAH 9 (*c*. 1200, Sahagún?); Melk, SB M.6 (*c*. 1470, Melk); München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2.º Cod. MS 312 (12th c., Regensburg); Paris lat. 2025 (12th c., France); Paris, BnF, lat. 5564 (12th c., Saint-Martial de Limoges); and Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, cod. 40 (12th c., Zwettl). They all transmit the variants typical of β. The Lisbon manuscript is mutilated and does not include the beginning of the *Translatio* or the reference to James' disciples.

[71] Gaiffier, «Notes sur quelques documents», 63-64, argues that MS Bruxelles KBR 98-100 transmits a better version of the text. In fact, the legendarium copied in MS Firenze, Plut. 17.37 (11th c., Tuscany) is the oldest known testimony of the *Translatio*.

Z Bruxelles, KBR 12131-12150, ff. 123v-124r.
A Bruxelles, KBR 14775-14776, ff. 3v-4v.
B Bruxelles, KBR II 993 (3293), ff. 4r-8r.
C Cambridge, Corpus Christi 318, pp. 365b-370b.
E Charleville 190, ff. 92ra-94vb.
X Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 88, ff. 190va-191vb.
U Durham, Cosin MS V.ii.12, ff. 127r-129r.
M Madrid, BNE 1617, ff. 6r-10v.
P Paris, BnF, lat. 13774, ff. 95v-97r.
Q Rouen 1403, ff. 133rb-136ra.
R Rouen 1421, ff. 76r-78r.
S Rouen 1422, ff. 22r-25r.
V Valenciennes 516, ff. 113ra-115rb.

1. et apostolus αβγ *om*. *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; incomparabili claritate αβγ *om*. *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; 3. extat αβγ extitit *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; de christo αβγ *om*. *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; stimulante inuidie αβγ inuidie stimulante *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; 6. sepulturam paretis αβγ paretis sepulturam *ABCDEVRSPXQZU*; 8. regi est αβγ est regi *ABCDEVRSPXQZ* est *U*; fuerunt αβγ erant *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; 10. maioris αβγ *om*. *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; erunt αβγ existunt *ACPQU om*. *B* extrahenda *DV* extra *EM* existere *R* existant *S*; 12. ut demonum frequentia illinc omnino esset explosa αβγ ut demonum illinc omnino esset explosa frequentia *ABCEDVRSPX²QMU*; demoniis αβγ demonibus *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; 13. animalia αβγ animati *ABCDEVRSPQMU*; 14. agnoscens αβγ uidens *ABCDEVRSPXQMU*; 16. et saluatore αβγ *om*. *ABCDEVRSPXM*.

Surprisingly, MSS Montpellier H1, Paris lat. 5272, and Paris lat. 14464 do not belong to this sub-family γ. While they transmit the *Libellus* with a structure similar to our MS *D* (BHL 4076b + Lib. III + Lib. II, without the Ps.-Turpinus), collation reveals that these three manuscripts also depend on γ, but do not depend on δ. In fact, model δ preserved the main structure of the *Libellus* (BHL 4076b + Lib. III + Lib. II + Lib. IV, with the Ps.-Turpinus at the end), which is found in six manuscripts: *BCEVXM*; one can also add our *D* to this group, even though it does not include the Ps.-Turpinus texts. The loss of the Ps.-Turpinus in *D* appears to have occurred independently.

However, in MSS *RSPQU* the sequence of the texts is also reversed: in the context of northern France, the memory of Charlemagne must have been a good reason to move the Ps.-Turpinus' chronicle to the beginning of the collection.[72]

Manuscript *A* consists of only eight folios. It contains a mutilated version of the Ps.-Turpinus (BHL 1590), followed by the *Translatio*. Hence, it is possible that the model for *A* began with the Ps.-Turpinus and was closer to *RSPQU*. Furthermore, *A* was housed in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where manuscript *P* also originated. However, neither one appears to be a copy of the other.

Manuscript *Z* is a resumé of the text, with the epigraph *incipiunt miracula sancti iacobis maioris*. The *Translatio* starts only at its paragraph 4, and the text is nearly complete up to paragraph 8, followed by a brief summary of the following paragraphs of the text.

Model δ had a remarkable success right from the start, with 7 manuscripts dependent on it, most probably copied still in the twelfth century (*ABCDEVR*). The location where they were copied is also significant: *B* in Saint-Ghislain, *C* likely in Rochester, our *D* in Marchiennes, *E* in Sygny-l'Abbaye, *V* in Saint-Amand, and *RQ* in Jumièges Abbey (*Q* seems a copy of *R*). Manuscript *A* was shelved in the library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Consequently, the version of the *Translatio* corresponding to δ had likely circulated within a limited region stretching from Normandy (Jumièges) to southern Flanders (Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, Saint-Ghislain, Sygny-l'Abbaye), with an extension to the south of England, easily explained by the political and cultural ties between the two sides of the Channel in the late twelfth century. Hence, δ was likely a copy created in the mid-twelfth century in northern France. Even later manuscripts indicate the existence of copies in this region: manuscript *P* is from Le Bec, *S* is from Lyre, and *Z* is perhaps from the Liège region. Manuscript *X* was probably copied a little further south in

[72] The other 7 manuscripts which I saw that begin with the Ps.-Turpinus (Montpellier H 139, H 142, H 235, München Clm 11319, Paris lat. 14703, Reims 1414, Tours 1040) are all later than *RSP*, and none depends on δ or transmits any of its errors. More research must be conducted on this branch in order to reach a solid conclusion.

the Berry. Manuscript *U*, a fifteenth-century English codex, is very similar to but not a copy of *C*.[73] *M* is a fourteenth-century manuscript from Iberia that likely originated elsewhere.

Among the 14 manuscripts dependent on δ, there are 7 which share a set of minor variants (*Z* is a resumé and do not transmit all the text) : 1. uterinus *rel*. frater uterinus *BDEVXM*; 6. abdicaret *rel*. abdicabat *BDEVXZM*; 7. exordicionis *rel*. exordio *BDEVXM*; 9. hortari insistere *rel*. hortantur *BDEVXM*.

Among these seven, *X* has the fewest variants in common with the other 6:

> 1. pneumatis flammivomam *rel*. flammivomam pneumatis *BDEVM*; 2. cosmi climata *rel*. mundi regiones *BDEVM*; fructifica *rel*. fructificans *BDEVM* fructificare *X*; clientulos *rel*. discipulos *BDEVM*; 3. necem *rel*. mortem *BDEVM*; ac digladiabili *rel. om*. *BDEVM*; 4. uorticum *rel*. uoraginum *BDEVM* norticum *X*; 6. seviens in dolo *rel*. in dolo seviens *BDEVZM*; 7. inicio *rel. om*. *BDEVZM*; iaculatus *rel*. perfossus *BDEVZM*; 8. plebe *rel. om*. *BDEVM*; acceperat canopica *rel*. contigerat pharaonis *BDEVM*; 9. necem *rel*. mortem *BDEVM*; odorare *rel*. odorare possunt *BDEV* possunt odorare *M*; 10. domiti *rel*. indomiti *BCDEVM*; 13. atroci *rel*. atrociter *BEM* atrocem *DV*; ferocitate *rel. om*. *BDEVM*; deponunt *rel*. deponerent *BE* deponuntur *DV* dimittunt *M*; mulcendo animalia *rel*. animati mulcendo *BDEVM*; facta *rel*. faciunt *BDEVM*; 14. fantastico *rel*. fanatico *BDEVM*; 16. definito *rel*. peracto *BDEVM*.

Five of these manuscripts (*BDEVZ*) were copied in southern Flanders-northern France. This allows for the identification of a sub-family of manuscripts of the *Translatio* that originated in this region. By examining a small number of textual variants, it is possible to confirm the relationship between these manuscripts: tit. *om*. *BDEV* (and *U*); 5. sueque *rel*. suique *BDEV*; 9. possunt *rel. om*. *BDEV* (and *P*); auribus sermonem audire *rel*. audire auribus *BDEV*.

BDVZ seem to be closely related:

> 2. collegio *rel*. collegium *BDV*; 7. frequentabatur *rel*. frequentabat *BDV*; diuertendo *rel*. diuertentes *BDVZ*; 10. interire *rel*. irretire *V* inretire *BD*.

D and *V*, the manuscripts from Marchiennes and Saint-Amand, share several exclusive variants:

> 2. inueniretur *rel*. muniretur *DV*; 3. opponit *rel*. proponit *DV*; unde eorum fremens ira furit in eum acrius incitata *rel. om*. *DV*; 4. remisque *rel*. et remis *DV*; desiderabile solum *rel*. solum desiderabile *DV*; 7. more *rel*. timore *DV*; *post* iubet] belue *DV*; *post* dei] nutu *DV*; propere *rel. om*. *DV*; 8. fuerunt gesta *rel*. gesta erant *DV*; 10. dicebantur *rel*. dicebat *DV*; que necessaria *rel*. ad necessaria *DV*; erunt *rel*. extrahenda *DV*; *post* deferentes] sepulturam *DV*; si quid victus defuerit propense vobis et illis impertire curabo *rel. om*. *DV*; 12. celo *rel. om*. *DV*; 13. atroci *rel*. atrocem *DV*; deponerent *rel*. deponuntur *DV*; 14. queque *rel*. et que *DV*; 16. *post* saluatoris] domini *DV*.

DV are contemporary manuscripts. It is possible that *V* is a copy of *D* or, at least, that they depend both on a common model. However, *V* does not transmit any of the other texts found in *D*: *V* is a composite manuscript, which gathers together a treatise by Aelred (ff. 2r-13v), several sermons (ff. 13v-49v), an incomplete *Hexameron* (ff. 50r-87v), some lives of saints (ff. 88r-111v) and a few other lives (BHL 1232) and treatises (ff. 136r-176v), a hymn and texts from the liturgy of St. Rictrudis (ff. 176v-182v).

Based on these findings, a stemma of the *Translatio s. Iacobi* within the *Liber*/*Libellus sancti Iacobi* is proposed to illustrate the relationship between all these testimonies:

[73] 2. semina *rel*. sementem *CU*; 3. in tantum *rel*. iterum *CU*; 6. deuio *rel*. demonum *CU*; 7. *post* ducti] essent *CU*; eorum] *om*. *CU*; tamen *rel*. cum *CU*; 9. occulis non uidere *rel*. occulis uidere *CU*; 10. uero] igitur *CU*; desipere *rel*. desinere *CU*; michi] *om*. *CU*; 11. adeunt *rel*. habeunt *CU*; 13. sibi *rel*. ibi *CU*; irrepsit *rel*. arepsit *CU*; 14. proterit *rel*. proteri *CU*; frangit *rel*. frangi *CU*.

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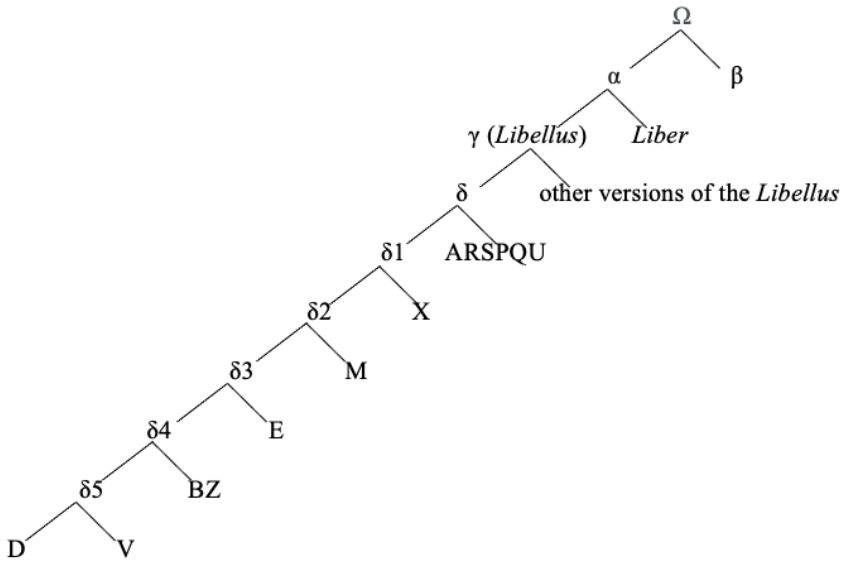

5. *Ps.-Callisti opus de s. Iacobo, libris 5. Prologus* (BHL 4076a)

I also collated the prefatory letter to book I of the Codex Calixtinus (BHL 4076a). Of all the manuscripts of the *Libellus* listed above, including Douai 842, only three do not transmit this letter: in fact, Bruxelles, KBR 12131-12150 (our *Z* manuscript), Bruxelles, KBR 14775-14776 (our *A* manuscript), and Montpellier H 281 transmit fragmentary recompositions of the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*.

The text of the letter transmitted by the Codex Calixtinus is much more developed than that copied in the manuscripts of the *Libellus*. In the Calixtinus, it includes an order from the pope to end the liturgical confusion of chants and prayers in honor of St. James and to sing only the authentic «responsoria euangeliorum, que hic liber continet» (Codex Calixtinus, f. 2v). This prescription makes sense in the context of the Calixtinus (book I contains mostly liturgical texts) but is irrelevant to the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, where book I was never copied.

In the *Libellus*, the last sentence of the prefatory letter to book I is near-identical in almost all cases, reading: «idem de karoli que in hoc codice post [or, in some cases, *ante*] miracula beati iacobi continetur et a beato turpino remensi archiepiscopo describitur statuimus». This text refers to the position of the Ps.-Turpinus within the codex, either before or after the prefatory letter. Manuscript *D* simplifies this information and includes it only in the margin: «item de hystoria karoli que a beato turpino remensi archiepiscopo describitur statuimus» (f. 9v *marg*.). It is easy to explain why: *D* does not indicate whether the Ps.-Turpinus was copied before or after the prefatory letter by Ps.-Callixtus, because it does not include this chronicle.

Upon collating all the manuscripts,[74] it becomes evident that the codices of the *Libellus* are clearly distinguishable from the Codex Calixtinus again:

> legenda *Calix*. ad legendum γ; pelagis *Calix*. profundum γ; crematur *Calix*. cremabatur γ; pedibus eius *Calix*. pedibus suis γ; in eo *Calix. om*. γ; nisi ea tantum que γ *om. Calix*.; scripta repperi, aut verissima relacione didici et in eis scripsi *Calix*. ex relatione catholicorum uirorum

[74] Until a comprehensive study of the Codex Calixtinus comes to light, it is possible that at times the Calixtinus transmits the derived text (as is certainly the case with some specific additions not found in γ), while on other occasions the Calixtinus may transmit the original text of the letter. For the identification of γ as a distinct text from the Calixtinus, I believe this is not relevant.

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audiui γ; sed quid de illo in ecclesia debeat legi nobis insinuandum *Calix. om*. γ; *post* quicquid] in eo γ *om. Calix*.; in duobus primis codicibus usque ad consimile signum huius signi >P< quod est ihesus christus, in ecclesiis prout ordinatum est ad matutinas et missas decantetur et legatur *Calix. om*. γ; et quicquid post signum illud in sequentibus scribitur in refectoriis ad prandia legatur ingentis tamen auctoritatis est sed que in duobus primis codicibus habentur, satis sufficiunt ad matutinas legendum *Calix. om*. γ; pre magnitudine sua legi in ecclesia nequeunt, postea *Calix. om*. γ.

Within γ, the *BCDEVRSPXQMU* manuscripts clearly form a sub-family δ:[75]

annorum spacio *rel*. annorum numero *BCDEVSPXQMU non legitur R*; que de eo scripta inueniebam *rel. om*. *BCDEVRSPXQMU*; splendida luce circundatum regia veste mirabiliter indutum regali laurea laureatum *rel*. regia veste mirabiliter indutum regali laurea coronatum splendida luce circundatum *BCDEVRSPXQMU*; ualuam *rel*. partem *BCDVXMU* aulam *ERSPQ*; si cotidie audio *rel*. si cotidie audiam *BCDEVRSPXQMU*.

Within δ, *BDEVM* also share some exclusive variants: basilice *rel*. ecclesie *BDEVM*; sedis apostolice sue electionis *rel. om*. *BDEVM*; cosmi climatibus *rel*. mundi partibus *BDEVM*; sedenti *rel. om*. *BDEVM*; appareat *rel*. aperiatur *BDEVM*.

As with the *Translatio*, *M* transmits a slightly different text of the prefatory letter from *BDEV*, which are the manuscripts from southern Flanders: ea *rel*. miracula audita *BDEV om*. *M*; beati Iacobi *rel*. de beati Iacobi uirtutibus *BDEV* de beati iacobi uirtute *M*; precibus insistenti *BDEV* precibus insistens *M*; olim fuit in refectorio legantur *rel*. annua precessit legantur *BDEV* annua legantur precesserit *M*.

The proximity between *DV* is evident:

incipit liber de miraculis sancti iacobi apostoli a calixto (calyxtus *V*) II papa editus *DV*; mihi tantummodo codex remansit *rel*. et ut iam dixi codex solus superfuit *DV*; infectus *rel*. illesus *DV*; optima sedens *rel*. sedens optima *DV*; in manu habes *rel*. habes in manu *DV*; quia ipse est *rel*. ipse quem uides *DV*; regis summi *rel*. summi regis est *DV*; non differas *rel*. ne differas *DV*; multi *rel*. multi siquidem *DV*; franci *rel*. franci uidelicet *DV*; intelligunt *rel*. intelligant *DV*; latet *rel*. lateat *DV*; festis eius *rel*. eius festis *DV*.

6. The cult of St. James in northern France/southern Flanders

As I said before, our MS *D* was copied in the monastery of Sainte-Rictrude of Marchiennes. This was one of the monasteries in northern France and Flanders which claimed to have been founded by the famous bishop-missionary St. Amand (*c*. 584-679), around 640. Amand himself passed away in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, less than 15 km from Marchiennes. With a tumultuous history, in a contested borderland between the counties of Flanders and Hainaut, Marchiennes, a «community of the second order»,[76] was also surrounded by larger monasteries such as the aforementioned Saint-Amand, and those of Saint-Bertin and Anchin.

Throughout the twelfth century, the library at Marchiennes grew significantly thanks to the monastery's active engagement in manuscript production and acquisition. Historical records indicate that Marchiennes and its more progressive neighbor and rival, Saint-Sauveur of Anchin, a recent monastery founded in 1079, frequently exchanged manuscripts.[77] In the twelfth century, Marchiennes' scrip-

[75] BHL 4076a is copied in *B* (ff. 1v-3r), *C* (pp. 363b-364b), *D* (ff. 9ra-va), *E* (ff. 90va-91rb), *V* (f. 112rb-va), *R* (f. 75r-v), *S* (ff. 20v-21r), *P* (ff. 94v-95r), *X* (f. 190ra-rb), *Q* (ff. 131rb-132va), *M* (ff. 3r-4v), *U* (ff. 125v-126v).

[76] Steven Vanderputten, «Fulcard's Pigsty: Cluniac Reformers, Dispute Settlement, and the Lower Aristocracy in Early Twelfth-Century Flanders», *Viator* 38 (2007): 93.

[77] The list of the manuscripts from Anchin can be found in Chrétien Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de* France, vol. 6, *Douai* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1878), 783. On Anchin, see Jean-Pierre Gerza-

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torium began to focus more on the complete reproduction of codices, mainly from Anchin, sometimes even replicating the layout, initials, and marginalia.[78]

The libraries of Marchiennes and Anchin focused primarily on Christian authors and themes. Notable authors like Augustine, Cassian, Basil of Caesarea, Anselm of Canterbury, Hugh of Saint-Victor, and texts such as Ambrose of Milan's *Hexameron*, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, and Eusebius of Caesarea/Rufinus of Aquileia's *Historia ecclesiastica* were copied.[79] Marchiennes also demonstrated a particular taste for liturgical themes.[80] However, Tjamke Snidjers also identified a significant decline in the copying of hagiographic-themed manuscripts in Marchiennes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was likely influenced by the Cistercian order's turn away from veneration of the saints.[81]

Even so, by the end of the twelfth century, the monastery decided to invest in the copy of the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, reflecting the widespread cult of Saint James throughout Western Europe in the twelfth century. I can provide only a set of examples to illustrate its importance in the region of Marchiennes.

Despite the ongoing debate regarding the authorship of the *Liber*/*Libellus sancti Iacobi*, the mere existence of the *Historia* of the Ps.-Turpinus serves as evidence of the significance of St. James in regions beyond the Pyrenees.[82] In northern France, the saint's success is evident: from 1027, the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire claimed that it was possible to venerate the saint in any church dedicated to him because of the existence of relics.[83] One of its priories, Saint-Jacques-sur-Beuvron in Normandy, possessed a relic that was believed to work miracles. In Paris, the church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie was already mentioned in a bull of Calixtus II of 27 November 1119,[84] and it is also mentioned in the *Historia* of the Ps.-Turpinus as a foundation of Charlemagne himself.[85]

References to St. James in the County of Flanders and neighboring territories are abundant:[86] in 1117, Robert IV of Bethune (? - *c*. 1128) founded a chapel dedicated to the saint in this city. In Ghent, there was already a church dedicated to St. James before the fire of 1120. In 1136, a chapel dedicated to him was present in the abbey of Saint-Maurice in Noyon, and a church in Abbeville. The church of St. James in Ypres was built before 1138, and a parish church dedicated to him was constructed in Tournai between 1153 and 1167. In the second half of the twelfth century, Philip I of Flanders (1143-1191) founded the church of St. James in Cappellebrouck and donated a relic of the saint in 1172. Additionally, in the middle of the twelfth century, there was already a chapel of St. James in Montreuil-sur-Mer. In 1189, there was a church of Saint-Jacques in Huy, and in 1200, another was built in Nesle. After 1200, Philip of Namur (1175-1212) founded a chapel dedicated to the saint after his pilgrimage to Compostela. The church of St. James in Douai became the centre of a parish in 1225.

The pilgrims in Compostela are well documented: as early as 1056, Baudouin I of Guines; around 1076, Ingelram de Lillers; in 1084, Baudouin VII of Flanders; before 1143 and again in 1156,

guet, *L'abbaye d'Anchin de sa fondation (1079) au XIVe siècle. Essor, vie et rayonnement d'une grande communauté bénédictine* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires de Septentrion, 1997).

[78] Tjamke Snidjers, *Manuscript Communication: Visual and Textual Mechanics of Communication in Hagiographical Texts from the Southern Low Countries, 900-1200* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 326-329.

[79] See Snidjers, *Manuscript Communication*, 323-325.

[80] See Snidjers, *Manuscript Communication*, 323-325.

[81] Snidjers, *Manuscript Communication*, 333-334.

[82] See Élie Lambert, «Le livre de Saint-Jacques et les routes du pèlerinage de Compostelle», *Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest* 14 (1943): 5-33. A good synthesis can be found in Péricard-Méa, *Compostelle*.

[83] Jean Du Bois-Olivier, *Floriacensis vetus bibliotheca benedictina* (Lyon: Horace Cardon, 1605), 2:194-195: «et non solum in hoc omni reuerentia excolendo, uerum in omnibus eius sancto nomine dicatis locis, diuina haec operatur pietas».

[84] Paris, Archives nationaux, L 224, no. 2 (Joseph Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs, monastère parisien* [Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1912], 1:245-250, doc. 157): «in suburbio Parisiace urbis, ecclesiam Sti Jacobi cum parochia».

[85] *Historia Turpini*, 5: «et ecclesiam sancti Iacobi que est aput urbem Parisius, inter Sequanam fluvium et Montem Martirum» (I quote from the *Liber Calixtinus*, f. 166r).

[86] André Georges, *Le pèlerinage à Compostelle en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France, suivi d'une étude sur l'iconographie de saint Jacques en Belgique* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1971).

Guy III of Noyon; in 1153, Nicholas I, bishop of Cambrai; in 1154, Louis VII of France;[87] in 1172, Philip I of Flanders; in 1192, William of the White Hands, archbishop of Reims; in 1200, Philip of Namur; around 1203, Pierre Garin, sire of Oberch; in 1215-1216, Hugues de Pierrepont, bishop of Liège.

In Berclau, located 35 km from Marchiennes, the head of St. James was venerated since 1025, attracting pilgrims from the start.[88] Likewise, at Liège, a «non ineximia portio» of the saint had been kept since 1056, leading to the rededication of the church from St. James Minor to St. James the Greater.[89] The arrival of relics of the saint in Liège in 1076, following a pilgrimage to Compostela, further increased the importance of St. James in the city.

Between 1166 and 1173, the abbey of Saint-Vaast of Arras, located about 45 km from Marchiennes, came into conflict with Berclau over the head of the saint, which Saint-Vaast claimed had been wrongly taken from the abbey before 1025. The conflict was mediated by Philip I of Flanders, who prevented the relic from being returned to Saint-Vaast and instead donated it to the Collegiate Church of Aire-sur-la-Lys. The dispute involved Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) and the archbishop of Reims, Henry of France (1161-1175). Philip eventually relented in January 1173 and returned the saint's head to Saint-Vaast, where the skull (or part of it) immediately worked four miracles. However, Guiard de Moulins, the dean of Aire between 1297-1320, stated that a part of the skull remained in Aire: in 1173, Philip had kept the *uultus* of the skull, only returning to Saint-Vaast the other part.[90]

The conflict over the head of St. James is part of a larger dispute between the abbeys of the diocese of Arras for primacy and for their liberation from the bishop's tutelage. From 1168/1170, Pope Alexander III considered Saint-Vaast as a direct dependency of Rome, and the dispute over St. James' head added apostolic legitimacy to Saint-Vaast's exemption. The recovery of the head of St. James allowed Saint-Vaast to achieve the exemption from episcopal authority, which was guaranteed in 1175.[91]

Saint-Vaast was not the only monastery in the diocese of Arras competing for primacy. Marchiennes and Anchin were also vying for preeminence, with the former emphasizing its antiquity and the latter being a dynamic center of monastic reform. In Marchiennes, on 2 August 1164, the relics of St. Rictrudis were transferred to a new altar in the church, in the presence of the archbishop of Reims and the bishop of Arras.[92] In 1170, at the request of Michel II of Harnes (*c*. 1131-1195), Constable of Flanders, the patriarch Aimery of Antioch (? - 1199), sent to Anchin (which since the first crusade had an arm of St. George)[93] some relics of St. James (and St. Barnabas).[94] The acquisition of these relics by Anchin is significant, as it occurred just as Saint-Vaast was fighting for possession of the head of St. James. It suggests that the symbolic importance of St. James had grown during the 1160s and 1170s, making his relics highly sought after.

Meanwhile, in the late eleventh-early twelfth century, the Iberian *Catalogus reliquiarum ecclesiae Ouetensis* (Díaz 722) also arrived at Saint-Amand,[95] where it was copied onto a blank folio

[87] Édouard de Barthélémy, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye royale de Montmartre* (Paris: Champion, 1888), 88-90: «amor dei et uotum obligatio nos aliquando compulit ad sanctum iacobum apostolum et patronum nostrum peregrinari»; Aryeh Graboïs, «Louis VII pèlerin», *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 74, no. 192 (1988): 5-22.

[88] Jean-Pierre Gerzaguet, «Tempête pour un crâne. Conflit pour une relique à l'abbaye Saint-Vaast d'Arras. Péripéties et enjeux (1166-1194)», *Revue du Nord* 362 (2005): 727-751.

[89] Johannes Heller, *Aegidii Aureaevallensis Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* (Hanover: Hahn, 1880), 6:82-86.

[90] The main account of the problem was produced by one of the monastery's monks, Guiman de Saint-Vaast, *De capite sancti Jacobi Atrebati vel Ariae servato* (W033), probably finished in 1194 by his brother Lambert de Saint-Vaast: *cf*. Georges Besnier, «Le cartulaire de Guiman d'Arras. Ses transcriptions. Les autres cartulaires de Saint-Vaast», *Le Moyen Âge* 62 (1956): 453-478. See also Gerzaguet, «Tempête pour un crâne», 729-733. There was also a second account, attributed to Guiard des Moulins: «Historica relatio de capite beati Jacobi majoris apostoli», ed. François Morand, *Revue des sociétés savantes* 5 (1861): 501-511.

[91] Gerzaguet, «Tempête pour un crâne», 737-742.

[92] Gerzaguet, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*, 193-197. In 1172, some relics from Cologne also arrived at Marchiennes (*cf*. Gerzaguet, «Tempête pour un crâne», 741).

[93] «Narratio quomodo reliquae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicinenses pervenerunt», in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895), 5:xliv-xlv, 248-252.

[94] Jean-Pierre Gerzaguet, ed., *Les chartes de l'abbaye d'Anchin (1079-1201)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), no. 161.

[95] Patrick Henriet, «Oviedo, Jérusalem hispanique au XIIe siècle. Le récit de la translation de l'*arca sancta* selon l'évêque Pélage d'Oviedo», in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, ed.

of a ninth-century manuscript (now MS Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 99, ff. 2va-3r).[96] The *Translatio reliquiarum Oueto* (Díaz 1011), originating in Oviedo, was oddly enough transmitted solely through manuscripts from the southern region of the County of Flanders. These manuscripts include Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 804, ff. 68ra-73va, which was copied in the abbey of the Holy Sepulchre of Cambrai in the second half of the twelfth century; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 30, ff. 163vb-169va, which was copied at the end of the twelfth century in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux; Bruxelles, KBR II 2544, ff. 1r-8v, which was copied in Saint-Ghislain in the thirteenth century; and Paris, BnF, lat. 18123, ff. 40v-46v, which was copied in the thirteenth century in the abbey of St. Martin of Tournai. According to José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, all these manuscripts were derived from the same archetype, which was written in Visigothic script.[97]

One should also consider the close diplomatic relations between the County of Flanders and the northwest of Iberia: Matilda (or Theresa) (*c*. 1151-1218), one of the daughters of Afonso I of Portugal (1109-1185), married in 1183 the same Count Philip I of Flanders who intervened in the disputes between Saint-Vaast of Arras and Berclau; in 1212, Ferdinand of Portugal (1188-1233), a nephew of Matilda, married Countess Joan of Flanders and Hainaut (*c*. 1999-1244); and Alfonso (? - 1279), a son of Alfonso II of Portugal, and later King Alfonso III of Portugal, was educated in Paris with his cousin Louis IX, and in 1235 married Countess Matilda II of Bologne (1202-1259).

Finally, I must mention the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo, also copied in Douai 842, Part II, ff. 22ra-45rb,[98] just after the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum* was the text which led me to this manuscript and to the *Libellus*. The same hand copied both collections. Pelagius' *Liber* offers further proof of the existence of close contacts between Oviedo and southern Flanders. Composed in Oviedo in the mid-twelfth century, this *Liber* was not previously known to have circulated beyond the borders of Iberia.

It is improbable that these two collections circulated together within Iberia, though. While, as I have argued, the *Libellus* of Marchiennes bears a resemblance to other versions found in the north of France and the south of Flanders, none of the many manuscripts transmitting the *Libellus* in these regions, or elsewhere either in Iberia or in the trans-Pyrenean area, were ever copied alongside any Iberian historical collections. In fact, after Isidore's *Chronicon*, Iberian historiography remained geographically particularistic, with limited or no circulation beyond the Pyrenees.

In this context, Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum* may have journeyed from Iberia to southern Flanders in the latter half of the twelfth century, possibly within the context of the many diplomatic and religious relations between these regions which I have referred to above. It was in Marchiennes that a single copyist, captivated by the popularity of the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, and certainly by the fact that both the *Libellus* and the *Liber chronicorum* were related to Iberia, made the decision to combine the

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Béatrice Caseau, Jean-Claude Cheynet and Vincent Déroche (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2006), 247, n. 6.

[96] Jacques Mangeart, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes* (Paris: Techener, 1860), 78; Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, vol. 25, *Poitiers-Valenciennes*, 229-230; Peter K. Klein, «L'Apocalisse di Valenciennes. Il MS 99 della Bibliothèque municipale», *Alumina. Pagine miniate* 37, no. 10 (2012): 7-15; Peter K. Klein, «2. Procedencia y origen», in *Apocalipsis Carolingio de Valenciennes (MS 99): Libro de estudios* (Madrid: Orbis Mediaevalis, 2012), 15-23; Bernhard Bishchoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 3:394-395, no. 6340; José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, «El *Catalogus reliquiarum ecclesiae Ouetensis* (*Díaz* 722): nueva edición y estudio de las tres versiones conservadas», *e-Spania* 38 (2021), https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.39420. On the date of the copy, see José Antonio Valdés Gallego, *El* Liber testamentorum Ouetensis. *Estudio filológico y edición* (Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1999), 380, n. 19; Henriet, «Oviedo, Jérusalem hispanique», 247, n. 6; Mark Guscin, *La historia del Sudario de Oviedo* (Oviedo: Rústica editorial, 2006), 118-120; Martín-Iglesias, «El *Catalogus reliquiarum*».

[97] José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, «La *Translatio reliquiarum Ouetum* (Díaz 1011): edición y estudio, con noticia de un nuevo manuscrito (Paris, BnF, lat. 18123)», *Territorio, sociedad y poder* 15 (2020): 87-113.

[98] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historiae Gothorum Wandalorum et Sueuorum* (CPL 1204): ff. 22ra-30vb (including *Conditio Legionis in Asturiis*): f. 23ra-b; *Parochiale Suevum - breuius*: f. 24rb; *Translatio arcae sanctae*: ff. 29vb-30va; *Continuatio historiae Gothorum usque ad Wambam*: f. 30vb; *Chronica Adefonsi III - Sebastianus* (Díaz 520): ff. 30vb-36rb (including *Diuisio Wambae - breuior*: f. 31ra-va; *Translatio sanctae Eulaliae*): f. 34ra-b; *Translatio arcae sanctae*: ff. 32vb; 34va-35ra); *Chronicon Sampiri* (Díaz 889): ff. 36rb-42rb (including *Epistolae Iohannis papae ad Adefonsum III*): f. 37ra-b; *Concilium et priuilegium Ouetense*: ff. 37rb-38vb; Pelagius Ovetensis, *Chronicon regum Legionensium* (Díaz 901): ff. 42rb-45rb.

two collections and copy them together. Their shared Iberian theme would have served to enhance each other's narrative.[99]

At the end of the *Liber chronicorum*, the copyist also added an anonymous chronicle of the Franks up to 1137 (ff. 45va-47vb) that may have been one of the sources used by André of Marchiennes for book III of his *Historia succincta*, written between 1184 and 1196.[100] Following the conclusion of the *Liber*, but before this text on the Franks, the same copyist included additional text aimed at updating the content of Pelagius' *Chronicon* with information about Alfonso VII of Castille and his descendants.[101] After the text discussing the Franks, a very similar addition can also be found detailing the lineage of Eleanor of Aquitaine with Louis VII of France and Henry II of England.[102] They were surely written by the same person. By examining the information provided about the royal families of León-Castille, France-Aquitaine, and England-Aquitaine, we can approximate the timeframe of these additions. The first text after Pelagius' Chronicon refers to the recent death of Constance of Castille, daughter of Alfonso VII and second wife of Louis VII, who passed away on October 4, 1160. This is the *terminus post quem* for this addition. The latest event mentioned by the second text copied after the anonymous chronicle of the kings of Franks is the marriage of Joan of England and William II of Sicily on February 13, 1177. It is worth noting that when these texts were written, Sancha of Castile (mentioned in the first), who married Sancho VI of Navarre, and Louis VII of France (mentioned in the second) were both still alive. She passed away on August 1179, and Louis VII on September 18, 1180. While it is possible that the copyist of Douai 842 had access to a version of the *Liber chronicorum* and of the chronicle on the Franks that already included these additions, it is plausible to suggest that the manuscript was copied between 1177 and 1179, just a few years after Duke Philip I of Flanders' pilgrimage to Compostela in 1172. This timeframe aligns with the likely period of the copying of Douai 842, Part II.

7. Conclusions

Douai 842 has received very little attention. It consists of three distinct parts that were likely compiled together during the thirteenth century. Part I (ff. 2-7) transmits the *Passio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4057) and the *Passio sancti Christophori* (BHL 1770). These *passiones* are not of Iberian origin: prior to the twelfth century, Iberian legendaria did not put them together, and there is no evidence of BHL 1770 ever circulating south of the Pyrenees.

Part II marks the beginning of a Jacobean collection known as the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. This *Libellus* enjoyed great popularity in the latter half of the twelfth century, circulating and being widely copied in nearby monasteries around Marchiennes. The version of the *Libellus* found in Douai 842 does not appear to be directly based on an Iberian model but rather on a model originating from northern France in the mid-twelfth century. In fact, the *Libellus* known in Marchiennes was very similar to the copy shelved in Saint-Amand and was also similar to the copies of Saint-Ghislain and Sygny-l'Abbaye. In the context of twelfth-century southern Flanders, the *Libellus* was likely viewed as a valuable posses-

[99] Furtado, «A New Manuscript», 270-271.

[100] Furtado, «A New Manuscript», 269-270.

[101] «Non post multum tempus adefonsus imperator totius hispanie omnium regum christianorum et paganorum successit in regnum. hic fuit uir iustus et pius misericors et paciens. aduersus gentem paganorum fortunate multa gessit prelia. in bello strenuus in consultatione prouidus et eximie pietatis adeo quod etiam paganis infidelibus parcere consueuit. multas ciuitates in forti manu et diuino fauore adquisiuit a quarum nomina he sunt: baetia calatraua gehen cauria corduba almaria et alias multas quas longum est dinumerare. regnauit autem annos decem. imperator quem diximus duas habuit uxores. primam berengariam ex qua sucepit duos filios: regem sancium qui post mortem prius per unum solum annum regnauit; et alterum regem fernandum regnante in legione et in terra beati iacobi apostoli; et similiter duas habuit filias: unam constantiam nomine que fuit regina francorum uxor regis lodowici; altera uero uxor regis nauarre que ad huc uiuit» (f. 45rb).

[102] «Hic duxit uxorem aanordem filiam willelmi ducis aquitanie de qua genuit duas filias quarum prior nupsit henrico comiti trecensi, posterior teobaldo carnotensi comiti. aanors vero regina, postea a rege lodowico relicta, ad thorum transiit henrici regis anglorum et ducis normannorum filii goffridi comitis andegavorum de qua genuit hos filios: henricum regem anglie ricardum ducem aquitanie goffridum comitem britannie et iohannem; et filias tres quarum unam duxit rex toletanus in hispania, alteram willelmus rex sicilie tertiam henricus dux saxonie. lodowicus secundam duxit uxorem constantiam filiam incliti principis hispanie adefonsi qui regnavit in toleto et legione et in terra beati iacobi de qua genuit duas filias quarum unam duxit henricus iuuenis rex anglie, alteram ricardus dux aquitanie».

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sion for both reading and devotion, particularly given the region's numerous relics of St. James, which were of significant symbolic importance and led to conflicts between abbeys. For example, the saint's head was located just a day's journey from Marchiennes, and other relics were housed several hours away. Thus, the presence of several copies of the *Libellus* in southern Flanders must be seen as part of a larger trend reflecting a recent growth in the importance of St. James in the region.

Douai 842 is the only known manuscript in which the *Libellus* was associated with a primitive version of the so-called Compilation B of the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo and with a short anonymous chronicle on the Franks. It is plausible to suggest that the *Liber chronicorum* made its way from Iberia to southern Flanders in the latter half of the twelfth century, and a scribe there decided to combine it with the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. The latter had already gained significant popularity in the region, and because of their common Iberian theme, the two collections were likely considered to complement each other well. The chronicle on the Franks, ending in 1137, was held in the monastery when André of Marchiennes wrote his *Historia succincta* at the end of the twelfth century.

Taking into account two additions made at the end of the *Liber chronicorum* and the chronicle on the Franks, it is possible to suggest that the copy of Part II of Douai 842 was made between 1177 and 1179.

Before Part I was added, Part II of the manuscript was already combined, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, with a seemingly disorganized legendarium —Part III of the codex. Douai 842 contains a vast collection of hagiographic texts that mostly circulated between northern France, Flanders, and the Rhineland in the latter half of the twelfth century. In fact, while this paper does not delve into the relationships of copying and transmission of these hagiographic texts between Marchiennes and other scriptoria in the region, a brief analysis reveals several similarities with other manuscripts and scriptoria mainly from southern Flanders, and especially with the monastery of Saint-Sauveur at Anchin.

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