The Transmission of the Legend of the Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Hispanic Literature, I: *Miragres de Santiago*

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In AD 70, the campaign of Vespasian and his son, Titus, brought the Jewish insurrection to an end with the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The Roman campaign and the destruction of the Holy City were soon incorporated in historiographical compendia such as that of Flavius Josephus, who was himself a protagonist and witness of the events in question. This account was one of the most fruitful in medieval literature and gave rise to versions in various Romance languages. In medieval Hispanic literature there are a number of accounts, the first of which are the Spanish incunabula of Toledo (c. 1491–94) and Seville (1499), the Portuguese incunabulum of Lisbon (1496), and various manuscripts in Catalan.1 Judging from the rela-

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1 The Spanish work is present in the following witnesses: *La estoria del noble Vespasiano emperador de Roma* (Toledo: Juan Vázquez, c. 1491–94), of which just one copy survives (British Library I A 53510); *La ystoria del noble Vespasiano emperador de Roma* (Sevilla: Pedro Brun, 1499), of which just one copy survives (British Library G 10211, edited by Foulché-Delbosc 1909 and in partial form by Viña Liste 1993); and in the seventeenth-century manuscript now housed in Oxford’s Bodleian Library (Spanish e.8). The importance and transmission of these texts have been considered by Hook 1977 and 1983. The Portuguese work is present in the following witness: *Estoria do muy nobre Vespesiano emperador de Roma* (Lisboa: Valentim Fernandes, 1496), of which just one copy survives (Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Incunábulo 571, olm 484). The most recent edition is that of Hook & Newman 1983; see also Hook 1992 and Castro 1993. The Catalan work is present in five manuscripts

tionships between them, these works appear to be derived from the French poem known as *La Venjance Nostre Seigneur*. The earliest version of this poem dates from the twelfth century and was turned into prose, surviving in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts and several incunabula.²

Although tales of the destruction of Jerusalem derived from French versions were, as critics have maintained, popular in the fifteenth century, we cannot ignore the fact that there are earlier versions in the Peninsula. These are derived from two sources: the work of Josephus and the hagiographical compendium of Jacobus de Voragine.³ In the first case it is clear that the Alfonsinic scriptorium took its material from the *Bellum Judaicum*, although it was probably absorbed through an intermediate Latin translation composed at the end of the fourth century by Isaac, a converted Jew, and erroneously attributed to Egesippus through corruption in the manuscript tradition.⁴ The second source, Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, was used by the translator-compiler of the *Miragres de Santiago*, this version being the object of study in the present paper.

In order to establish a clear picture of the transmission of the tale of the destruction of Jerusalem in medieval Hispanic literature, it is essential to begin with a detailed analysis, not only of sources, but of the version closest to that used by the Hispanic authors. By far the most important issue to be resolved is the cause put forward for the beginning of the Roman campaign. The account in the *Estoria de

and two incunabula. The five manuscripts are: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ripoll 155, copied in the first half of the fifteenth century (CNUM 174); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 710, probably copied in the second half of the fifteenth century (CNUM 1202); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 991, copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century (CNUM 1203); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 325, copied in the seventeenth century (CNUM 1677); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, esp. 509, copied in the first half of the fifteenth century (CNUM 173). The incunabula are Barcelona: Pere Miquel, c. 1493—a copy of this is in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (G-iii-26) — (CNUM 1204); and Barcelona, Joan Luschnier, 1502, the only surviving copy of which is now in the Biblioteca Lambert Mata in Ripoll (R. 24-25) (CNUM 2713). Information related to the Catalan testimonies has been taken from Beltrán, Avenzoa, & Concheff 1994, brought up to date in May 1997. I am very grateful to Gemma Avenzoa for providing me with this information from a work in progress.


³ For an outline of late-fifteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese versions see Hook 1988.

⁴ On the erroneous attribution of the Latin translation of Josephus to Egesippus see Thackeray 1989; xviii and Pelletier 1975; 25; and on the use of Josephus in the Alfonsinic scriptorium, Fernández-Ordóñez 1992: 31n, 72n, 73, 177, & 222.
España is surprising in the context of medieval literature, for it is faithful to the Josephine Bellum judaicum in its consideration of the cause of the campaign in Judea:

auino assi que, Tito Cesar teniendo cercada a la ciudat de Iherusalem, destruyesse toda tierra de Judea: lo uno por los romanos, lo otro por guerras et por desauenencias que auien los de la tierra entressi. (Menéndez Pidal 1955: 1, 133)

This version of events — which coincides with what Josephus set out in the preface to the first book of the Bellum — was undoubtedly the least attractive for the late-classical and medieval imagination. The legend of the destruction of Jerusalem was created on the basis of Josephus’s story. These legendary amplifications were caused by the manuscript transmission of the Antiquitates judaicae, by the earliest recipients and commentators of the Bellum, and by a collection of Christian texts. In each of the surviving manuscripts of the Antiquitates there is an interpolated episode in book xviii known as the Testimonium Flavianum. In this episode Jesus is recognized as the Messiah and his Resurrection is foretold; this can be linked to an interpolated episode in book xx, in which it is stated that that James the Less was Jesus’s brother. The earliest commentators of the Bellum omit the Jewish insurrection as the starting point for the Roman campaign, maintaining instead that it can be attributed to the death of Christ, or of James the Less, or of both. This is the case in Origen’s Contra Celsum (1.47), in Orosius’s Historiarum adversus paganos libri vii (vii.9), and in Eusebius of Caesarea’s Historia ecclesiastica.

5 ‘Cum enim obortum esset, quemadmodum dixi, bellum hoc gravissimum, Romani quidem ex domestis laborabant; Judaei vero, quotquot res novas tunc moliebantur, cum tempora essent turbulenta, seditionem moverunt, viribus pariter ac opibus florentes, adeo ut, propter tumulantem magnitudinem, hi quidem partium Orientis possidenda,rum spe tenentur, illos vero earundem amittendam metus invaderet: quoniam Judaei quidem universos, qui trans Euphratem essent, gentiles nostros secum arma capturos esse crediderant, Romani vero à Gallis finitimis subinde agitarentur, nec Celtae quiescerent; sed plena essent omnia perturbationum mortuo Nerone, & multi quidem opportunitate arrepta imperium affectarent, militesque luci cupidine rebus novis studerent’ (Josephus 1726: 1, 48).

6 For the controversy about the authenticity of these passages see Feldman 1965: v, 48–49 & vi, 108.

7 ‘Idem, quauemvis Jesum pro Christo non agnosceret [Josephus], dum inquirit quis de causa Jerusolymae eversae fuerint et templum solo aequatum, non dicit quidem, quod dicere debuit, in causa tuisse insidias, quas Jesu struxerant, mortemque quam Christo a prophetis promissum intulerant; sed tamen quasi invitat a veritate non multum recedit. Ait enim Judaeis contigisse, ut Jacobus Justus, qui frater erat Jesu qui vocabatur Christus, vindicaretur; quoniam justissimum illum virum interfecerant’ (Origen, 1.47; PC, 11, cols 746–47).
Contrary to his common practice, Eusebius does not give a reference either to the book or to the section from which he is quoting. Critics have failed to identify the origin of this passage and María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has even proposed that the manuscript of the Bellum read by Eusebius would have contained the passage mentioned, although it is now lost (1973: 20). This hypothesis does not seem plausible as the paragraph mentioned by Eusebius is not present either in the fifty-five complete or fragmentary Greek manuscripts of the Bellum, or in the ancient Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, Slavic, and demotic Greek translations. However, it is clear that the words quoted by Eusebius are very close to those of the pseudo-Josephine episode about James in the Antiquitates, although the origin of the quotation should be attributed not to Josephus but to Egesippus, and neither in his supposed Latin translation, but in one of his Greek works, which curiously enough, was also used by Eusebius. This source is book V of the Hypomnemata: ‘Hic Jacobus tum Judaeus tum Graecis locupletes fuit testis, Jesum vere Christum fuisset. Nec multo post obсидio Vespasiani, et Judaeorum captivitas subsecuta est’ (l. xxiii. 65; PG, 20, col. 203). The explicit link established by Eusebius between James the Less’s death and the destruction of Jerusalem was accepted by many authors, this error being in Egesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, and in the Latin translation written by Isaac but attributed to the author of the Hypomnemata. The new cause for the destruction of Jerusalem established by Eusebius but ascribed to Josephus was to be approved by authorities such as Saint Jerome in the Liber de viris illustribus and

‘Vespasianus et Titus imperatores, magnificum agentes de Judaeis triumphum, Urbem ingressi sunt. Pulchrum et ignotum antea cunctis mortalibus inter trecentos viginti triumphos, qui a conditio Urbis, usque in id tempus acti erant, hoc spectaculum fuit, patrem et filium uno triumphali curru vectos, gloriosissimam ab his qui patrem et filium offenderant, victoriam reportasse’ (Orosius, VI, 9; PL, 31, col. 1085).

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by pseudo-Isidore in *De ortu et obitu patrum*. Apocryphal texts, such as the first part of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (or *Acta Pilati*), the *Mors Pilati*, and the *Vindicte Salvatoris*, contributed to this in an important way.⁹

At this stage the legend was assembled by Jacobus de Voragine. The episode of the destruction of Jerusalem was incorporated into chapter 63 of the *Legenda aurea*, which this deals with the life and passion of James the Less because: ‘propter peccatum mortis Iacobi iusti factum est excidium in Jerusalem, & dispersio Iudaearum: sed non solum ob mortem Iacobi, sed etiam ob mortem Domini praeclipe destructio facta est’ (Voragine 1688: 231). It is in Voragine’s version that the union of classical sources — Josephus and Egesippus through Eusebius — with the apocryphal texts, finally takes place. These apocryphal texts consist of the *Acta Pilati* — for the facts concerning Joseph of Arimathea — and an unidentified *historia apocrypha*, for those related to Vespasian and Titus.

Voragine’s work is one of the main sources used by the translator-compiler of the *Mirages de Santiago*. This work survives in a single, incomplete manuscript (BNM 7455), which has been dated, on the basis of codicological evidence, to between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Given that it is a careless copy of a now lost original and that it makes use of the *Legenda aurea*, we can postulate that its original was composed somewhere between the last third of the thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth. Its current title — the *Mirages de Santiago escriptos por o Papa Calixto* — was supplied by its first editor, Eugenio López-Aydillo (1918), and is problematic, because it implies a general use of an inner rubric for the whole work, a practice which was already evident in an eighteenth-century title on the spine: *Milagros de Santiago escritos por

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⁹ Tradit item Josephus, tantae eum sanctitatis fuisset et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem, creditam sit subversam esse Hierosolymam’ (Jerome, II.832; PL, 23, col. 642). ‘Quem Josephus tantae sanctitatis et venerationis in Judaea perhibet exstiti se, ut propter ejus interfectionem Hierosolyma credatur esse diruta’ (Pseudo-Isidore, LXXVII.156; PL, 83, col. 153). For an edition of the apocryphal texts see Tischendorf 1876, or Santos Otero 1979, who takes the texts from the previous edition. For a survey of these apocryphal texts see Erbeta 1983: 11, 231–406. Cross 1996 provides a version of the *Vindicte salvatoris* which survives in MS Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202. This version is not related to the Latin versions known in the Peninsula.

Calixto PP. The use of this title may even go back to the Conde de Miranda. The destruction of Jerusalem is the second part of a whole integrated into the life and passion of James the Less, the life of Pilate, and the translation of James’s head to Galicia. In this respect, it seems that the narrative of James the Less's life constitutes the framework of the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem, as established by Eusebius of Caesarea in the third century and fixed textually in the closest source for the Galician translator of the Legenda aurea. Another legend related to Pilate was subsequently added. This link is explicitly justified by the translator-compiler because, as the end of the account of Pilate states: 'esta estoria que oydes, vos combatamos aqui segundo cõta o liuero do Flors Sanctorum onde foy sacado de lati en rromâço, que perseeça moyto a esta estoria' ( Pensado 1958: 58).

It is obvious that the connection between the destruction of Jerusalem and the history of Pilate was motivated by intradiegetic elements: the role played by Pilate in Christ's Passion and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem, symbolized in its Temple through the prophetic words 'et non reliquent in te lapidem super lapidem' ( Luke 19:44). However, it was also motivated by extratextual reasons, such as the sources used. Voragine, when introducing the story about Pilate in De Passione Domini, declares:

Et quia in mortem Christum tradiderunt, Judas per avaritiam, Judaei per invidiam, Pilatus per timorem, ideo videndum esset de poena a Deo his inflicta merito huius peccati. Sed de poena, & origine Judae invenies in legenda Sancti Mathiae, de poena, & excidio luctaeorum in legenda Sancti Iacobi minoris; de poena autem, & origine Pilati in quadam historia, licet apochripa, sic legitur. (179)

If we confine ourselves to the legend we are dealing with, the collation of the account of the Miragres with that of the Legenda aurea allows us to observe that the Galician translator-compiler followed

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11 The work is mentioned with the title of the spine by Villa-Amil y Castro (1875: 158). However, although Pita & Fernández-Guerra quote the work, they do not mention its title (1880: 50). After the edition by López-Aydillo the supposed Galician title was used as it appears in López 1947: 224-51. López-Aydillo notes that in the inner part of the binding there is a note 'Del Sor. Conde de Miranda', in an eighteenth-century hand (8). The eighteenth-century binding caused the transposition of several quires.

12 The Legenda pulchra de translacione capitatis Sancti Jacobi is a text that could have been used as a source for the account of the translation of James the Less's head. This text forms part of a thirteenth-century codex known as the Tumbillo de privilegios, concordas, constituciones which is now housed in the Archive of the Compostelan Basilica. It has been edited by Millán 1956.
Voragine accurately. Apart from specific matters related to the technique of translation, such as the displacement of certain adjectives, the use of semantic groups that do not coincide with those present in the Latin, and the manipulation of binary phrases designed to amplify and to add additional layers of meaning, the translator attempted to offer a logical and complete account of events. Thus, abstract Latin expressions are translated through the use of concrete referents in the Galician version; Voragine’s allusions to apocryphal sources are omitted, replaced by elements that add greater textual cohesion, or completely eliminated in order to avoid a disparate view of events, as happens in the *Legenda aurea*. However, as stated by the second editor of the *Miragres*, José L. Pensado (1958), a part of the text is alien to Voragine’s work. At first sight this innovation could be explained as the product of translation, for it is related to the concept of amplifying by means of binary pairings. While in the Latin text Titus decides to sell thirty Jews for one denarius after the storming of Jerusalem, in the Galician version, apart from this decision, Titus also adopts the pairing of the Crucifixion and the division of the Jewish population into four parts, in each of these including references to Gospel narratives such as John 19:23 and Luke 23:31. However, going beyond these echoes, the interpolated Galician text is a translation of part of paragraph 31 of the *Vindicta salvatoris*. In view of this fact, Pensado considered two different possibilities: either that the translator-compiler had used both Voragine’s work and the apocryphal text or that the source was ‘una *Legenda aurea* que haya recogido el contenido conceptual de la *Vindicta salvatoris* ampliando el pasaje’ (1958: lxixii).

A detailed analysis of the text of the destruction of Jerusalem and related texts allows us to opt for only one of the possibilities put forward by Pensado. First of all, we can observe that the interpolated text from the *Vindicta* does not constitute a segment extracted independently from the apocryphal text without any other contamination. Elements that paraphrase the context of paragraph 31 of the *Vindicta* can be found both before and after its insertion. Thus ‘et tomou todo los judæus que y achou, et dou sentença sobre eles cõ acordo de sua jente et diso asi’ (Pensado 1958: 43) corresponds semantically to what is said at the end of paragraph 30 and the beginning of 31: ‘et apprehenderunt subditos tuos et miserunt in eo iudicio quasi

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13 Partial collations of the *Miragres* with the *Legenda aurea* and the other works are given, pp. 18-20, below.
quomodo fecerunt quando apprehenderunt subditu tui Iesum et ligaverunt eum’ (Santos Otero 1979: 529). However, when the interpolation ends the translator picks up Voragine’s text, despite the fact that his version is actually much closer to that of the Vindicta. In the second place, the influence of the apocryphal text is not limited to the interpolated section and its context, but can actually be traced back to the history of Pilate. In the Legenda aurea the messenger of Tiberius Caesar is called Volusianus, while in the Galician version his name becomes Velosiano. At first sight this could be explained as an erroneous reading, but it becomes more significant when we take into account that the messenger of Tiberius in the Vindicta salvatoris is himself called Velosianus.

This factor is by no means conclusive, for there is nothing to prevent us from postulating the existence of a version of the Legenda aurea in which the context was modified and the apocryphal text already interpolated, thus prompting the change from Volusiano to Velosiano. However, commenting on the manuscript transmission of Voragine’s work is hazardous because it survives in at least a thousand witnesses, and at present, no known version contains this name change. Of course, the extraordinary diffusion of this hagiographical compendium allows us to take several possibilities of transmission and translation into consideration: for instance, in the account of James the Less in the Provençal translation, the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem is completely eliminated, while the same story in the Catalan translation is entirely faithful to the Latin source. Nevertheless, in the case of the Galician translation several witnesses support the hypothesis of the use of the Vindicta. One of these witnesses is another fragmentary Galician-Portuguese translation of the Legenda aurea. In the second and third folios there is part of the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem. This version lacks the apocryphal interpolation and does not adapt the context, although it remains faithful to Voragine. Another text is represented by Ho

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14 For information on the classification of the manuscripts see Fleith 1986. Thompson & Walsh 1986–87 distinguish two branches of the Legenda aurea in Spanish literature.
16 For commentary, see López 1916 and Viegas 1916. López maintained that Galician and Portuguese were indistinguishable during the Middle Ages, whereas Viegas considered the translation as being into Portuguese. The fragmentary translation survived in four parchment sheets which were used as flyleaves of a deed. Pablo Pérez Costante, the archivist of the Ayuntamiento of Santiago, gave them to Atanasio López, but they have subsequently
flos sanctorum em lingoagem portugues (Lisbon 1513), which also lacks the apocryphal interpolation and the name-change that occurs in a Spanish version of which it is a partial translation, *La legenda de los santos*, c. 1497–99. The importance of these three versions lies in their textual proximity to the *Miragres* because in the case of *Ho flos sanctorum* its account of the life and passion of James the Less omits precisely the same sentences as the Galician version. Moreover, we should not forget the connection between the fragmentary Galician-Portuguese translation of the *Legenda aurea* and the Portuguese incunabulum. In this light, it is possible to deduce that the compiler of the *Miragres* also used the *Vindicta* as a source because the translation of the *Legenda* in the *Miragres*, *Ho flos sanctorum*, and the fragmentary Galician-Portuguese version belong to a common family, either because one of them constitutes the origin of this branch of translations or because they each translate the same Latin archetype of the *Legenda*.

Finally, we should note that the translator-compiler constructed a version of the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem in which the stories of James the Less, Vespasian and Titus, and Pilate are closely linked. Although in the case of the last two stories the translation represented in this manuscript family could have used the previously quoted words of Voragine in the section *De Passione Domini*, it is more

been lost. As Professor Arthur Askins kindly told me, he, Harvey Sharrar, Aida Fernanda Dias, and Gemma Avenoza looked for them in libraries and archives in Santiago and La Coruña without success.

7 *Ho flos sanctorum em lingoagem portugues* (Lisboa: Hermão de Campos & Roberto Rebelo, 1513), of which just one copy survives in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa with the shelf mark Res. 157 A. This work has been partially edited by Almeida Lucas 1988. Folio 82 is missing. In this folio the account of the life of James the Less would end and the one about the Destruction of Jerusalem would begin. Fortunately it is possible to reconstruct the content of the missing folio taking into consideration the manuscript of the fragmentary version edited in 1916 because they belong to the same family. I am very grateful to Professor Askins for telling me that folio 82 is missing and to Professor Harvey Sharrar for kindly providing me with a print from the microfilm of the Portuguese incunabulum. *La legenda de los santos* (Burgos: Juan de Burgos, c. 1497–99), of which one copy survives in the British Library with the shelf mark IB.53312. The connection between *Ho flos sanctorum* and the Spanish version was pointed out by Martins 1969; and more recently qualified by Sharrar 1990. Almeida Lucas, without giving supplementary information, seems to state that the Spanish incunabulum is a translation of a Latin manuscript of Voragine: ‘Assim será este Flos Sanctorum tradução do exemplar castelhano existente no British Museum, de si mesmo trasladado do manuscrito latino de Jacobo de Voragine, constante do cod. alc. 39’ (7). It is a parchment manuscript from the end of the 14th century with the shelf mark CCXXVIII/39 according to the *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses* (1930-32; i, 42).
likely that it was suggested to the translator by his reading of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. While in the *Legenda aurea* the two stories are independent and isolated, in the *Vindicta* they constitute a homogeneous whole. As the translator-compiler says:

*[el aquí oyredes commo Iherusalem foy destroyda, et adeante logo oyredes commo a cabeza d'este Santiago veo aquí por vertude moy gráde, que asy vay todo húu por lo al. (Pensado 1958: 31).*

**APPENDIX**

1. Interpolated passage in the *Miragres*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Legenda aurea</em></th>
<th><em>Flores Sanctorum</em></th>
<th><em>Legenda aurea</em> (Versión gallega)</th>
<th><em>Miragres de Santiago</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tandem secundo anno Imperij Vespasiani Titus Jerusalem cepit, &amp; captam subvertit, templumque funditus destructit: &amp; sicut Judaei Christum triginta denarijs emergant, sic &amp; ipse veno denario triginta Judaeos vendidit (p. 234)</td>
<td>E o segundo anno que Vespasiano foy emperador e tomou tito a jherusalem e destruyo o todo e o templo: e assy como jhesucristo foy vendido por trinta dinheiros: assy elle vendeo trinta judeos por huú dinheiro (fo. 83v°)</td>
<td>Enpero o segundo ano que Vespasiano foy emperador to- mou Titus Jerusa- lem et destruyó toda a cidade et o tem- ple. E assy como os Judeus venderon a Jhesu x°. Por trinta dinheiros assy el ven- deo trinta Judeus por huum dinheiro (p. 124)</td>
<td>Et despois eno año seguido que Vespasiano foy emperador, tomou Tito Jherusa- lem et destruyó toda a vila et o teple per lo fondamento, et tomou los judeus que y achou, et dou senteça sobre eles cò acordo de sua jente et diso asi: Estes açoutarão Nostro Señor Ihesucristo en leno verde et feri- rônó có lança et nos enforqueremosios en leno sequo et feitra- mosios có lanças; et estas tomarão a saya de Nostro Señor Ihe- sucristo et tezerão dò- la quatro partes et nos tomemolos et partamolos en qua- tro partes; estas ven- derão Nostro Señor Ihesucristo por XXX dineiros et nos de- mos deles trinta por huú dinheiro. Et Tito como o diso asi o acabou (p. 44)</td>
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</table>
2. Interpolated passage in the Mirmagas and its source, the Vindicta Salvatoris. I have underlined those sentences translated by the Galician compiler

**Mirmagas de Santiago**

Et despós eno año seguido que Vespasiano fu yangrador, tomó Tito Iherusalem e destrayó toda a vila et o teple por lo fondamento, et tomó los judeus que y aichou, et dou senteça sobre eles có acordo de sua jente et diso así. Estes açutara Nostro Señor lhesucristo en leno verde et ferirôno có lança et nos enforquemoslos en leno sequo et feiramoslos có lancas; et estes tomarô a saya de Nostro Señor lhesucristo et fezerô dela quatro partes et nos tomemoslos et partamoslos en quatro partes; estes venderô Nostro Señor lhesucristo por XXX dineiros et nos demos deles trinta por hú dineiro. Et Tito comu por diso asi o acabou (p. 44)

**Vindicta Salvatoris**

XXX. Et placuit Deo omnipotenti quod perrexerunt [Vespasianus et Titus] in Iudaem et Jerusalem, et apprehenderunt subditos tuos et miserunt in eo ludicio quasi quomodo fecerunt quando apprehenderunt subditi tu iusum et ligaverunt eum.


3. Contamination of the name of Tiberius's messenger under the influence of the Vindicta Salvatoris

**Legenda aurea**

Dixitque Volusiano sibi privato. Vade cius trans partes marinas, diceste Pilato, vt hunc Medicum mihi mitat, qui me pristinae sanitati restituet (p. 180)

**Mirmagas de Santiago**

enviou a Pilatos húu seu privado a que dizâi Velosiano, que fose quanto podese a terra de Iherusalem, et lle disese que, o meestre que disera que y andaua, que goreça toda las doores et infirmidades por suá palaturn, que llo envilase que o goreçese d'aquea infirmidade que avia (p. 52)

**Vindicta Salvatoris**

XIX. Tunc statim miserunt nuntios suos ad Tiberium imperatorem urbis Romanae ut mittet vel Velosianum ad se. Et dixit el: «Accipe omne quod necessum est tibi in mari et descendite in Iudaem et inquire unum de discipulis eius qui diceretur Christus et Dominus, ut veniat ad me et in nomine Dei sui cu
ret me a lepra et infirmitati-
bus quibus quotidiem nimis
gravor et a vulneribus meis,
qua ego male laces (p. 522)

4. Textual closeness between the *Mirages* and *Ho Flos Sanctorum* in relation to their source, the *Legenda aurea* (I have underlined in this work those sentences omitted in the others)

*Legenda aurea*  

Dictur etiam, quod primus inter Apostolos Missam celebravit. Nam propter suae excellentiae sanctitatis, hunc sibi honorem Apostoli fecerunt, vt post Ascensionem Domini, primus inter eos Missam Ierosolymis celebraret, etiam antequam esset Episcopus ordinatus, cum ante eius ordinationem in Actibus dicatur, quod discipuli erant perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum, & communicatione fractionis panis, quod de Missae celebratione accipitur. "Vel forte ideo primus celebriasse dicitur, quia primus in Pontificibus eam dixisse perhibetur, sicut & Petrus postmodum primus in Antiochia Missam celebravit, & Marcus in Alexandria." Hic perpetuae virginitatis estit, sicut testatur Hieronymus in lib. contra Iovinianum.

In Parasceve autem, mortuo Domino (sicut dicit Iosephus, & Hieronymus in lib. de viris illustribus) Iacobus vobis vovit, se non co-

destorunum donec videret Dominum a mortuis surrexit (pp. 229-30).

*Mirages de Santiago*  

Et est eus o primeiro que ontra todo los outros apostolos diso missa. Et porque el era moi cóprido de santi-
dade, despois que Nosto Señor sobio aos ãos, derô-
le os apostolos por ontra que disese missa ontra eles primeiramente em Iherusalem, ante que fosse ordenado en bispo. Et este foi o primeiro home que diso missa en vesti-
meta de bispo. Et segundo diso Sam Jeronimo, este sempre foi virgee, et por [S]esta Feira Mayor, quando poserô Nosto Señor ena cruz, prometeu que nô comese ata que o vise res-
urgir, et asi o fez (pp. 21-22).

*Ho Flos Sanctorum*  

Outros liuros dizem que este foi o primeiro dos apostolos que cantarom missa em ihe-

rusalem: e esta honra lle fizerom os apostolos por razom de sua sanctidade ainda ante que fosse bispo: e foi virge segundo que diz sam Iheronimo. E este Santiago no dia de sesta keyra de endoêças quando mor-
reô jhesucristo fez promis-
sam que non comeria ate que visse seu senhor resusci-
tado (fo. 81rº)
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