

Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia

A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe

Edited and Translated by

James D'Emilio



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Preface	IX
Acknowledgments	XXIV
List of Figures, Maps, and Tables	XXVI
Abbreviations	XXXII
List of Contributors	XXXVIII

PART 1: THE PARADOX OF GALICIA *A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*

- 1 The Paradox of Galicia
A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe 3
James D'Emilio

PART 2: THE SUEVIC KINGDOM *Between Roman Gallaecia and Modern Myth*

- Introduction to Part 2 126
- 2 The Suevi in Gallaecia
An Introduction 131
Michael Kulikowski
 - 3 Gallaecia in Late Antiquity
The Suevic Kingdom and the Rise of Local Powers 146
P. C. Díaz and Luis R. Menéndez-Bueyes
 - 4 The Suevic Kingdom
Why Gallaecia? 176
Fernando López Sánchez
 - 5 The Church in the Suevic Kingdom (411–585 AD) 210
Purificación Ubric

PART 3: EARLY MEDIEVAL GALICIA*Tradition and Change*

Introduction to Part 3 246

- 6 The Aristocracy and the Monarchy in Northwest Iberia between the Eighth and the Eleventh Century 251

Amancio Isla

- 7 The Charter of Theodenandus

Writing, Ecclesiastical Culture, and Monastic Reform in Tenth-Century Galicia 281

James D'Emilio

- 8 From Galicia to the Rhône

Legal Practice in Northern Spain around the Year 1000 343

Jeffrey A. Bowman

PART 4: GALICIA IN THE IBERIAN KINGDOMS*From Center to Periphery?*

Introduction to Part 4 362

- 9 The Making of Galicia in Feudal Spain (1065–1157) 367

Ermelindo Portela

- 10 Galicia and the Galicians in the Latin Chronicles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries 400

Emma Falque

- 11 The Kingdom of Galicia and the Monarchy of Castile-León in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries 429

Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez

PART 5: COMPOSTELA, GALICIA, AND EUROPE
Galician Culture in the Age of the Pilgrimage

- Introduction to Part 5 464
- 12 **St. James in Galicia (c. 500–1300)**
Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth 477
Thomas Deswarte
- 13 **Compostela**
A Cultural Center from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century 512
Adeline Rucquoi
- 14 **The Tomb of St. James**
Coming to Terms with History and Tradition 543
John Williams †
- 15 **The European Architecture of Church Reform in Galicia**
The Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela 573
Henrik Karge
- 16 **The Topography of Images in Santiago Cathedral**
Monks, Pilgrims, Bishops, and the Road to Paradise 631
Manuel Castiñeiras
- 17 **Dreams of Kings and Buildings**
Visual and Literary Culture in Galicia (1157–1230) 695
Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras
- 18 **Cistercian Scriptoria in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries**
A Starting Point 765
Ana Suárez González
- 19 **A Convent for *La Sabia***
Violante of Aragón and the Clarisas of Allariz 812
Melissa R. Katz

PART 6: LANGUAGE AND LITERARY CULTURE***From Latin to Galician-Portuguese***

Introduction to Part 6 838

20 Galician Before 1250 843
*Roger Wright*21 On the Music of Galician-Portuguese Secular Lyric
Sources, Genres, Performance 862
*William D. Paden*22 Making Poetry, Making Waves
The Galician-Portuguese Sea Lyric 894
*Amélia P. Hutchinson***PART 7: MODERN GALICIA AND THE MIDDLE AGES*****Castros, Castles, and the Camino de Santiago***

Introduction to Part 7 914

23 Castles vs. Castros
*The Middle Ages in the Construction of Galician National
Identity* 917
*Ramón Villares***PART 8: EPILOGUE*****Future Directions***Epilogue: Future Directions in the Study of Medieval Galicia 949
James D'Emilio

Index 963

The Charter of Theodenandus

*Writing, Ecclesiastical Culture, and Monastic Reform
in Tenth-Century Galicia**

James D'Emilio

Introduction

In 902, the archpriest Theodenandus journeyed from Galicia to the court of King Alfonso III in Oviedo. There, he recounted the history of the monastery his great-grandfather, Egila, had founded in the time of Prince Fruela (757–768). Egila had led his wife and household from Muslim Spain to Galicia. He occupied various *uillae*, and one of these, an abandoned *uilla* along the Sarria River, was named after his son, *uilla domni Adilani*. Egila built a church there and granted it the canonical *dextri*, a protected space set aside for burials and the sustenance of its clergy. Afterwards, its clerics alleged that the foundation charter could not be found, and monastic discipline was relaxed. They failed to make the customary pact among themselves, squandered the church's possessions, and wandered about as *circiliones*, the errant monks often censured by monastic writers. To remedy this, Theodenandus won the court's endorsement for his restoration of the church and the preparation of a new charter of endowment. He furnished the church, constructed a cloister, and supplied buildings, orchards, and livestock. Finally, he stipulated that whatever priest or religious community would reside there would be subject to an abbot or elder, and his family members were to confirm the rights of the foundation.

This, at least, is the elaborate tale spun in the splendid periods of an extraordinarily florid charter copied into the early thirteenth-century cartulary of the nearby monastery of Samos.¹ The archpriest's monastery soon vanished and its

* Earlier versions of parts of this article were presented for the California Medieval History Seminar led by Piotr Górecki, the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, the 32nd Annual Meeting of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, and the Ahmanson Conference on the Foundations of Medieval Monasticism at UCLA, and I thank the participants and audiences for their thoughtful responses. I am also most grateful for earlier readings of all or parts of this piece by Giles Constable, Paul Freedman, Diana Greenway, and Barbara Rosenwein.

1 Archivo histórico de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Clero, lib. 1173, doc. 33, ff. 14v–15v (henceforth cited as *TS*, followed by the number of the document). The cartulary disappeared after the secularization of the monastery in 1835; it was recovered in 1983 and

memory was obscured by the spectacular success of Samos. By the end of the twelfth century, Samos possessed nearly one hundred churches, and its abbot wielded the powers of an archdeacon over forty-nine churches in an ample reserve, buttressed by civil and ecclesiastical immunities. The two hundred and fifty documents of its cartulary yield tantalizing glimpses of monastic life and the religious organization of the surrounding countryside from the eighth to the thirteenth century. They chart the expansion of the monastic domain and the affiliation of smaller communities whose own charters, like that of Theodenandus, were occasionally entered in the cartulary. These texts attest to the persistence of the diverse forms of monastic life characteristic of seventh-century Galicia and underscore the mounting pressures upon those traditional institutions and practices.

The success of Samos makes it easy to overlook these precarious circumstances and its own uncertain future in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, when it was but one of a growing number of religious foundations dotting the densely settled hill country southeast of Lugo.² Founded before 675, the house was restored soon after the Muslim invasions by Christian refugees with the help of Prince Fruela. In collaboration with the prince, the monks reclaimed estates throughout Galicia, and Fruela's son, King Alfonso II (791–842), granted immunities in 811. Despite this promising start, the community did not endure, and new groups of Mozarabic exiles occupied the monastery in the mid-ninth century with the support of Ramiro I and Ordoño I. Their abbots revived the institution of the *episcopus sub regula*, supervising local clergy, consecrating churches, and forging small monastic congregations into a larger confederation reminiscent of those envisioned by the seventh-century abbot-bishop and monastic founder, Fructuosus of Braga. Their achievements, however, were undone by the turbulent conflicts that followed the accession of Alfonso III, and the community had to be restored again by Ordoño II in 922.

To describe that restoration, historians have relied on a diploma of Ordoño II and *Unde ditatum*, a difficult text in the cartulary chronicling the restoration

acquired by the University of Santiago de Compostela. The manuscript is reproduced on the archive's website <<http://www.usc.es/arquivo/>>, and an edition by Manuel Lucas Álvarez was published in 1986 (*Tumbo...Samos*). My own transcriptions, which sometimes differ from the published edition, were checked against the manuscript.

2 On the history of Samos: Sánchez Albornoz (1946); Mundó (1962); Arias (1981), (1983), (1988), (1992); López Alsina (1993); Zaragoza (1996); D'Emilio (1997); Andrade (1991) and (1997), esp. 28–30, 47–69, 132–134, 140–143, 157–160, 200–206; Freire Camaniel (1998), vol. 2, pp. 886–892.

of the house by the same king and Abbot Berila of Penna.³ In fact, the charter of Theodenandus is crucial to the history of Samos, for it is remarkably like the diploma of Ordoño II. Their long preambles and spiritual sanctions are virtually identical, and their ample narratives employ similar phrases to describe the eighth-century resettlement of *uillae* by Christian refugees, the loss of monastic discipline, and the collapse of the communities. These resemblances are not fortuitous. Careful comparison of their texts and independent evidence for the early history of Samos prove the privilege of Ordoño II to be a forgery—possibly of the tenth century—inspired by the charter of Theodenandus itself.

Paradoxically, the failure of Theodenandus's foundation safeguarded his charter from the repeated copying and tampering that led to the abbreviation or loss of the formulaic clauses of other charters, and the expansion of their dispositive clauses to encompass later claims to rights and properties. At the same time, the charter's peculiar role in the successful re-establishment of Samos ensured its preservation. Unmasking the forgery of the privilege of Ordoño II makes it possible, in turn, to confirm the authenticity of the charter of Theodenandus and recover an exceptionally rich text that has been overlooked because of the obscurity of the church to which it belongs. It offers precious testimony to diplomatic practice in the Asturian and Leonese kingdoms, to the vitality of the learning of the Visigothic church and the monastic traditions of Galicia in the ninth and tenth centuries, and to the troubles afflicting monastic communities on the eve of the reforms associated with Genadio of Astorga and Rosendo of Celanova.

The charter of Theodenandus has several stories to tell. The preamble and sanction are among the earliest and best surviving examples of sophisticated and allusive compositions that left their mark on numerous tenth-century charters and enjoyed a long and fascinating afterlife across northern Iberia. The preamble of nearly two hundred words resonates with the language of scripture, liturgy, patristic authors, and the Visigothic church. For its part, the

3 *Unde ditatum*: TS/35, ff. 16r–17r. The text of the privilege of Ordoño II (922.8.1) is known only from 17th- and 18th-century transcriptions, for the diploma was sent to Madrid in the 18th century and subsequently lost. It had not been copied into the 13th-century cartulary. Yepes (1615), ff. 211v–214r, app. X, ff. 20–21, published the first transcription and cited F. Gerónimo Román and Ambrosio de Morales who had seen the diploma in the 16th century. It was also discussed by Sandoval (1615), 138–147. The monks of Samos relied on the edition of Yepes, and, in a folder of copies of documents concerning their estates in the Valdeorras, one referred to the original diploma as the oldest of their privileges and the one with the worst script (*el más antiguo y de peor letra*): Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (henceforth AHN) Clero, leg. 3450, no. 21 (*Privilegios*).

sanction preserves distant echoes of Roman law and the canons of the seventh-century councils of Toledo. In later documents, their different permutations show scribes at work, creatively expanding, abridging, combining, and adapting a repertory of formulas, sometimes from memory, sometimes from written formularies. Eventually, the formulas take on a life of their own, as their transmission and transformation map out the privileged channels of court and monastic culture, the pockets where the traditions of an earlier age maintained a tenacious hold, and the places where, in the face of cultural and linguistic change, writing faded into oblivion.

The centerpiece of the charter is its narrative of the foundation's history, a masterfully crafted piece of rhetoric. Using scriptural exegesis, patristic learning, and the monastic traditions of the Galician church, it powerfully affirms the apostolic origins of monasticism, the ideal of communal property, and the importance of stability in the cenobitic life. The eloquent account was more than an ostentatious display of bookish erudition and rhetorical virtuosity, for its moving evocation of monastic ideals directly addressed the crises threatening the religious life in ninth- and tenth-century Galicia. In fact, the provisions for the restored community were aimed specifically at averting the difficulties that had caused its earlier collapse and the dissolution of so many others that flicker through contemporary texts.

Although Theodenandus's effort failed, his initiative contributed, indirectly, to the success of the neighboring monastery of Samos as it rose to be one of the greatest religious establishments of medieval Galicia. His charter inspired the forgery of the royal diploma, attributed to Ordoño II and fashioned retrospectively to enhance the circumstances of the restoration of Samos.

Modern historians have used the editions of Fr. Martín Sarmiento and Enrique Flórez. Sarmiento examined the diploma in Madrid and his transcription, dated August 20, 1752, was accompanied by its measurements: *tiene de largo 37 dedos, de 16 en tercia o pie castellano, y 26 dedos y medio de ancho* (644 x 461 mm): Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (henceforth BN), ms. 9892, *Copia del real privilegio gótico; notas...al privilegio gótico; reflexiones previas sobre archiveros*, ff. 1–5. It is not an autograph, for it closes (f. 140r) by citing the author's unfinished manuscript written in October 1752. Flórez made his transcription (*ES*, vol. 14, app. 3, pp. 367–372) from the diploma itself: *ex originali Gothico scrupulose transcriptum*. It offers several variants, when compared with Sarmiento's transcription. Pablo Rodríguez (1804), 90, 273–279, published a transcription close enough to that of Flórez, whom he cited, to suggest that he used his edition. Another transcription is in Piñeiro y Cancio, "Colección diplomática" (ms.) vol. 3, ff. 80r–82v. Lucas Álvarez added the version of Flórez to his edition: *Tumbo...Samos*, doc. S-2, pp. 443–447. My quotations draw upon both Flórez and Sarmiento.

Its dependence on the charter of Theodenandus is most transparent in its garbled rendering of the tightly composed narrative. Nonetheless, this clumsy attempt to fit the account to Samos's own history is an implicit admission that Samos had suffered the very crises that had undermined Theodenandus's monastery and other Galician communities. Moreover, other documents advise a sober reassessment of the status of Samos in the tenth century. They portray its restoration as a humbler affair, and its faltering growth as more contested than the splendid diploma allows. In fact, the appropriation of the charter of Theodenandus by Samos betrays a deeper historical connection between the two foundations that was still discernible centuries later in the administration of the monastic domain of Samos and the organization of its cartulary. This legacy is more than an epilogue to the story drawn from this singular document. For the modern historian, it is a salutary warning of the perils of reading history backwards and endorsing the persuasive record of successes as a demonstration of their inevitability.

The Preamble of the Charter of Theodenandus

The florid preamble of the charter of Theodenandus develops the *topos* that good works will yield spiritual benefits and, specifically, that the building of churches in this world will win the patron an eternal home in the next:

- (1) *Licet primordia bonorum operum, que deo inspirante in mente gignuntur, iustitie operibus deputentur; tamen ea que maiori cumulo et pociori crescunt in uoto, ampliori remuneratione expectatur in premio.*
- (2) *Ille et enim in stadio boni operis suos dirigit gressus qui ad edificationem animarum fidelium sensus sui cordis efficit coram sancta diuinitate deuotos; sed ille iustitie operibus feces suorum peccaminum exurit et tabernacula sibi numquam in celis finienda conquirat qui hic pro amore et timore quem singuli deo debemus tabernacula sancte ecclesie ad exorandum deum atque inueniendum construere et restaurare disponit.*
- (3) *Digne igitur iam sue spei uota in domo celica mansionum multarum collocat qui hic domum ecclesie sancte intra extraque et edifiitiis et muneribus rerum uel animarum fidelium construit et confirmat.*
- (4) *Ideoque ut ego indignus uestro sancto precamine apud sanctam ineffabilem trinitatem dignus effici merear; et ut hic prauorum ualeam semitas declinare et bonorum ingredi et passu placido uias percurrere; atque ut in illo regenerationis stadio placabilem te dominum Ihesum Christum*

merear prospectare, dum seculum per ignem ceperis iudicare, deuota mente cupiens hunc locum glorie uestre in melius reparare qualiter, quoue tempore, uel a quo dudum fundatus fuerit, nunc me conuenit memorare.⁴

It opens by conceding that good intentions are to be counted among good works, but emphasizing that those which are realized through offerings earn a greater reward. The second clause expands upon that contrast between devout thoughts and just deeds. While it praises the man who makes the sentiments of his heart pious, it details, more explicitly, the spiritual benefits that await the one (*sed ille...*) who dedicates himself to the restoration and construction of churches. The third clause reiterates this by linking the building and endowment of churches with the hope of winning a heavenly home, echoing John's Gospel.⁵ The exposition begins with the final clause, as the donor speaks in the first person and outlines his motivations, praying that his action will strengthen him to turn away from the paths of the wicked and make him worthy to look upon the Lord at the Last Judgment.⁶

While the preamble relies heavily upon commonplaces that enjoyed general currency, the second clause draws some of its vivid imagery from Isidore of Seville's discussion of the active and contemplative lives:

4 *TS*/33, ff. 14v–15v. I have marked off four periods, guided by the 13th-century scribe's use of majuscule letters. Davies (2007), 88–109, discusses formulas in early medieval documents of northern Spain. For preambles generally, see Fichtenau (1957); Parisse (2000); for an overview and typology of Iberian preambles: Laffon (1989); for León: Herrero (2004); for Portugal: Santos (2001); for Catalonia: Zimmermann (1974–1975); for an exemplary case study of the preamble of the 977 testament of St. Rosendo of Celanova: Díaz y Díaz (1989). A series of more recent studies—emphasizing typologies and quantitative analysis—has examined formulas of key Iberian monasteries over several centuries to detect patterns of cultural change: García de Cortázar (2006) and, for Samos, (2008); García de Cortázar and Agúndez (2009); Agúndez (2010).

5 *Jn* 14:2: *In domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt.*

6 The phrase *passu placido...percurrere* echoes a prayer of Bishop Eugenius III of Toledo: *Da, precor, auxilium, possim quo uincere mundum, et uitae stadium placido percurrere passu. Cumque suprema dies mortis patefecerit urnam, concede ueniam, cui tollit culpa coronam* (*PL*, vol. 87, col. 359C). A more complete quotation ends a different preamble in privileges of Ordoño II to the monasteries of Calaberas (921) and Sahagún (923): *...ut merear uestro sancto suffragio apud Deum a cunctorum meorum nexibus absolui peccaminum et desiderate eterne uite stadium placido percurrere passu* (*Sahagún* 1, doc. 22, 31, pp. 50, 63).

Li autem qui ad contemplationis otium uenire contendunt, prius se in stadio actiuae uitae exercere debent, ut dum opera iustitiae faeces peccatorum exhauriunt, cor mundum exhibeant ad uidendum Deum.⁷

The author of the preamble adapted the image of the race (*in stadio boni operis*), displaced the reference to the pure or devout heart (*sensus sui cordis... deuotos*) before God, and paraphrased Isidore's description of good works purging the traces of sin (*ille iustitiae operibus feces suorum peccaminum exurit*).⁸

Of course, Isidore had invoked the exercise of the active life as preparation for the contemplative life.⁹ In the preamble, the author borrowed his language to urge a somewhat different message, namely, that good works yield a greater reward than devout sentiments or intentions. The adversative structure (*licet... tamen*) of the opening clause heralded this appropriation of Isidore's treatise with echoes of his comparison of the active and contemplative lives:

...actiua uita est quae in *operibus iustitiae* et proximi utilitate uersatur; contemplatiua, quae uacans ab omni negotio, in sola Dei dilectione defigitur...Actiuae enim uitae magna sunt *praemia*, sed contemplatiuae *potiora*. Actiua uita ex *bonis operibus* incipit, contemplatiua peruenit ad quod intendit. Actiuae uitae opera cum corpore finiuntur, contemplatiuae autem gaudia in fine *amplius crescunt*.¹⁰

The preamble of the charter of Theodenandus is repeated verbatim in the diploma of Ordoño II to Samos and, with minor variants, in the gift of the archpriest Julian to the monastery of San Cibrao de Pinza (Viana do Bolo, Ourense) in 912.¹¹ It also appears, with an additional clause, in the foundation charter

7 Isid., *Liber secundus de differentiis rerum* 34, in *PL*, vol. 83, col. 91A. This language is not found in related texts of Augustine or Gregory the Great: Brugnoli (1964), 79–80.

8 A copyist may have substituted *exurere* for *exhaurire*, but it also taps into a classical tradition of references to burning away the traces of wickedness: *aliis... scelus aut exurit igni* (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.741–742). Additionally, the imagery of fire anticipates the description of the Last Judgment (*dum seculum per ignem ceperis iudicare*) in the fourth clause where the 'race' returns as well (*in illo regenerationis stadio*).

9 For the complex relationship between the active and contemplative lives in patristic and early medieval sources: Constable (1995), 14–31.

10 Isid., *Liber secundus de differentiis rerum* 34, in *PL*, vol. 83, col. 90C–D. I have italicized words and phrases that recur in the opening clause of the preamble.

11 Donation to Pinza: AHN Códices, 1195B, ff. 74r–75v (copy of 1614); 1197B, ff. 268v–274r (copy of 1753); *Astorga*, doc. 10, pp. 60–63. The published edition is not entirely faithful to the

and endowment which Ordoño II granted to Abbot Franquila of the Galician monastery of Santo Estevo de Ribas de Sil in 921.¹²

- (1) Licet primordia bonorum operum, que [a/-] deo [instinctu/inspirante] in mente gignuntur, iustitie operibus [deputetur/deputentur]; tamen [-/ea] que maiori cumulo et potiori crescunt in uoto, ampliori remuneratione expectatur in premio. [Unde iuste decet instaurare quod non decet perire et uiui debet elaborare qui uota sua deo offerret ut non pereat quod perenniter censuit ut maneat./-]
- (2) Ille [-/et] enim in stadio boni operis suos dirigit gressus [que/qui] ad edificationem animarum fidelium sensus sui cordis efficit coram [sanctam diuinitatem deuotus/sancta diuinitate deuotos]; set ille iustitie operibus [fece/feces] suorum peccaminum exurit et tabernacula [sui in celis numquam/sibi numquam in celis] finienda conquirat qui hic pro amore [-/et timore] quem singuli deo deuemus tabernacula sancte ecclesie ad exorandum deum atque inueniendum construere et restaurare disponit.
- (3) Digne igitur iam sue spei uota in [d(e)o/domo] celica [multarum mansionum conlocat que/mansionum multarum collocat qui] hic [donum/domum] ecclesie sancte intra extraque et edificiis et muneribus rerum uel animarum fidelium construit et confirmat.
- (4) [Quam ob rem ut ego/Ideoque ut ego indignus] uestro sancto precamine apud sanctam ineffabilem trinitatem dignus effici merear; et [huic/ut hic] prauorum ualeam semitas declinare et bonorum ingredi et [passum placitum/passu placido] uias percurrere; atque [-/ut] in illo regenerationis stadio placabilem te dominum Ihesum Christum merear prospectare,

extant 17th- and 18th-century copies of the charter. An 18th-century index from Astorga Cathedral (BN, ms. 4357, ff. 39v–40r) cites it from the *Tumbo Negro*, a cartulary—destroyed when the archive burned in 1814—with documents from the 7th to the 13th century. Minor variations among the three preambles may be attributable to their early modern copyists, but the archaic spellings and alternate case usages in the preamble of the privilege of Ordoño II to Samos do contrast with the characteristic ‘modernization’ of orthography and usage in the charter of Theodenandus by the 13th-century scribe of the Samos cartulary.

12 AHN Clero, carp. 1561, no. 1, 2. One is a pseudo-original imitating Visigothic script, the other a notarial copy of 1272: Duro Peña (1977), doc. 1, pp. 247–249. The former is nearly identical in proportion and similar in size (690 x 498 mm) to Sarmiento’s measurements of the diploma of Ordoño II to Samos (644 x 461 mm), see n. 3. On the date and context: Sáez (1948), pp. 29–30, n. 58; Fernández de Viana y Vieites (1973).

dum seculum per ignem ceperis iudicare, [-/deuota mente cupiens hunc locum glorie uestre in melius reparare] qualiter, quo[ut/ue] tempore, uel a quo dudum fundatus fuerit, nunc me conuenit memorare.¹³

The authenticity of this elaborate preamble finds strong support in its appearance, within two decades, in four ecclesiastical documents from eastern Galicia, two of them written for archpriests and both of these for establishments that were soon forgotten. Moreover, the recurrence of clauses from this preamble in tenth-century charters of the kingdom of León and, more particularly, the county of Castile demonstrates that it circulated widely. In donations to existing foundations, the opening clause sometimes stood alone or prefaced other clauses which praised charity and almsgiving without specifically citing the foundation of churches.¹⁴ In the most popular version, however, it was followed immediately by the beginning of the third clause, *digne igitur iam sue spei uota in domo celica mansionum multarum collocat qui domum sancte ecclesie...*¹⁵ In fact, a variant of this shorter preamble introduced four of the

-
- 13 Variant readings are placed in square brackets with the reading from the charter of Ribas de Sil first, followed by that in the charter of Theodenandus; a dash indicates that the word or passage is omitted from one of the charters. For minor variants (c/t, b/v, d/t), I have followed the charter of Ribas de Sil, but italicized the letter.
- 14 The clause introduces two versions of one preamble in a forged privilege of Alfonso III (908) to Oviedo and a privilege of Ordoño IV (958) to Sobrado dos Monxes: *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 192, pp. 362–372; *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 1, doc. 106, p. 126. It begins a different preamble in a forged privilege of Sahagún (938) attributed to Alfonso IV (*Sahagún* 1, doc. 70, pp. 99–102) and a variant opens a much abbreviated version of this preamble in a privilege of Ramiro II (950) to Sahagún: *Licet primordia bonorum operum que Deo inspirante mente gignuntur iusticie operibus deputentur tamen ea que operibus exercentur ab ipso omnium bonorum opifice amplius pro uoto suscipiuntur* (ibid., doc. 129, pp. 166–167). Another variant introduces a long preamble in a privilege of Count Fernán González (929) to San Quirce: *licet primordium bone cogitationis, que inspirante deo in mente genitur iusticie muneribus deputetur tamen ea que maiori cumulo et potiori crescunt, maiori credimus et ampliori remuneratione glorificari* (*Burgos*, doc. 3, pp. 10–11; *Condes de Castilla*, doc. 4, 142–150).
- 15 E.g., the endowments of Arlanza (912) and Silos (919/954) by Count Fernán González (*Condes de Castilla*, doc. 1, 29, pp. 113–115, 271–273); another early 10th-century charter of Arlanza and the endowment (924) of San Juan de Tabladillo (*Arlanza*, doc. 3, 4, pp. 11, 14–15); a private donation (944) to San Martín de Modúbar (Linage Conde [1973], vol. 2, pp. 615–617); and two privileges of Alfonso III (904/5) and a private gift of 922 to Sahagún (*Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 174, 181, pp. 293–295, 326–333; *Sahagún* 1, doc. 7, 8, 29, pp. 28–37, 60–61).

tenth-century royal privileges in the cartulary of Samos.¹⁶ Much rarer are the second and fourth clauses. The redundancy of the former made it easy to dispense with altogether, but the expositive clause was sometimes replaced with an analogous one from the seventh-century Visigothic formulary in which the donors appeal in the first person for relief from their sins through prayers.¹⁷

It is true that many of these documents have not fared well at the hands of historians and diplomatists.¹⁸ Some are undoubtedly forgeries, others have been heavily interpolated, and most exist only as pseudo-originals or copies in cartularies. Nonetheless, their concentration between 900 and 965 can hardly be the fortuitous result of the decisions of later forgers, for their choice of this preamble for the documents of two generations was likely guided by its use in known instruments of that period, perhaps in the very diplomas they sought to revise and enlarge upon.¹⁹ In short, even the appearance of this preamble in forged privileges argues for its circulation in the first half of the tenth century. In the cartulary of Samos, the four royal privileges that adopt the short version of the preamble are all tenth-century diplomas, while it does not appear in the ninth-century charters of Alfonso II or Ordoño I.

Several charters from tenth-century Galicia prove that the longer preamble in the charter of Theodenandus was available there. In a donation by Bishop

-
- 16 A shortened third clause, *digne igitur iam sue spei uota in domo celica mansionum multarum collocat qui hic domum ecclesie sancte confirmat*, ends the preamble: *rs/z* (Ordoño III, 951), 34 (Ramiro II, 932), 39 (Sancho the Fat, 962) and, with minor variations, 40 (Vermudo II, 993), ff. 1r, 15v–16r, 17v–18r.
- 17 *Piaculorum nostrorum cupientes expiare flagitia et peccatorum nostrorum oneris praeagravationem orationum uestrarum desiderantes adiutorio subleuari, parba pro magnis offerimus munuscula* (Gil [1972], 80–81). It is in the cited charters of Arlanza and Silos.
- 18 See, for example, *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, pp. 329–333, 369–372; *Sahagún* 1, pp. 32–37, 101–102, and, for charters of Fernán González, Zabalza (1995). Barrau-Dihigo (1903), (1919) laid out a hypercritical approach to early medieval Astur-Leonese charters.
- 19 Zabalza (1995), 355, 361, has specifically cited the use of the preamble in four 11th-century charters of Fernando I to cast doubt on the earlier examples: *Fernando I*, doc. 11 (1039), 24 (1044), 37 (1048), 46 (1053), pp. 64–66, 86–88, 117–119, 134–136; *Condes de Castilla*, p. 129. In fact, three use only the opening clause, and these isolated 11th-century charters from Cardeña, Arlanza, and Dueñas could easily have been modeled upon earlier, authentic ones in their archives. Floriano Llorente (1972), 164–165, has generally questioned the authenticity of preambles in Asturian royal diplomas, but, most recently, Valdés Gallego (2010), 160–168, accepts this one citing its use in the charter of Theodenandus and the appearance of at least its initial clause in four privileges of Alfonso III between 900 and 908, three of them attributed to the scribe Possidonius.

Sisnando II of Iria to the monastery of Sobrado in 955, the sequence of ideas in the preamble follows that in the charter of Theodenandus. The first clause is quoted and the opening phrase of the second (*Ille et enim...ad edificationem*) is abruptly grafted onto a reference to the construction and confirmation of monasteries (*construit et confirmat*) which stands for the third clause. Two short citations from the fourth clause conclude the preamble:

...licet initia bonorum que in animo gignuntur iustitie operibus deputentur, tamen ea que maiori cumulo ac potiori crescunt in uoto, ampliore remuneratione expectantur in premio. Ille et enim in stadio boni operis sui dirigit gressus, qui ad edificationem habitationemque monachorum tibi seruiuentium claustra cenobii construit et confirmat. Iccirco offerimus Deo ac Saluatori nostro et apostolis martiribusque suis suprataxatis quod illorum sancto precamine digni efficiamur in dextera tua collocati, cum seculum ceperis per ignem iudicare, unde tunc nobis copiosa merces adueniat perhenniter permansura.²⁰

Three years earlier, the fourth clause alone was paraphrased at the end—appropriately—of a long and different preamble in the endowment of Sobrado.²¹ The isolated appearance of garbled and fragmentary versions of the rare second clause, drawn from Isidore of Seville, in later documents of modest Galician monasteries is testimony to the wide diffusion of the preamble in the region.²²

Whether the lengthy preamble in the charter of Theodenandus and closely related documents expanded upon a shorter one is unclear, but the charter of Theodenandus is the earliest known example of this extended version. The second clause is carefully integrated with the rest of the text, suggesting that this literary effort represents the first rendering of the formula, possibly devised in the erudite circles of the court of Alfonso III where it purports to have been written. The development and diffusion of the learned preamble, the variations within the set, and the abridgment and excerption of its clauses make plain the exceptional character of the precise repetition of the longest version

20 *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 1, doc. 2, p. 24. The preamble of doc. 115 (1019), pp. 141–143, is nearly identical; doc. 7 (961), pp. 37–39, offers a similar combination of quotation and abbreviated paraphrase.

21 *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 1, doc. 1 (952), pp. 21–22.

22 E.g., a document of the Galician monastery of San Isidro de Montes (1072) and a private gift to the double monastery of Ferreira de Pantón (1108): López Alsina (1988), doc. 13, pp. 408–410; *Ferreira de Pantón*, doc. 5, pp. 22–23.

in the charters of the archpriests Theodenandus and Julian, and that of Samos. Even the preamble of the endowment of Santo Estevo de Ribas de Sil differed notably by the omission of a small part of the last clause and the insertion of a long passage between the first two clauses.²³ The nearly identical sanctions of the three charters confirm their privileged position, while their distinctive features indicate that one or more, like the preambles, are authentic texts with close links to other royal charters.

The Sanction of the Charter of Theodenandus

Tracing the ancestry of a sanction calls for more caution than the analysis of a preamble.²⁴ As a group, preambles vary widely in their themes and structure, and different ones remain more easily distinguishable, even as they are altered, excerpted, or elaborated. By contrast, sanctions adhere to a simpler blueprint that lends itself to subtle variation by the substitution of different clauses of similar meaning, or to expansion by the multiplication of examples, from penalties in this world to the torments of hell. For this reason, phrases and clauses readily migrate from one sanction to another, quickly engendering countless hybrids and obscuring their genealogy. What is more, their complex phrasing and archaic language surely tested the abilities of many a scribe. As a result, compilers of cartularies sometimes faced an incoherent jumble that demanded correction and invited improvement. Even in the best of cases, the similar and repetitive clauses of sanctions lulled unwary scribes into error, and an age that had dispensed with such formulas encouraged their abbreviation and standardization.

With such caveats in mind, one can prudently relate the sanction of the charter of Theodenandus to those in the cartulary of Samos and others from tenth-century Iberia in order to determine whether it is likely to be authentic:

Si quis igitur de hinc et in subsequentibus temporibus, tam ex clericis quam ex laicis, uel cuiuspiam assertionis, aut generis homo, contra hanc scripturam et uotum, quocumque patratu uel ausu temptauerit insurgere,

23 This addition is also found in the short preamble of a privilege of Alfonso III (900) to Ourense Cathedral. Though surely a forgery, it hints at the circulation of a slightly different recension in southern Galicia: *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 165, pp. 269–277.

24 For sanctions: Studtmann (1932); Little (1993), esp. 52–59; for Iberian sanctions: Mattoso (1971); García y García (1994a), esp. 62–119; (1994b); Zimmermann (1994); (2003), vol. 1, pp. 361–422; and the studies of García de Cortázar and of Agúndez cited in n. 4.

ac de ecclesia ista aliquid presumpserit subuertere ex uotum, inmutando, uendendo, furando, occupando, uel alienando, sit anathema maranatha in conspectu Dei omnipotentis, et sanctorum angelorum, apostolorumque, ac martirum eius; duplam confusionem cum Iuda traditore ab Spiritu Sancto in eterna dampnatione non careat; et hic in seculo omnes maledictiones que scripte sunt in libro Moysi super eum ueniant, et dampna legum districtus et coactus exsoluat.²⁵

Warning men of all ranks against rising up recklessly to overturn the charter, the author recites the penalties in the order of their importance.²⁶ The violator is to be anathema in the sight of God and the celestial congregations, to be doubly confounded by the Holy Spirit, and to endure eternal damnation with Judas. In this world, all the curses written in the book of Moses should befall him, and he should be constrained to suffer the punishments of the laws.²⁷

Within the cartulary of Samos, this sanction is as noteworthy for what it omits as for what it includes.²⁸ First, it makes no explicit separation of the transgressor from Christian communion.²⁹ Nor are there litanies of vivid imprecations to be suffered in this world, for they are subsumed by the invocation of Deuteronomy.³⁰ Conspicuous by their absence are the phrases most often enlisted to describe the pain and lamentation of hell: *luat penas, lugeat in inferno*.³¹ In fact, the sentence of eternal damnation names only Judas,

25 I have ignored minor variants in the charter of the archpriest Julian or the diploma of Ordoño II, since these are only known from early modern transcripts.

26 One may contrast the temporal sequence in the testament of Abbot Fromarico (1091) (*TS/55*, f. 26r/v), in *primis sit excommunicatus a corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et anathematus in diem iudicii et cum Iuda traditore sit dampnatus in perpetua dampnatione*, or in those which follow the civil punishments with the phrase, *nec de futuris tacebimus penis*, e.g., *TS/77*, 90, 131, 149, 155, 179, ff. 36v–37r, 41r/v, 55r/v, 61r/v, 63r/v, 69v–70r.

27 The *libro Moysi* alludes to the imprecations in Lev 26 and Deut 28: Little (1993), 61–62; García y García (1994a), 108–109.

28 For an overview of the sanctions in the cartulary: García de Cortázar (2008), 93–94.

29 114 sanctions in the cartulary mention excommunication or separation (*segregatus, extraneus, alienus*) from Christian communion, often with phrases from the Visigothic formula, *sit a sancta communione alienus, sit a consortio iustorum extraneus, sit a grege catholico segregatus* (Gil [1972], 71).

30 Contrast the graphic description of worldly torments, some taken from Psalms 68 and 108, in a donation by Abbess Fernanda of Piñeira in 1011 (*TS/76*, f. 36r/v).

31 Phrases referring to hell with *luat* or *lugeat* appear in the sanctions of at least seventy-one documents in the cartulary, and at least seventeen others mention the pains of hell.

ignoring the devil, the graphic scene of the Last Judgment, or any of the other notorious figures of the damned who customarily peopled the clauses of sanctions.³² Some of these clauses occur so often in the cartulary that their omission from the sanction in the charter of Theodenandus argues against it being a later invention of a scribe familiar with documents of Samos and its district.

What does admit the sanction of the charter of Theodenandus to a larger family of Iberian sanctions is the anathema with its accompanying *in conspectu* clause. Twenty-three sanctions in the cartulary of Samos display versions of both elements. Together, these are among its earlier texts, and they include five tenth-century royal privileges, one confirmed by Prince Vermudo (Vermudo II), and three issued by abbots of the ninth and tenth centuries.³³ The sanctions of the five royal privileges nearly match one another, and the central clauses pronouncing the anathema and damnation of the transgressor resemble those in the charter of Theodenandus:

Si quis igitur de hinc et in subsequentibus temporibus aliquis homo contra hunc factum nostrum uenire temptauerit ad irrumpendum, sit anathema maranatha in conspectu Dei omnipotentis et Ihesu Christi filii eius, duplam confusionem ab Spiritu Sancto non careat, et cum Iuda Christi traditore suscipiat ultionem in eterna retributione, et dampna legum temporalia districtus et coactus exsoluat.³⁴

The royal sanctions mention all three persons of the Trinity, but omit the angels, apostles, and martyrs. For its part, the charter of Theodenandus conflates the confounding of the transgressor by the Holy Spirit and his eternal damnation with Judas into one clause with interlocked phrases.

The Trinitarian anathema in the tenth-century royal charters and the three celestial companies in the charter of Theodenandus are fragments of a well-known malediction using the *in conspectu* clause: the triple anathema imposed

32 Surprisingly, only ten charters in the cartulary—three of them of the 12th century—mention Datan and Abiron, who were named in the Visigothic formulary and widely cited in Iberian sanctions: Gil (1972), 75, 108.

33 The five royal privileges: *TS*/2 (951), 34 (932), 39 (962), 40 (993), 100 (990), ff. 1r, 15v–16r, 17v–18r, 44v–45r. Prince Vermudo confirmed *TS*/27 (981), f. 13r/v. The abbatial privileges: *TS*/5 (872), 43 (938), 151 (992), ff. 2r/v, 18v–19r, 61v–62r. The others are: *TS*/29 (947), 32 (962), 115, 202 (982), 18 (993), 198 (1013), 19 (=69) (1020), 182 (1024), 152, 95 (1028), 20 (1036), 134 (1052), 71, 130 (1064).

34 The quotation is from the diploma of Ramiro II (932): *TS*/34, corrected from f. 16r.

in 633 at the Fourth Council of Toledo upon those who would break faith with their kings, stir up rebellion, or seek to usurp the throne:

...audite sententiam nostram...anathema sit in conspectu Dei Patris et angelorum...Quod iterum secundo replicamus dicentes...anathema in conspectu Christi et apostolorum eius sit...Hoc etiam tertio adclamamus dicentes...anathema sit in conspectu Spiritus Sancti et martyrum Christi.³⁵

The Fifth Council of Toledo perpetuated this anathema by decreeing the reading of this canon at the close of future general councils.³⁶ In fact, late ninth- and tenth-century charters from the Leonese monasteries of San Pedro de Montes and Sahagún preserve the triple anathema with the three persons of the Trinity associated with the angels, apostles, and martyrs respectively.³⁷

In the cartulary of Samos, two documents confirm that this triple anathema had found its way into a formulary in local use by the middle of the tenth century. The earlier of them is dated 947:

Si quis tamen de heredibus eius uel meis aut extraneis, siue ego aut aliquis de filiis nostris uel quislibet homo, contra hunc factum meum per qualemcumque assercionem ad irrumpendum uenerit, sit anathema in conspectu Dei patris et sanctorum angelorum eius, sit condempnatus et perpetua ultione percussus in conspectu domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sanctorum apostolorum eius; sit etiam in conspectu Sancti Spiritus et martirorum Christi repetita anathema maranatha dampnatum; et pro temporali pena post fiscum exsoluat auri libra geminata et ecclesie sancte ipsa uilla duplata, et hec scriptura cum robore permaneat (*TS*/29, corrected from f. 14r).

35 *Concilios visigóticos*, pp. 217–220 (IV Toledo 75). Thompson (1969), 172–179, and Linehan (1993), 39–42, discuss the canon. Each anathema is accompanied by the perjurer's separation from the Catholic church (*ab ecclesia catholica...efficiatur extraneus*) and—in three slightly different phrases—from Christian communion (*ab omni coetu/consortio/communionem christianorum alienus*), and by his condemnation to eternal damnation.

36 *Concilios visigóticos*, p. 229 (V Toledo 7); Linehan (1993), 42.

37 *Sahagún* 1, doc. 183 (960), pp. 226–229; *Tumbo viejo...Montes*, doc. 2 (892), 4 (896), 6 (918), pp. 81–90. Despite serious doubts about the authenticity of these texts, the wide use of abbreviated forms of this sanction in the 10th century makes it plausible that a full version in some original documents inspired these interpolated or forged charters.

This sanction is almost precisely repeated in a nearly identical charter of 1052 (*TS*/134, ff. 56v–57r). Each records a widow's execution of her husband's dispositions, and they share the conceit of recounting his deathbed testament in direct speech. Although they differ in little more than the names of the parties and properties, a direct connection between them is unlikely: written a century apart, they concern estates in separate districts and appear in different sections of the cartulary. More likely, this unusual type of transaction led both scribes to consult a formulary directly and, thereby, render an especially faithful copy of clauses which ordinarily might be paraphrased from memory or adapted from other documents at hand.³⁸

Like those from Sahagún and San Pedro de Montes, the sanctions in this pair of documents dispense with the conciliar clauses concerning excommunication, and replace the second anathema with the phrase, *sit condempnatus et perpetua ultione percussus in conspectu domini*. Evidently, this was the form in which the triple anathema of the Fourth Council of Toledo passed into wide circulation in the tenth century, for this tripartite structure or the particular wording of its parts recurred in numerous examples of shorter *in conspectu* clauses, whether used on their own or within longer sanctions of independent origin. Their persistence is all the more remarkable when one considers that the multiple *in conspectu* clauses, the repetition of *sanctorum*, and the easy confusion of abbreviations for *Dei* and *Domini* would not have facilitated their accurate copying by scribes already inclined to abridge or standardize formulas.³⁹

Thus, the anathema relates the sanction of the charter of Theodenandus to a well-established type that circulated widely in the tenth century and enjoyed prominence in royal privileges. Within the cartulary of Samos, it was linked most closely to those in the tenth-century royal charters with which it shared the opening phrase (*Si quis igitur de hinc et in subsequentibus temporibus...*), the invocation of the transgressor's double confounding by the Holy Spirit, and the words of the final clause referring to the penalties

38 In the opening clause listing possible transgressors, the unusually specific distinction between the relatives of each spouse and the reference to their children tightens the connection between the sanction and the type of document, as would be expected, if it were copied directly from a model for this kind of charter.

39 Such errors are exemplified in another example of the triple anathema, a donation of 981 confirmed by Prince Vermudo (*TS*/27, f. 13r/v). In the cartulary, the scribe transposed *domini* to the first clause and wrote *domini dei nostri* in the second; an erasure, two phrases struck out, and a superscript insertion prove that he was struggling.

of the law.⁴⁰ Elsewhere, two tenth-century royal privileges to the Galician abbey of Celanova share parallels for the rare variant of naming the three celestial congregations in one *in conspectu* clause.⁴¹ The sanction in the charter of Theodenandus plainly belongs to this larger group, yet, in the formulaic world of the sanction, its surprising idiosyncrasies stand out. The string of gerunds (*inmutando, uendendo, furando, occupando, uel alienando*) specifying how the charter might be violated is exceptional among the sanctions of the cartulary of Samos in both form and meaning, and several words—*patratu, insurgere, and subuertere*—never recur in them at all.⁴²

One unusual detail in the charter of Theodenandus markedly strengthens its claim to authenticity and casts light on the intellectual background for its composition. The opening clauses of sanctions typically list broad classes of potential transgressors: lay and clerical, powerful and weak, kin and strangers.

40 The phrase, *duplam confusionem...ab Spiritu Sancto*, is not common in the group, but similar phrases, *sit et repentina anathema marenata, id est confusione confusus in conspectu Sancti Spiritus et martirum Christi* and *sit et in conspectu Sancti Spiritus et martirum Christi repentina anatema marenata, id est duplici confusione damgnatus*, were in the earliest and fullest examples of the *anathema...in conspectu* sanction in episcopal donations of 892 and 896 to San Pedro de Montes: *Tumbo viejo...Montes*, doc. 2, 4, pp. 82, 85. Two original privileges of Ordoño II (916, 917) to León Cathedral also equate *confusio dupla* with *anathema marenata*: *León 1*, doc. 38, 41, pp. 56–58, 64–68. That equation explains its use, while the need to define the redundant phrase anticipates its disappearance.

41 A diploma of Ramiro II (941) reads: *sit excommunicatus et perpetua confusione multatus in conspectu Dei Patris omnipotentis et sanctorum angelorum, apostolorum et martirum eius* (*Colección...Celanova 1*, doc. 69, pp. 147–149); similar phrasing appears in a privilege of Vermudo II (985): *Colección...Celanova 2*, doc. 197, pp. 209–211.

42 A document of 1020, copied twice in the cartulary, provides the only other example, *uendendo, donando, mutando, furando, uel alienando* (*TS/19*, 69, ff. 9v–10r, 32v–33r); one may compare the unusual set of nouns in a charter of 1036, *temerarius uenerit audens disruptor uel fraudator seu alienator* (*TS/20*, f. 10r/v), or the gerunds, outside of the sanction, in one of 960, *nullus homo sedeat ausus mutando, uendendo, furando uel alienando* (*TS/248*, f. 87v). For the phrase *patratu uel ausu*, the favored expression was *ausu temerario*; one formal parallel appears in a clerical donation of 871 from the cartulary of Celanova, *quodcumque conatu uel ausu temerarie presumptionis inuasor uoluerit exurgere* (*Colección...Celanova 1*, doc. 3, pp. 61–63). For *insurgere*, several compound verbs with the prefix *in-* (*irrupere, infligere, inquietare, inmutilare, inuadere, impulsare*) function similarly in other sanctions. While *peruertere* and *euertere* are used in 10th-century sanctions of Sahagún with a sense like that of *subuertere*, *conuellere* is the preferred term in the cartulary of Samos. *Subuersio* is used in the opening chapter of the *Regula communis* (*RC 1*, p. 172) where the proliferation of small family monasteries is condemned: *Nos tamen haec non dicimus monasteria sed animarum perditionem et ecclesiae subuersionem*.

That of Theodenandus begins with clergy and laity, and adds, *uel cuiuspiam assertionis aut generis homo*. Apparently, *assertio* retains its ancient meaning, referring to the declaration of free or slave status under Roman law. In the cartulary, the term is used this way only in six other sanctions, five of them of the tenth century.⁴³ Throughout the Leonese kingdom, the expression gradually disappeared in the tenth century, for scribes had long forgotten the practices which lay behind it.⁴⁴ Under the tight grip of traditional language, some scribes struggled to adapt the unfamiliar expression to new circumstances and usage. The term, *assertio*, with the broader meaning of a claim or assertion, migrated to other clauses to describe the challenges that might be leveled against the charter.⁴⁵ At the same time, a related word of contemporary usage, *adsertor*, entered the opening clause where it named the advocate as one potential violator.⁴⁶

The persistence of the correct phrasing in privileged circles confirms the origins of the expression at the royal court. Its infrequent use was concentrated in more elaborate charters, almost exclusively within sanctions with the anathema and *in conspectu* clause.⁴⁷ Two of the latest examples occur in

43 *TS*/21 (1052), 44 (975), 102 (970), 115 (982), 127 (958), 132 (978), ff. 10v, 19r/v, 45r/v, 49r/v, 53r/v, 55v–56r. Three are among the five in the cartulary which, like the charter of Theodenandus, make the distinction between clergy and laity.

44 It was replaced by analogous phrases like: *persona superior uel inferior, tam nobiles quam ignobiles, potentior uel inferior*, and *magnata persona uel infima*.

45 E.g., *TS*/29 and 134, cited above: *Si quis...contra hunc/hoc factum meum per qualemcumque assersionem ad irrumpendum uenerit*.

46 E.g., *Si amplius ipse homo...uel omnis progenies...inquietare uoluerimus...an nos, an posteriores nostri...an quislibet homo de parte ipsorum monasteriorum, an per nos an per linguam assertioris...* (*TS*/112 [1003], corrected from f. 48r). *Adsertor* appears in the opening clauses of several 10th- and early 11th-century charters from the monastery of Otero de las Dueñas, e.g., doc. 4, 5, 16, 51, 52, pp. 35–36, 44–45, 73–74. The orthography and usage of early 11th-century documents of Sahagún illustrate the linguistic environment for this shift: *Si alicus omo istu meum factum derumpere quesierit, uel suocita persona asertoris uenerit...; Si quis tamen in ac scriptura ista ad isrupendum uenerit uel uenerimus, anc per nos, anc per aliquis omo sumrogida persona, aut per quodliue asertores...* (Sahagún 2, doc. 492 (1046), 497 (1046), pp. 161–162, 168–169). In one of these (doc. 426 [1030], pp. 77–78), *adsertor* replaced *assertio* with no appropriate change in the syntax: *aut generis bel extraneis aut propinquis, uel aliquis ex prossa que pie ieneris nostre quod homine facta est dicit, uel quiuspian adsertoris persona....*

47 The most prominent are a donation in 929 by Queen Aragonte to Carboeiro (Cañizares [1942], 201); and the testament of Count Osorio Gutiérrez (969), founder of the monastery of Lourenzá (*Tumbo...Lorenzana*, doc. 1, pp. 21–26). For others: *Tumbo viejo...Montes*, doc.

eleventh-century Oviedo where they reflect the long tenacity and local diffusion of formulas once associated with the Asturian court.⁴⁸ Most remarkably, it resurfaces in a diploma of Queen Teresa of Portugal to the see of Coimbra in 1122. In the early twelfth century, this is an utterly isolated occurrence, but that charter also preserves the first two clauses of the preamble of the charter of Theodenandus. This suggests that an earlier diploma was deliberately invoked, as the queen of the nascent Portuguese realm sought to claim the Asturian heritage as her own.⁴⁹

The sanction in the charter of Theodenandus fits within the group of *anathema...in conspectu* sanctions, and it is most closely linked with the earliest examples and those in royal charters. With these, it shares enough details of various kinds to make plausible its use within an authentic document of the early tenth century prepared at the Asturian court. At the same time, its unique combination of idiosyncrasies—themselves of demonstrably early date—makes it hard to dismiss as a forgery derived from other available examples of early sanctions. These peculiarities highlight again the significance of its exceptionally close correspondence with the sanctions in the charter of the archpriest Julian and the privilege of Ordoño II to Samos. Like the verbatim repetition of their long preambles, this bespeaks an intimate relationship among them.

The Narrationes

That relationship is clarified by a comparison of their descriptions of the collapse of monastic discipline; each tells a similar story, but they do so in quite

2 (892), pp. 81–82; Barrau-Dihigo (1903), doc. 1 (912), pp. 350–353; *Colección...Celanova* 1, doc. 18 (922), pp. 80–81; *Antealtares*, doc. I.1 (932), pp. 171–173; *Cartulario...Covarrubias*, doc. 1 (950), pp. 1–3; *León* 1, doc. 220 (950), pp. 306–310; *Sahagún* 1, doc. 183 (960), p. 197 (962), pp. 226–229, 242–245; Rodríguez Muñíz (2010), doc. 3 (1012), pp. 105–106; *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 1, doc. 115 (1019), pp. 141–143; *Tombo...Celanova*, vol. 2, doc. 472 (1021), pp. 652–654. Eleven of these thirteen are of the *anathema...in conspectu* type; the gift of the monastery of Cambre to Antealtares in 932 and the document of 1012 from Santa Cristina de Ribas de Sil preserve the full triple anathema.

48 *Oviedo*, doc. 60 (1058), 83 (1080), pp. 189–191, 241–243. Both are within short versions of the *anathema...in conspectu* sanction.

49 *Cartulário...Coimbra*, doc. 162, pp. 262–264. The preamble is followed by the words, *Hic igitur accensa sermonibus eorum ego regina Tarasia, filia Ildefonsi regis, donno et offero...*, and it is tempting to imagine the flowery text read from an earlier privilege of the time of Alfonso III.

different ways. The author of the charter of Theodenandus carefully structured his account:

Sane sacerdotes qui usque nunc conmorantes fuerunt ac si pertranseutes,
 ob quod testamentum uel dotem ecclesie a fundatoribus seu ab anteces-
 soribus non inueniunt,
 eo quod ut arbitramus deperit,
 partim se in id excusantes,
 partim absque legis censura et Christi iugo esse uolentes,
 nec in uita sancta et loco hoc mencientes Spiritui Sancto perseuerant,
 nec pactum inter se faciunt
 sicut mos et consuetudo est
 omnium monacorum ac clericorum
 monasteriorum et ecclesiarum parrochialium,
 secundum et instituta est canonum,
 et sanctorum norma docet apostolorum cum dicit
 “Erat eis cor unum et anima una et cetera.”
 Sed imperiti et inutiles, non mortificantes
 sed uiuificantes carnem suam, et non spiritum suum
 secundum lex omnis et beatus docet apostolus,
 Velut mali mercennarii exterminant rem ecclesie et pauperum, et quod
 peius est animas suas,
 et dissoluti atque per diuersa uagantes, pergunt ut circiliones in locis
 aliis,
 Non ad edificationem suam uel populorum,
 sed ualde quod est timendum, ad interitum et perdicionem animarum
 suarum.⁵⁰

In the first part, anaphora—the repetition of the opening word—highlights a series of paired clauses and participial phrases (*partim...partim, nec...nec*) that describe the loss of the foundation charter and consequent loosening of monastic discipline, marked by the priests’ failures to lead a holy life, abide in the same place, and make a pact among themselves. Described as deceiving the Holy Spirit (*mencientes Spiritui Sancto*), the wayward monks are implicitly compared with Ananias and Sapphira who withheld property from the apostles

50 I have arranged the text to clarify my discussion of its structure. My punctuation follows the 13th-century cartulary, and I have used capitals only for sacred names and to indicate the scribe’s use of majuscule letters.

and sought to conceal their actions (Acts 5:1–10). This conduct is contrasted with the norms of correct monastic behavior in a pair of clauses introduced by *sicut* and *secundum*. These cite the authority of the canons and the holy apostles, climaxing in the quotation of Acts 4:32 (“They [the multitude of believers] were of one heart and soul...”) and its vision of the harmony of the apostolic community.

The second section displays a more complex interlacing of paired phrases and clauses. Here, two interlocked *sed...non* phrases respond to the earlier pair of *nec* clauses and, paraphrasing Peter’s First Epistle (1 Pt 3:18), contrast the monks’ immorality with the teaching of the law and of the apostle. Following this allusion, a lengthy clause (*Velut...*) condemns the dissolute monks for dissipating the property of the church and the poor, and wandering from place to place. The author frames his censure with two short similes, comparing the monks to *mali mercennarii*, the hirelings of John 10:12, and to *circiliones*, the wandering monks frequently criticized by early monastic writers. A pair of parentheses (*quod peius est, quod est timendum*) accents the gravity of his reproach, and links the similes to a concluding *non...sed* phrase. This warns of the consequences of the monks’ conduct, in a coda that mirrors the paired *sed...non* phrases which opened the second section.⁵¹

To achieve balance and heighten the solemnity of his account, the author doubled individual words (*testamentum uel dotem; fundatoribus...antecessoribus*), short noun phrases and longer clauses, and he nested these paired expressions in progressively larger units. In the first part, these pairs are largely reiterative, and, to avoid monotony, he varied their length and linked successive pairs. For instance, the *ob quod* clause is followed by a much shorter *eo quod* clause, and the order of long and short units is reversed, first, in the paired phrases introduced by *partim* and, again, in two *nec* clauses. The longer *partim* phrase contains a pair of noun phrases, *legis censura* and *Christi iugo*; it is promptly answered by the longer *nec* clause with a pair of its own, *uita sancta* and *loco hoc*. Further on, sense and sound combine in a cascade of alliterative genitives binding three pairs of nouns together, *mos et consuetudo est omnium monachorum ac clericorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum parrochialium*. Indeed, the author’s rhetorical strategy of weaving together paired expressions in a harmoniously balanced composition culminates in the central citation from Acts whose own spare statement of unity, *erat eis cor unum et anima una*,

51 The *narratio* continues with the response of the court, but this ends the embedded narrative which the charter represents as Theodenandus’s presentation, *Cumque hec ad singula glorioso domno Adefonso principi, necnon episcopis et cunctis senioribus et magnatis palatii per ordinem notuissem ac suggessissem...*

unveils the deeper significance of the marriage of sense and structure in the language of the charter itself.

By contrast, the second section speeds the pace with a rapid—almost violent—alternation of *sed...non* phrases, tightly linked by paired words, *imperiti et inutiles, mortificantes...uiuificantes, carnem suam...spiritum suum*. Here, these phrases provoke tension through antithesis, unlike the reiteration of paired expressions in the first section.⁵² To begin with, *sed* opens abruptly, for it completes the *ne* clauses that had been drawn out by the measured description of proper monastic conduct. Immediately the paired adjectives with the negative prefix *in-* anticipate the antithesis of the *non* phrase. More important, the author creates a counterpoint between the *sed...non* phrases and the expectation of the normal order, *non...sed*. In fact, the key passage is the central phrase, *non mortificantes sed uiuificantes*—held together by the thirteenth-century scribe's punctuation, while the final *non* phrase develops a subordinate opposition of the complements, *carnem suam...spiritum suum*. The dislocation, even dissonance, is amplified by the echo of a verse in Peter's First Epistle which, there, refers to Jesus's death and resurrection:

Quia et Christus semel pro peccatis mortuus est, iustus pro iniustus, ut nos offerret Deo, mortificatus carne, uiuificatus autem spiritu...⁵³

This unusual and original allusion displaces these verses from their more common exegetical context in discussions of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴ In addition, the author transposes the words and intensifies the antithesis by contrasting, first, *mortificantes* and *uiuificantes*, then, *carnem* and *spiritum*. As a result, the author's bold juxtaposition, *uiuificantes carnem*, stretches the sense of *uiuificantes* sylleptically—shifting its meaning with each complement—by

52 This diction is common in the Vulgate, the works of Martin of Braga (Fontán [1974–1979], 338–339), and the Visigothic liturgy (Díaz y Díaz [1965], 80). Cf. the comments of Dias (2001), 82, on rhetorical figures in the *Regula communis* (RC). *Non...sed* phrases appear six times in the opening paragraphs of the first chapter of the RC and five times in the opening paragraphs of the second (RC 1–2, pp. 172–175). The last two of these are from the New Testament (Mt 20:28; Jn 6:38).

53 1 Pt 3:18. This part of the *narratio* may also echo the phrasing of 2 Peter 3:16 where, referring to Paul's epistles, the author writes, *in quibus sunt quaedam difficilia intellectu, quae indocti et instabiles deprauant, sicut et ceteras scripturas, ad suam ipsorum perditionem*. Cf. *imperiti et inutiles...ad interitum et perditionem animarum suarum*.

54 For this line of exegesis and its sources in the Fathers: Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 50, vers. 13, vol. 1, pp. 463–465 (*Explanation of the Psalms* 50.14, vol. 1, pp. 504–506).

suggesting the arousal of carnal desires, although *uiuificare* virtually always has a positive meaning in the Vulgate.⁵⁵

The accomplished author of the charter of Theodenandus skillfully wove together sound, structure, meaning, and allusion, and he modulated his structural patterns to fit the key scriptural citations that anchor the two parts of his account.⁵⁶ Carefully balanced, reiterative phrases and clauses lead up to the statement of the harmony of the apostolic community of Acts, while displacement and dissonance mark the more complex structure of a section centered on the conflict of flesh and spirit. The rhetorically sophisticated design and composition of this *narratio* and its author's sensitivity to the rhythms of Latin prose contrast sharply with the simpler and poorly structured tale in the royal charter of Samos:

Iterum uero fratres qui usque nunc conmorantes fuerunt ac si pertranseuntes, ob quod omnes ipsos testamentos, pactos, uel dotes Monasterii Egliseie eiusdem, non inuenerunt, eo quod ut arbitramus deperierunt, aut illi eos furaberunt, illi uero quidem de tempore Ofilonis usque nunc, qui ibi conmorantes fuerunt, partim in id excusantes, partim absque legis censura et Christi iugo esse uolentes, nec in uita sancta et loco hoc mencientes Spiritui Sancto perseuerant; sed imperiti et inutiles, non mortificantes sed uiuificantes carnem suam, non ad edificationem suam uel populorum, sed ualde quod est timendum, ad interitum et perditionem animarum suarum.

On the contrary, that account could easily be a crude simplification of the one in the charter of Theodenandus. It omitted the citation from Acts, left out the references to the *mercennarii* and *circiliones*, distorted other passages, and garbled the allusion to Peter's First Epistle by dropping the phrase *et non spiritum suum* after *uiuificantes carnem suam*. For its part, the charter of the archpriest Julian retains these allusions, but offers an independent abridgment that confirms the privileged position of the charter of Theodenandus at the head of the group.⁵⁷

55 E.g., Pope Leo I's reference to the resurrection of Jesus (*tam uelox incorruptae carnis uiuificatio fuit*): *Sermones* 71, in *PL*, vol. 54, col. 387D; and Pope Gregory I, *Moralia in Job* 11.5-7, pp. 588-589; *Dialogi* 3.17, in *PL*, vol. 77, col. 265C.

56 Cassiodorus's own remarks on the language of the Psalms may have inspired this integration of structure and meaning, e.g., *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 132, vol. 2, p. 1206 (*Explanation of the Psalms* 132, vol. 3, pp. 332-333).

57 The two early modern transcripts (see n. 11) offer slightly different versions, *Sane sacerdotes qui usque nunc commorantes et erint acsi pertractantes secundum et instituta est*

The *Narratio* and the Monastic Traditions of Tenth-Century Galicia

The *narratio* of the charter of Theodenandus not only reveals itself to be the model for the sloppily excerpted text in the diploma of Ordoño II, but it proves important in its own right as an eloquent declaration of monastic ideals and a poignant testimony to the crisis of traditional monasticism in early tenth-century Galicia. Anchored by the quotation from the Acts of the Apostles and the paraphrase of a verse from Peter's First Epistle, the *narratio* resonates with echoes of exegetical works, early monastic rules, and treatises on monastic life, which its author knit together into a tightly woven statement about monastic stability in the cenobitic life and the holding of property in common.

The charter of Theodenandus directly linked monastic practice (*mos et consuetudo...omnium monachorum ac clericorum monasteriorum*) with the apostles by citing Acts 4:32, alluding to the deceit of Ananias and Sapphira, referring to what the rule of the holy apostles teaches (*sanctorum norma docet apostolorum*), paraphrasing 1 Peter 3:18, and mentioning the blessed apostle (*beatus...apostolus*) Peter. The quotation from Acts was a commonplace of monastic writers who found the seeds of monasticism in the earliest Christian community of the apostles.⁵⁸ Augustine cited it at the beginning of his rule, the *Praeceptum*.⁵⁹ In Visigothic Spain, Leander and Isidore of Seville referred to this verse in their rules.⁶⁰ For Isidore, like Cassian and other writers on monasticism, that description of the apostolic community in Jerusalem established the apostolic origins of the cenobitic life and highlighted two characteristics: it was a communal life and property was held in common.⁶¹ This explains the

canonum et sanctorum norma decet apostolorum. Cum dicit erat eis cor unum et anima una et cetera. sed imperiti et inutiles non mortificantes sed uiuificantes carnem suam et non spiritum suum secundum lex omnis et beatus docet apostolus. uelut mali mercenarii exterminant rem ecclesie et pauperum. et quod peius est animas suas. et dissoluti atque per diuersa uagantes pergunt. ut circiliones in locis aliis non ad... (a set of boundaries and placenames is interpolated here)...edificationem suam uel populorum sed ualde quod est timendum et perditione animarum suarum.

58 For an extensive list of citations: Joest (1994), 105.

59 *Haec sunt quae ut obseruetis praecipimus in monasterio constituti. Primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut unianimes habitetis in domo et sit uobis anima una et cor unum in deum.* See Verheijen (1967), 417; Verheijen (1979), 4–5, 40–55, 61–72. For an edition and English translation: Lawless (1987), 80–103.

60 *RL* 26, p. 68; *RI* 3, 12, pp. 93, 109. See also the rule of Ferreolus in *PL*, vol. 66, col. 961B.

61 Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16, p. 74; Cassian, *Conlationes* 18.5, vol. 3, p. 14. On the theme of the common property and voluntary poverty of the apostolic community described in Acts 4:32–35, Verheijen (1979), 23–28.

aptness of the verses from Acts in the endowments of monasteries, and, in this instance, both ideals had been spurned by the monks who had left the house and spent its property.⁶²

In affirming the apostolic ideal of communal property, the author of the charter of Theodenandus followed a tradition of Iberian donations and monastic pacts which invoked the cession of property to the apostles (Acts 4:34–37) as a model for the establishment of a cenobitic community. In fact, the earliest surviving donation to an Iberian monastery, the gift of Vincent the deacon to the Pyrenean monastery of Asán in 550/1, began with the scene from Acts.⁶³ Within the Galician factual tradition, the opening lines of the *Consensoria monachorum* cited Acts and the apostolic tradition to warn against claiming property as one's own, and references to the apostolic community justified the surrender of property in the pacts themselves.⁶⁴

The author of the charter of Theodenandus went further by weaving together three biblical references to censure the dissolute monks for squandering the foundation's property. First, he alluded to the actions of Ananias and Sapphira who were struck dead after they secretly withheld part of their

62 E.g., *Charta* 63 (Widegernus Stradburgensis [728]), in *PL*, vol. 88, col. 1281D–1282A, *ut quod a principe apostolorum in initio Ecclesiae institutum est, quia omnis multitudo credentium erat in unum, et nullus suum proprium dicebat aliquid esse, sed erat illis omnia communia et cor unum et anima una: unde institutio sancta ex hoc a sanctis patribus in postmodum ab horiente in hoccidente et in partibus Gallearum, monasteria multa sub regula sancta horum exemplo relegio clara promulgavit...*Cf. *Charta* 80 (Heddo Stradburgensis [748]), in *PL*, vol. 88, col. 1314C–D.

63 ...*quod credentium multitudo in exordio predicationis apostolice, presidiis suis uenditis, adimplentes precio omni adgregato apostolis deferebant arbitrio illorum prout cuique opus erat dispensandum quibus animas suas ob desiderium eterne uite obtulerant consecrandas* (Fortacin [1983], 59–62).

64 *Residentibus nobis in monasterio...omnibus placuit secundum apostolicam traditionem, unum sentire in Domino et communiter possidere...Et nemo quidem proprium sibi uindicet quidquam, sed fiat sicut scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, 'Habentes omnia communia', nemo quidquam esse suum dicebat* (*Consensoria monachorum*, in *PL*, vol. 32, col. 1447). Among pacts, see, for example, that of Santa Eulalia (856), *non sit qui inter fratres faciat querella, sed simus omnes unum in Christo. Certe et nos omnes amoniti per apostolicam uocem nos tibi trademus nos metipsos et omnes nostras portiones quis in quantum habuerit quod uitas docet et regula sancta* (*Colección...Celanova* 1, doc. 2, pp. 59–61); and a pact at the Cantabrian nunnery of Piasca (941), *secundum editum apostolorum et regula monasterii sicuti sancta precedentium patrum sanxit auctoritas qui homnia sua diuideuant et ante pedes apostolorum poneuant ad instar illorum uno in cenouio auitemus* (*Sahagún* 1, doc. 79, pp. 110–111).

property from the apostolic community (Acts 5:1–10). He was surely mindful of this dramatic incident when he described the wayward monks as cheating the Holy Spirit, *mencientes Spiritui Sancto*, an unmistakable echo of Peter's admonitions to Ananias: *Anania, cur temptavit Satanas cor tuum, mentiri te Spiritui sancto, et fraudare de pretio agri?...Non es mentitus hominibus, sed Deo* (Acts 5:3–4). Further on, he characterized the profligate monks as *mali mercennarii*, recalling the hireling whom John contrasted with the Good Shepherd (Jn 10:11–13). Finally, he concluded his account of the collapse of the foundation by warning of the ultimate consequences of the monks' immorality, *ad interitum et perditionem animarum suarum*. Part of the phrase, *interitum et perditionem*, echoes Paul's First Epistle to Timothy:

Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum: haut dubium quia nec auferre quid possumus: habentes autem alimenta, et quibus tegamur, his contenti simus. Nam qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in temptationem, et laqueum, et desideria multa inutilia et nociua, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas. (1 Tim 6:7–10)

These verses were a familiar staple of monastic literature where Paul's admonishments justified austere prescriptions for monastic diet and dress.⁶⁵ Paul's incisive condemnation of cupidity, however, made the choice of the well-known text a pointed reminder of the greed which had led the monks to dissipate the endowment of their church.⁶⁶

The monastic rules of seventh-century Galicia furnished the author of the charter of Theodenandus with the blueprint for his use of these scriptural passages. Both the rule of St. Fructuosus and the *Regula communis* had emphasized the ideal of common property, strongly condemning monks who sought to reclaim their property or retain possessions of any sort.⁶⁷ Like other monastic rules, they traced this ideal to the apostolic community, and, as its antithesis, they insistently put forward the example of Ananias and Sapphira.⁶⁸ The *Regula*

65 Joest (1994), 138. In the rule of Ferreolus, an extended citation of 1 Tim 6:8–14 occupies most of chapter 14 on vestments (*PL*, vol. 66, col. 964C–965A).

66 In the tract of Horsiesius, abbot of Tabennesi, the citation concludes chapter 27 which begins with the reference to the cession of property to the apostolic community of Acts: Orsiesius, *Doctrina* 27, in *PL*, vol. 103, col. 463D–464D.

67 *RF* 3, p. 143; *RC* 1, 4, 18, pp. 172–173, 178–179, 203–204.

68 *Peculiaritas aut in utensilibus aut in uestimentis aut in quibuslibet rebus uilissimis saltim et abiectis omni modo uitetur quia abominatio monachis est et infamium, quicquam*

communis had paralleled Ananias and Sapphira with the *mercennarii* in its diatribe against lax secular priests who established monasteries for their own profit:

Solent nonnulli presbiteri simulare sanctitatem et non pro uita aeterna hoc facere, sed more mercenariorum ecclesiae deseruire et sub praetextu sanctitatis diuitiarum emolumenta sectare; et non Christi amore prouocati, sed a populo uulgo incitati dum formidant suas pro decimas aut cetera lucra relinquere conantur quasi monasteria aedificare, et non more apostolorum hoc faciunt; sed ad instar Ananiae et Saphyrae.⁶⁹

In addition, the opening chapter had sharply attacked the proliferation of family monasteries for their lack of rigor, warning twice that these would lead only to the perdition of souls (*perditionem animarum*), the phrase with which the author of the charter of Theodenandus closed his quotation of 1 Timothy.⁷⁰

The charter's reliance on the monastic traditions of Galicia and the references to Ananias and Sapphira and the hiring of John's Gospel help to relate the unusual paraphrasing of 1 Peter 3:18 to the author's affirmation of the apostolic ideal as well. To evoke the struggle of flesh and spirit, this oblique allusion to a scriptural work which elicited few commentaries seems an odd choice in the face of more commonly cited Pauline verses on the theme. Important local texts, however, gave Peter's First Epistle prominence. At the Second Council of Braga in 572, Bishop Martin referred to its fifth chapter and had it read aloud to the assembly, saying that Peter had evidently written its precepts as a rule for priests:

"...et primum, si placet, relectis beati Petri apostoli praeceptis, quae pro regula sacerdotum in sua epistola euidenter scribit, quidquid non eodem tenore sicut princeps apostolorum edocuit agi uidetur a nobis sine ulla cunctatione ad emendationem ducere festinemus." ...Omnes episcopi

possidere superfluum, et aut reseruare proprium uel occultum, quod non longe ab Ananiae et Safirae exemplo segregantur (RF 6, p. 147; cf., RF 11, pp. 150–151); ...qui omnia dixit, nihil de propria facultate reseruari mandauit; et non cuilibet, sed cuncta Christi pauperibus erogauit... Quodsi horum quod supra diximus more pietatis uel unum nummum alicui male abrenuntians reliquit, statim eum foras pelli mandamus; quia non eum in apostolorum numero, sed Ananiae et Saphyrae sequacem uidemus (RC 4, p. 179). The prominence of Ananias and Sapphira in Iberian rules likely stems from Cassian's condemnation of them (*Conlationes* 18.7, vol. 3, pp. 18–20) as prototypes of the sarabaites, the third—and degenerate—type in his classification of monks.

69 RC 2, p. 175.

70 RC 1, pp. 172–173.

dixerunt: “Cupimus apostoli Petri epistolam ad locum, ubi sacerdotes docet, audire.”

Tunc adlato libro haec ex eadem epistola recitata sunt: “Seniores obsecro consenior: pascite qui est in vobis gregem Dei providentes non coacti sed spontanee secundum Deum, neque turpis lucri gratia, sed voluntarie, neque ut dominantes in cleris sed formae facti gregi ex animo, et quum apparuerit princeps pastorum recipiatis inmarcescibilem gloriae coronam.” His relectis omnes episcopi dixerunt: “Cognitis his quae ex epistola beati Petri apostoli recitata sunt, desideramus auxiliante Dei gratia divinis obedire praeceptis et apostolica epistola, quae nobis recitata est in his omnibus formulam imitari...”⁷¹

Of course, as metropolitan bishop of Braga, Martin addressed the secular clergy, and Peter’s warnings against seeking profit or lording over the clergy found expression in the promulgation of canons to regulate the bishops’ treatment of parish clergy, to restrict the acceptance of offerings for pastoral visits, and to prohibit the exaction of fees for the ordination of clergy, the distribution of chrism, the consecration of churches, and the baptism of children.⁷² Martin, however, also served as monastic bishop of Dumium, and the same verses were cited in the final chapter, *Quae sit observantia spiritualis disciplinae*, of a short version of the translation of *Apophthegmata patrum* (*Sayings of the Fathers*) by his disciple Paschasius of Dumium:

Petrus apostolus, in epistola sua, monet pastores: “Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei, providentes, non coacte, sed voluntarie secundum Deum; nec turpis lucri gratia, sed forma estote gregis; et cum apparuerit princeps pastorum, percipietis inmarcescibilem gloriae coronam.” Ita facito prius quod praecipis, ut non tantum illis praecepta, sed formulam praebeas, ut tua imitentur exempla. Ne sis mercenarius, sed pastor ovium, quia Salvator noster beatum dixit, “quem constituit super familiam suam, ut det illis cibum in tempore.”⁷³

71 *Concilios visigóticos*, pp. 79–80.

72 *Concilios visigóticos*, pp. 81–84, (2 Braga 2–7). 1 Pet 5:3 was quoted again in canon 2, and, at the Tenth Council of Toledo (656), the verses formed part of a warning to bishops who entrusted parishes and monasteries to family members or friends, a practice leading to the alienation of church properties: *ibid.*, p. 310 (X Toledo 3).

73 Paschasius’s translation circulated in a long and short version and Martin of Braga produced a short translation. Paschasius’s short translation was published as book 7 of Rosweyde (1615), and reprinted by Migne: Paschasius Diaconus, *De vitis patrum*, in *PL*,

The placement of the reference in the final section, immediately after a chapter (42) on the cenobitic life, underscores the role of the epistle as a guide for monks.⁷⁴

Peter's dual role as first bishop of Rome and head of the apostolic community of Jerusalem, the model for the cenobitic life, recommended the injunctions of his epistle to both the secular and regular clergy. This enhanced its appeal in early medieval Galicia, characterized by the interpenetration of the secular and monastic church and the emergence of hybrid institutions like the *episcopus sub regula*.⁷⁵ What is more, the looming menace of the Arian Visigoths and the close ties of sixth-century Braga to Rome and the 'Celtic' and Frankish churches likely magnified the apostle's importance.⁷⁶ By citing the

vol. 73, col. 1025A–1062C. With minor corrections, it has been translated into English: Paschasius, *Questions and Answers...* For a critical edition of the long version: Freire (1971), vol. 1, pp. 157–333; for an English translation: Barlow (1972–1973); for the translation of Martin of Braga: Barlow (1950), 11–51; (1969), 5–7, 17–34.

Paschasius's short translation needs a critical edition, but the relationships between the two versions and the manuscripts used by Rosweyde (a Carolingian manuscript written in 819, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 8216–18, and a lost manuscript at Toledo of which a 16th-century copy remains, Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 27–24) are discussed in Barlow (1950), 14–18, 20–26; Freire (1967), 298–304; (1971), vol. 1, pp. 10, 25–27, 41–53; vol. 2, pp. 105–117, 255–257, 274–282, 324–346, 390–398. The earliest manuscript (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, theol. fol. 303) of the short version is of the late 8th or early 9th century, and Freire (1971), vol. 2, pp. 105–106, 111, has proposed that this abbreviated version, enriched with biblical quotations, was composed in northern Europe in the late 8th century. It is possible, though, that Paschasius's short translation, like the one by Martin of Braga, was prepared in Iberia for practical use as a guide for monks, cf. Barlow (1950), 12–13. On the popularity of this work in early medieval Iberia: Díaz y Díaz (1983), 195–197.

74 Paschasius, *De uitis patrum*, in *PL*, vol. 73, col. 1057–59; Barlow (1969), 162–167. Chapter 44, the concluding chapter in these editions, does not belong to Paschasius's work: Freire (1971), vol. 1, pp. 28–30. The chapter on the cenobitic life would have had special poignance for exiles from Muslim Spain, with its opening reference to the destruction of the monasteries of Scetis (*Cum aliquando gens Mazicorum in Scythi superueniens, multos ex patribus occidisset...*) and the flight of seven monks.

75 On the *episcopus sub regula*: Bishko (1967), 63–64; (1984b), 17–20; Orlandis (1971c), 102–112.

76 For the correspondence between Bishop Profuturus of Braga and Pope Vigilius: David (1947b); Bragança (1967). For Bishop Martin's links with the Merovingian and Roman churches: Branco (1999), 77–85. For 'Celtic' influences in the Galician church: Ferreiro (1991), 1–4. On the dedication of churches to St. Peter in Galicia: David (1947c), 228, 241–242. On the links between Peter, the episcopate, and the Roman primacy in 'Celtic' Britain and Ireland: Nichols (1991), 477, 485–486. On the cult of Peter in Merovingian Gaul and its use against the Arians: Ewig (1960).

Petrine epistle, the author of the charter of Theodenandus was calling to mind an apostolic work of importance in the formative years of both the secular and regular church of Galicia, whose close union was implicit in his own invocation of “the way and custom of all monks and clerics of monasteries and parochial churches (*mos et consuetudo est omnium monachorum ac clericorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum parrochialium*).”

Peter was a particularly felicitous figure for the author to cite in his reproof of monks who scorned the apostolic ideal of communal property by squandering the possessions of their community. After all, Peter had been the protagonist of the confrontation with Ananias and Sapphira to whom the corrupt monks were implicitly compared. Paschasius of Dumium had related the antithesis of the *mercenarius* and Good Shepherd to Peter's references, in his First Epistle, to the *gregem Dei* and *princeps pastorum* and his warnings against the pursuit of filthy profit, *turpis lucri*. This monastic text reinforces the opposition, in the charter of Theodenandus, of Peter's teaching (*beatus docet apostolus*) and the actions of the monks as *mali mercennarii*, for Peter, by Jesus's designation (Jn 21:15–17) and by his own exhortation to the clergy (1 Peter 5:1–4), was likened to the Shepherd. In this context, the unusual use of Peter's epistle effectively champions the apostolic ideals which the degenerate monks had trampled upon.

The ideal of communal property was not the only point that commentators stressed when they traced the origins of monasticism to the apostles, for the community of Acts 4:32 offered the foundation for the cenobitic life as well. This, too, was an issue in the restoration of Theodenandus's monastery. Like the dispersal of their endowment, the monks' failure to live together (*dissoluti atque per diuersa uagantes pergunt ut circiliones in locis aliis*) had contributed to the collapse of the monastery. The condemnation of wandering monks became a commonplace of monastic writers, due, in good measure, to the notoriety that Benedict afforded them in the opening chapter of his rule. In his fourfold classification of monks, he followed the example of the *Regula magistri* and added the wandering monks (*gyrouagi*) to the threefold classification of Jerome and the more extensive discussion by Cassian.⁷⁷ In his commentary

77 *Quartum uero genus est monachorum, quod nominatur gyrouagum, qui tota uita sua per diuersas prouintias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diuersorum cellas hospitantur semper uagi et numquam stabiles et propriis uoluntatibus et guilae inlecebris seruientes et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis...*(Benedict, *Regula* 1.10–11, p. 20; *La règle du maître* 1.13–14, 7.23–27, pp. 332, 386). For Jerome's classification: *Ep. 22 (Ad Eustochium, Paulae filiam)*, in *PL*, vol. 22, col. 419–20. Cassian began with Jerome's three categories, but added a fourth, unnamed type of more recent appearance: *Conlationes* 18.4–8, vol. 3, pp. 12–22.

on the Benedictine rule, however, Smaragdus recognized that the *gyrouagi* had been known by another name, *circilliones*, and he paraphrased descriptions of them by Augustine and Isidore of Seville:

Ergo gyrouagus dicendus est ille qui uagus atque uagando aliorum cellas pariterque circuit casas. Ipsi et alio nomine circilliones uocantur, “qui sub habitu monachorum hac illacque uagantur, uenalem circumferentes hypocrisin, circumeuntes prouincias, nusquam missi, nusquam fixi, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes.”⁷⁸

While the success of Benedictine monasticism would ensure that the *gyrouagi* would eventually obscure the *circilliones* in discussions of monastic stability, a rich tradition stemming from Augustine reveals the sources for the citation of the *circilliones* in the charter of Theodenandus.

In *De opere monachorum*, Augustine had warned against those who wandered from place to place in the guise of monks, discrediting the holy profession:

(hostis) qui...tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes prouincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes.⁷⁹

Augustine’s description was similar to that which he commonly applied in his diatribes against the *circumcelliones*, a broad group which included Donatist clerics, other heretics, and the false martyrs who killed themselves.⁸⁰ For later writers removed from the historical setting of Augustine’s work, the identification of the *circumcelliones* and the wandering monks gained strength.⁸¹ Isidore of Seville, for example, numbered the *circumcelliones* among the scores of heresies he listed—briefly paraphrasing Augustine—in the *Etymologies*, but his sixfold classification of monks in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*

78 Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam S. Benedicti* 1.10–11, p. 60.

79 Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 28.36, pp. 585–586. Church councils also condemned wandering clergy, and the language of canon 53 (*Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 209) of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) is similar to that of the charter of Theodenandus: *hii qui per diuersa loca uagi feruntur*.

80 There are references to the *circumcelliones* throughout his work: Augustine, *De haeresibus* 69.2–3, p. 332. For the ample scholarship on the original *circumcelliones* in Africa, and the controversies surrounding their religious or social roots: Frend (1969), Atkinson (1992), Caner (2002), 230–233; Gaddis (2005), 105–107.

81 Steinhäuser (1987), 175–177.

gave greater prominence to the characterization of the *circumcelliones* as wandering monks:

Quintum genus est circumcellionum, qui suo habitu monachorum usquequaque uagantur, uenalem circumferentes hypocrisin, circum-euntes prouincias.⁸²

This view of the *circumcelliones* as wandering monks led commentators on Psalm 132 to oppose them directly to the apostolic community of Acts 4:32, and this exegetical tradition informed the allusion in the charter of Theodenandus. The opening line of the psalm, *Ecce quam bonum et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum*, elicited reflection on the cenobitic life. Augustine began his exposition with the description of the apostolic community, before railing against the false monks whom he termed *circelliones* and *circumcelliones*.⁸³ Following Augustine's massive commentaries, Cassiodorus produced a shorter work, designed for monastic readers.⁸⁴ Here, he tightly linked the opening verse of Psalm 132 with Acts 4:32–35, specifically contrasting this ideal of the cenobitic life with the wanderings of the *circumcelliones* from one monastery to another:

Tali enim dicto prohibet circumcelliones, qui diuersa monasterio uoluntate mutabili peruagantur. Dicendo autem, "fratres in unum," significat eos qui fidei societate sub uno patre sunt constituti, quibus est (sicut in Actibus apostolorum legitur) "cor unum et anima una."⁸⁵

Isidore's works and, perhaps, the commentaries of Cassiodorus were widely available in the early medieval Asturian and Leonese kingdoms.⁸⁶ Isidore's definition of the *circumcelliones* in the *Etymologies*, his categorization of the false monks, and Cassiodorus's exegesis of Psalm 132 likely inspired Beatus of Liébana, in the prologue to his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, to pair the verses from Acts with a description of the *circilliones* in his characterization of the *superstitiosi*, one of four types of *pseudoprophetae* in his exposition of Revelation 16:13:

82 Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.5, in *PL*, vol. 82, col. 302C–303A; *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16, p. 76. His description continues with a paraphrase of Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 28.

83 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 132, 3–4, p. 1928.

84 O'Donnell (1979), pp. 137–141, 172–176, 243–244.

85 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 132, vers. 1, vol. 2, p. 1206 (*Explanation of the Psalms* 132.1, vol. 3, pp. 333–334).

86 Díaz y Díaz (1983), 198–199, 204–205; García Álvarez (1965), 325–326.

Alius est superstitiosus. Superstitio dicta eo quod sit superflua aut super-instituta religionis obseruatio. Et ista non uiuit aequaliter ut ceteri fratres; sed quasi amore martirum semetipsos perimunt, ut uiolenter de hac uita discedentes martyres nominentur. Hi graeco uocabulo cotopitae dicuntur, quos nos Latine circilliones dicimus, eo quod agrestes sint. Circumeunt prouincias, quia non sinunt se uno in loco cum fratribus uno esse consilio et unam uitam habere communem, ut anima una et corde uno uiuant apostolico more, sed, ut diximus, diuersas terras circuire et sanctorum sepulcra peruidere, quasi pro salute animae suae; sed nihil ei proderit, quia hoc sine consilio commune fratrum facit.⁸⁷

Thus, when the author of the charter of Theodenandus contrasted the *circilliones* with the apostolic community to condemn the monks' errant ways, he tapped a rich tradition of reflection on the cenobitic life and monastic stability that had taken root in northwestern Iberia.

The *Narratio* and the Restoration of the Church of Calvor

The *narratio* of the charter of Theodenandus laid out a well-crafted statement about the monastic life based on scriptural quotation, exegesis, and the traditions of the monastic church of Galicia. Stressing the links between the monastic life and the apostolic community, the author relied on the exegesis of Acts 4:32–35 in his affirmation of the ideals of communal property and a stable cenobitic life, and he attributed the failure of the earlier foundation to the abandonment of those ideals. Though grounded in traditional texts, this was more than a formulaic tale of monastic decadence, for the provisions of the charter itself, the events at other Galician monasteries, and the earlier history of Theodenandus's church lend credibility to the account.

By supplying a generous endowment, restoring the church, and replacing its charter, Theodenandus aimed specifically to guarantee a pool of communal property and sustain the cenobitic life of a disciplined community. To forestall claims on the endowment by members of his family, Theodenandus sought their recognition of the foundation's rights in the *uilla*:

87 Beatus, *Commentarius*, vol. 1, pp. 51–52. For the monastic character of this original passage in Beatus's prologue: Steinhäuser (1987), 168–169, 175–178. By contrast, Caner (2002), 230—following Hahn (1900)—considers this passage as taken directly from Tyconius.

Item nos heredes prefati Theodenandi qui subterius confirmantes signa facturi sumus per genus et prosapie nostra, offerimus atque donamus uobis patronibus nostris, et cultoribus aule uestre, una cum sepedictum Theodenandum in prefatam uillam nostram per omnes suos terminos, exitum et reditum, tam in pascuis quam in aquis, seu etiam quam pro ligna colligendum in siluis, cum omni uoce pro sequutionis nostre.⁸⁸

To ensure stability in the cenobitic life, he had a cloister constructed along the right side of the church (*claustram quam edextro baselice latere cenobiali iure construxi*). The unusual reference to cenobitic law underscores his purpose, and may allude to the description in Isidore's rule where the monks' cells are located alongside the church, *cellulae fratribus iuxta ecclesiam constituantur*.⁸⁹ Finally, the charter replaced the lost documents of the monastery and was meant to safeguard the integrity of its property and to remind the monks of the apostolic ideal which their predecessors had forsaken.

The schemes of monks and family members to recover their property were the bane of early medieval monasteries in Galicia, and the issue clamored for attention in its seventh-century monastic rules. In many respects, Charles J. Bishko's rehearsal of the troubles afflicting Galician monasteries in the late seventh century could as easily explain the context of the charter of Theodenandus.⁹⁰ Describing the consequences of "radical experimentation in the organization and government of the monastic community," he observed that:

It entailed also a marked rise of chronic internal controversy among the now more or less equalitarian monks, weakening of the monastic ideal of *stabilitas*, and frequent withdrawals from monasteries by dissatisfied monks (*Reg. Mon. Com.*, cc. i, ii, xviii and xx, and the *pactum*). Furthermore, although perhaps due as much to contemporary property concepts as to internal weakness, all these Galician houses suffered from violent attacks

88 *TS*/33, corrected from f. 15v. There are no names of family members in the cartulary, so Theodenandus may have failed to win their cooperation.

89 *RI* 1, p. 91. For early usage of *claustrum* and *coenobium* in Iberia: Puertas (1975), 102–104. The term *coenobium* is more common in early Iberian rules than in any others, and in an inscription of 919 it described Fructuosus's 7th-century foundation at Compludo: Clément (1978), vol. 1, p. 170; Pérez González (1998), 162–164, 169–171. For arrangements of monastic cells in early medieval monasteries and specifications in early rules: Horn (1973), 15–16, 19–21, 36; Bonnerue (1995). Neither lists any statutes as precise as the charter suggests.

90 Bishko (1948), 392–393. For his citations: *RC* 1–2, 18, 20, pp. 172–177, 203–204, 207–211. See also Díaz Martínez (1987), 34–39.

by kinsfolk of disgruntled monks, often resulting in a monastery's destruction and the loss of its temporal.

To a certain extent, the charter's debt to the seventh-century rules colored its narrative of the earlier collapse of the foundation. Nonetheless, throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, documents from surrounding churches and monasteries complete the picture of a countryside dotted with small family foundations whose loose discipline and precarious endowments doomed them to an ephemeral existence or recurrent cycles of decadence and reform. Samos, itself, underwent multiple restorations in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Nearby, the men of Estraxiz complained in 930 that corrupt and adulterous priests had squandered the possessions of the church, leaving the villagers without priests or instruction.⁹¹ In 927, King Alfonso IV and his brother, Sancho Ordóñez, presided over a council of bishops and abbots that ratified the restoration of the monastery of Santa María de Loio. Though its founder and first abbot had mandated the expulsion of monks who would alienate the community's property, his successor, Saul, had married, passed the monastery to his children and, in the words of the charter of restoration, turned it into a brothel.⁹² In 1011, Abbess Fernanda of Piñeira told a poignant tale of how she was deserted after the collapse and abandonment of her family monastery.⁹³ As late as 1087, the cartulary of Celanova offers an example of a noblewoman who granted the abbey a share of a family monastery and anticipated that her heirs might choose to divide up the remaining endowment and extinguish monastic life there.⁹⁴ Of course, such texts narrate the collapse of only the handful of communities that were successfully restored; for many more, failure obliterated the very record of their existence.

While the dispersal of the endowment remained a chronic problem for the family monasteries of early medieval Galicia, the emphasis on stability and the

91 *...per presbiteros negligentes, distirpatores atque prodigos, non solum fuit destructa res sancte ecclesie, uerum etiam adulterium ibidem perpetrabant. Nos...uidentes eam destructam...non quippe habentes consolationem de sacerdote, nec doctorem qui nos docuisset* (TS/170, corrected from f. 67r).

92 *Colección...Celanova* 1, doc. 29, pp. 94–97.

93 *Et ego Fernanda, abbatissa, sola in ipso loco in deserto per sua facinora, et de multis diuitiis deueni ad paupertatem et uidi dies amaros et multam tribulationem* (TS/76, f. 36r).

94 *De monasterio...uocabulo sancta Tecla iiii integra concedimus per hunc modum ut si cum heredes meos diuidere uoluerint et exinde seruitium et hordinem monasticum abstulerint, ipsam iiii meam rationem integram post partem monasterii ubi corpus meum sepulturam traitur deserueriat* (Tombo...Celanova, vol. 2 doc. 97, pp. 156–157).

construction of a cloister may have responded to circumstances that were more specific to Theodenandus's church. García Álvarez plausibly matched this church with that of the *uilla Caluaria* described in the earliest document of the cartulary of Samos, a charter of 785, and he identified both with the modern parish of Santo Estevo de Calvor.⁹⁵ That charter tells how the priest Adilani sought to establish a church under the authority of Samos. The monastery sent him several brothers, and they built the church which he endowed with *uillae*, inherited from his father, and seven churches. He pledged to live at the church, add to its patrimony, and bequeath it to the abbey after his death.

The monastery of Samos had sent several monks to the new site, and Adilani bestowed seven churches (*VIIIm. ecclesias*) on his establishment.⁹⁶ Today, four parish churches and three chapels frequently named in documents of Samos stand within just two kilometers of Calvor.⁹⁷ Obviously, it is impossible to identify them with the seven referred to in the eighth-century text, but this remarkable density of churches does make it plausible that Calvor was once the center of a cluster of seven nearby churches. In fact, the eighth-century charter counted St. John the Baptist among the titulars of the church, a sign of its possible function as a baptismal church for the small district.⁹⁸ In this context, the choice of the term *sacerdotes*, the later reference to parochial churches in the charter of Theodenandus, and Theodenandus's own title of archpriest hint at a parochial role for Adilani's foundation that had, in itself, undermined the communal life there.

Clusters of churches were common enough in the early medieval monasteries of Galicia to indicate a liturgical purpose or programmatic intent beyond the dictates of a dense pattern of settlement.⁹⁹ Elsewhere in Galicia, the

95 *TS/137*, f. 58r. García Álvarez (1965), 13, based his identification on the primary dedication of both churches to St. Stephen, the references to Adilani, the location near the Sarria River, and the other sites named in the endowment of 785. A *uilla Adilani* is last mentioned in the testament (c. 1060) of Abbot Diego of Samos, *alia uilla in ripa riuolo Sarambello, qui est subtus uilla Adilani et Froilanes* (*TS/15*, corrected from f. 7v), and Frolláis is three kilometers southwest of Calvor. The rare survival of a pair of limestone capitals of Visigothic type, one at Calvor, the other in the neighboring church of Seteventos, helps corroborate this account of an early foundation: Yzquierdo (1995), 72–73; Noack-Haley (1991), p. 34, pl. 59de.

96 *TS/137*, corrected from f. 58r.

97 For these churches: D'Emilio (1997), 74–76.

98 The *arroyo de Portocelo* joins the Sarria River below Calvor. Could the name 'Portocelo' be a reminiscence of a place of outdoor baptism? For outdoor baptism in Anglo-Saxon England: Morris (1991), 15–20; Foot (1992), 180–183.

99 For such clusters of churches: D'Emilio (1997), 72–73.

placenames Setegrexas and Setecoros record other clusters of seven churches.¹⁰⁰ The parish of Santa Eufemia de Setegrexas (Monterroso) occupies barely 145 hectares, and the surrounding territory retains a network of small parishes even denser than that near Calvor.¹⁰¹ Six parish churches are within two kilometers of its church, and, by the early eleventh century, the district was known as the *territorio septem ecclesiarum*.¹⁰² A Roman road may have crossed the parish, and the nearby churches bear a variety of dedications, some of them markedly archaic: Santa Eufemia, San Cibrao, and Santo André.¹⁰³ For its part, San Salvador de Setecoros stands near the ancient diocesan seats of Iria Flavia and Caldas de Reis (Celenis), and the church has yielded important architectural sculpture from the late antique and Visigothic periods, closely related to a capital from San Xoán de Vilaronte, a site near San Martiño de Mondoñedo, a center of the ‘Celtic’ diocese of Britonia.¹⁰⁴ These artistic ties with a distant diocesan seat evince an importance commensurate with a site whose name suggests a congregation of seven churches.

In these instances, the choice of the number seven calls to mind the organization of the church in the apostolic age: the apostles appointed seven deacons; Paul directed epistles to seven Christian communities; John’s revelation was written for the seven churches of Asia. Early Spanish writers from the fourth-century bishop Gregory of Elvira to Isidore of Seville reflected on such examples and thoroughly explored the number’s symbolic meaning. For Gregory, the seven family members of Noah prefigured the seven churches that would rule with Christ on a new earth after the conflagration of the Last Judgment.¹⁰⁵

100 For the use of *chorus* in 7th- and 9th-century texts to describe a choir of clerics or the part of the church in which the choir stood: Puertas (1975), 100–102; Godoy, 55–65.

101 Miralbes et al. (1979), 35, 41–43, 48–49. It is also spelled as Satrexas.

102 Miralbes et al. (1979), 43. Seven more churches are added if the radius is extended to three kilometers. *Tumbo A...Santiago*, doc. 63 (1022), pp. 151–152.

103 The placename of San Salvador de Sambreixo suggests an earlier dedication to San Breixo (St. Verisimus). An early 3rd-century Roman milestone was reportedly found in the parish of Setegrexas: *Inscriptions romaines*, 108–109.

104 For the identification of Celenis: Mansilla (1994), 152–153; for the sculpture from Setecoros: Núñez (1978), 80, 83. Yzquierdo (1995), 55–56, discovered and published the connections between the capitals of Setecoros and Vilaronte.

105 *Septem autem animae, quae Noe sancto et iusto donantur, septem ecclesiarum typum habuisse noscuntur, quae per Christum excidium iudicialis incendii sunt euasurae et in noua terra cum Christo sunt regnaturae. Sed fortassis aliquem moueat, cur septem dicuntur ecclesiae, cum una sit in uniuerso orbe diffusa. Septem itaque ecclesiae propter septenarium spiritum, cum sit una, pluraliter nominantur* (Gregory of Elvira, *De arca Noe*, in *Opera*, pp. 149–150); Isidore, *Liber numerorum*, in *PL*, vol. 83, col. 186–88.

In the Asturian kingdom, Gregory's exposition of the seven churches earned his treatise, *De arca Noe*, a place in Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, and the number seven gained prominence in several foundation legends.¹⁰⁶ An eighth-century legend tells how seven followers of the apostles founded episcopal sees in Iberia.¹⁰⁷ In Galicia, the foundation of Lugo and seven Iberian cities was credited to Septemsiderus and his seven sons, and the eighth-century *presurae* of Bishop Odoario of Lugo and of the restorers of Samos, Argerico and Sarra, numbered seven.¹⁰⁸ Numerological speculation has its risks, but these examples suggest that the initial endowment of Calvor with seven churches aimed to recall the practices of the apostolic church with a purposeful gesture, rendered more meaningful in the wake of the Muslim occupation, the exiles' flight to the north, and the restoration of ecclesiastical life there.¹⁰⁹ A century later, the emphasis on stability and the cenobitic life in the charter of Theodenandus would have responded to the collapse of the looser organization of a monastic congregation charged with parochial responsibilities over the surrounding churches.

Any such reconstruction of the earlier history of the monastery of Calvor as the center of a cluster of churches must remain conjectural, based upon shreds of comparative evidence from other sites. One specific event, however, stands out in the *narratio* of the charter of Theodenandus and is intimately connected with the creation of the charter itself: the loss of the foundational charter and the consequent relaxing of monastic discipline. The importance of the new charter is reflected in the description of its authorization by the royal court after Theodenandus had recounted the history of the monastery. In a remarkable conceit, the embedded narrative ends, and the making of the charter itself

106 Beatus, *Commentarius* 2 (the commentary closes book 2), vol. 1, pp. 421–435; Romero Pose (1979).

107 For the seven followers of the apostles, *los varones apostólicos*: Vives (1948), 43–45; García Rodríguez (1966), 347–351. For the link in the so-called *Epistola Leonis* between the *varones apostólicos* and the seven disciples of St. James: López Alsina (1988), 121–127. See also the articles of Williams and Deswarte in this volume.

108 On Septemsiderus and Lugo: Gil (1971), 165–170, 179–181; Díaz y Díaz (1972–74), 256, 258–263; Linehan (1993), 99–100. For the seven *presuras* of Odoario: Vázquez de Parga (1950), 639–641, 663–665; D'Emilio (2005), 48–49, 56–69. For Samos: López Alsina (1993), 163–170.

109 Clusters of seven churches and groups of seven missionaries or bishops appear in the early monastic settlements of the British Isles: *Irish Litanies*, pp. 67–75, 115, 119–120; Morris (1989), 68; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.2, pp. 105–107. One might note, as well, the legacy of earlier pagan naming practices in Galicia where two parishes in the diocese of Lugo—one bordering Calvor—are named Seteventos, *septem uentos*.

is described: *preuiderunt et ordinauerunt mihi pictacium hunc testamenti dotis simulque donationis facere*.¹¹⁰ The unusual word *pictacium* emphasizes the material charter and responds directly to the loss of the earlier charter.¹¹¹ In fact, the cartulary copy preserves some hint that the appearance of the original vied with its splendid rhetoric, for the scribe penned an unusual number of majuscule forms, a flourish he reserved for a handful of documents of particular solemnity.¹¹²

The charter of Ordoño II offers a clue to the significance of the loss of the document. In his adaptation of the *narratio* of the charter of Theodenandus, the author embellished the story by accusing the former monks of Samos of stealing the documents of their own community. The rambling repetition of clauses betrays his awkward interpolation of the earlier text:

...iterum uero fratres, qui usque nunc conmorantes fuerunt, ac si pertranseuntes ob quod omnes ipsos testamentos, pactos uel dotes monasterii eglesie eiusdem, non inuenerunt, eo quod, ut arbitramus deperierunt, aut illi eos furaberunt, illi uero quidem de tempore Ofilonis usque nunc, qui ibi conmorantes fuerunt...¹¹³

110 *TS/33*, corrected from f. 15r. Lucas Álvarez capitalized *Pictacium*, indexed *Pictacius* (*Tumbo...Samos*, p. 542) as the document's scribe, and, apparently, interpreted the phrase as an order to a scribe named *Pictacius* to make a testament.

111 The word originally referred to a label or scrap of parchment, and its currency is suggested by the derivation of the terms *pedazo* and *petazo* for small pieces of land: Lange (1966), 152. In the acts of the First Council of Carthage, agreements between bishops were termed *pittacia* (*Africae concilia*, in *PL*, vol. 84, col. 183–84) and the term was used for a papal bull in a letter of the 9th-century pope Hadrian II (Blaise [1975], 691). In León, it appears in the sanction of a donation of 983 to the monastery of Sahagún (*contra hac nostrum factum, pictacium, testamentum et seriem testamenti adque cartula profiliacionis*) and in the dating clause of a charter of 989 (*Factus pictacius scripture...*): *Sahagún* 1, doc. 316, 342, pp. 380, 415. In the early 13th century, Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada used it in the prologue of his history (*DRH*, prol., lines 71–72, p. 7) to refer to the old parchments and codices he had searched through in assembling material: *...et aliis scripturis, quas de membranis et pitaciis laboriose inuestigatas laboriosius compilauit*. The context suggests an anti-querian flavor, perhaps preserving the memory of earlier Iberian usage.

112 Copying the abbey's sole papal privilege (*TS/53*, ff. 22v–23v), the scribe reproduced the enlarged letters of his model (*AHN Clero*, carp. 1240, no. 15) with majuscule forms, and another charter with a liberal use of such forms was also a solemn privilege, the 11th-century endowment of Santo Antolín by Abbot Diego (*TS/7*, ff. 3r–4v).

113 *Tumbo...Samos*, doc. S-2, p. 445; my transcription adopts some readings from Sarmiento's transcription in *BN*, ms. 9892, ff. 1–5.

This account, though, does add a revealing detail, for it includes *factos* among the documents allegedly stolen from the monastery. Bishko regarded this as evidence for the practice, at Samos, of Galician factual monasticism, the peculiar regime marked by the bilateral pact, binding members of the community collectively to their abbot and imposing mutual obligations.¹¹⁴ For his part, José Orlandis placed Samos in the orbit of the factual monasteries by relating the account to two ninth-century pacts which severely punished the unauthorized removal of the rule or other texts from the monastery.¹¹⁵

Of course, the mere mention of *factos* is not sufficient evidence for the fully-fledged system that Bishko so ably delineated. As Bishko himself conceded, the term was also used to “designate the normal individual profession of orthodox monastic usage.”¹¹⁶ The charter of Theodenandus, however, does present language that more precisely denotes a collective agreement. Although it did not specify *facti* among the lost documents of the monastery, it did condemn the monks’ failure to make a pact among themselves as one measure of the decadence of the house: *nec pactum inter se faciunt, sicut mos et consuetudo est omnium monachorum ac clericorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum parochialium*. Neither Bishko nor Orlandis cited this text, but its clearer affirmation of a tradition of factual monasticism would explain the seriousness of the loss of documents and, equally, the splendor of the *pactacium* that Theodenandus was bringing back from the court of Alfonso III.

It is tempting to imagine that the charter of Theodenandus was meant to introduce a collection of pacts at his newly restored house.¹¹⁷ If so, its flowery preamble would have encouraged thoughtful meditation on the affirmation of cenobitic ideals in its *narratio*, heightening the solemnity of the individual’s profession and the collective renewal of the monastic pact at the elevation of a new abbot. In fact, in one manuscript, the *pacto* described in the *Regula*

114 Bishko (1984b), 35; (1984c), 153. On Galician factual monasticism: Herwegen (1907); Freire Camaniel (1998), vol. 1, pp. 279–311.

115 Orlandis (1971c), 114–115, also cited an account of the theft of pacts in a document describing the restoration of the monastery of Santa Leocadia de Castañeda in 916.

116 Bishko (1984b), 8–9, 12. The diverse meanings of the term are discussed extensively in Freire Camaniel (1998), vol. 1, pp. 320–321, 455–470.

117 Bishko (1984b), 34, posited such a “*libellus pactionis* containing the *pacta abbatialia*...and the foundational *pactum monachorum*” for the nearby house of San Martiño de Rosende based on the text of the *pactum* of Abbot Visclafredo (904) to which signatures were added throughout the 10th century; Freire Camaniel (1998), vol. 1, pp. 391–393, 431. The text—from the archive of Samos—was discussed and published in García Álvarez (1965), 14–15, 30–36.

communis was called a *pittacio*.¹¹⁸ This section describes the profession of a new monk after a year of trial, and, with *pittacio* restored, it reads:

...postmodum exuatur saecularibus uestibus, et induatur monasterii religionis simplicibus, et adnotetur in pittacio, cum fratribus, et uiuat inter monachos probatus et ipse monachus.

The Authenticity of the Charter of Theodenandus

Together, the exhortations of the *narratio* and the provisions of the charter of Theodenandus offer a glimpse of the tenacity of earlier patterns of monastic life in the two centuries following the Muslim invasion, and they highlight the continuing struggle of modest local foundations to protect monastic property and maintain stable communities. While its polished rhetoric cautions against too literal a reading of an account steeped in allusions to scriptural, patristic, and monastic texts, there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of the charter. The endowment, though itemized exhaustively, is nothing more than that of a well-provisioned grange and decently furnished church. The fundamental historical fact of the *narratio*—the establishment of the church in the time of Prince Fruela—finds some corroboration in a minor eighth-century document, lodged fortuitously in an inconspicuous place in the cartulary of Samos. Its sketch of the collapse of the house conforms with the crises that beset Galician monasticism in the tenth century. It would have had less relevance in later years as houses like Samos grew to dominate and centralize the monastic life of the Galician countryside. The language of the *narratio* would likewise militate against arguments for a much later composition, for it is imbued with the patristic learning and Iberian heritage of a local monastic culture, soon to wane.¹¹⁹

118 The variant is cited in the editor's notes to the *Concordia regularum* of Benedict of Aniane (*PL*, vol. 103, col. 1281C, note d). The passage corresponds with *RC* 18, p. 204. The sanction in a 12th-century copy of a donation of 964 by Queen Goto to the Galician monastery of Pombeiro exhibits a later scribe's misreading of the unusual term: *...hunc nostrum pictarii* (*AHN Clero*, carp. 1238, no. 1, published in *Pombeiro*, doc. 2, p. 55).

119 Besides the citations discussed above, the *narratio* draws heavily from language more common to early Iberian monastic rules than to others, e.g., *instituta canonum*, *censura*, *iugo*, *mercenarius*, *norma*, *pactum*, *perditio animarum*, *pergo*: Clément (1978), vol. 1, pp. 125, 151–152, 637–639, 722; vol. 2, pp. 790, 853–854, 892, 898.

The preamble and sanction of the charter of Theodenandus make it a touchstone for a reassessment of the documents of Alfonso III and his successors, and other formulas confirm its authenticity.¹²⁰ The reckoning of the regnal year and the phrase *anno feliciter glorie* recur in diplomas of Alfonso III from different sites, and the appearance of a similar expression in a minor private document of 875 is particularly telling.¹²¹ Nor is the description of the assembly (*in presentia prefati principis, et episcoporum, atque orthodoxorum, quorum subter confirmationis habentur signacula*) unique among documents attributed to the reign of Alfonso III.¹²²

The list of witnesses validates the charter's authenticity. None mars its integrity; together, they are a group that a later forger could not have assembled with ease. Of the four bishops, Sisnando of Iria and Nausto of Coimbra are well-known, while the more obscure figures of Ellega of Zaragoza and Reccaredo of Lugo are named among the seven bishops in the dedicatory inscription of 893 at the Asturian church of Valdediós.¹²³ Other clerics are associated with San Salvador de Oviedo in charters clustered around 900. The priest and treasurer David witnessed two documents of 895 as a priest; one is a gift of Archdeacon Gonzalo, the son of Alfonso III, to Oviedo Cathedral.¹²⁴ In 904, *Dauid presbiter* witnessed a cleric's donation to deacon Gonzalo, and other signatories include Abbot Radulfo who also witnessed the charter of Theodenandus.¹²⁵ His link with the cathedral is confirmed by his place among

120 For the critical problems surrounding the charters of the Asturian and Leonese courts and related private documents: Barrau-Dihigo (1903), (1919); Sánchez Albornoz (1946); (1966), esp. 13–119; *Dipl. esp.*; *Catálogo de documentos reales...*; Lucas Álvarez (1995); Valdés Gallego (2010).

121 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 126, 146, 153, 165, 175, 187, 189, 196, pp. 142–143, 198–199, 219–220, 269–272, 296–305, 350–354, 357–358, 376–377. The donation of the monastery of San Cosme in 905 is an original document: *León* 1, doc. 18, pp. 29–30. For the private document: *Cartulario...Liébana*, doc. 13, pp. 8–9.

122 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 153, 187, pp. 219–220, 350–354. Floriano, however, attributes the reference to the *orthodoxorum* to Bishop Pelayo's early 12th-century forgeries: *ibid.*, p. 657.

123 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, pp. 661–665, 669–671, 673–675; García Álvarez (1965), 28–29; Diego Santos (1994), 204–205.

124 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 146, 152, pp. 198–199, 213–215. Both include *Abba Iustus*, titled in the earlier one as *abbas et thesaurarius sancti Saluatoris*, presumably of Oviedo. David evidently succeeded Iusto and preceded Aurelio who witnessed documents of 906 and 908 (*Ibid.*, doc. 187, 192, pp. 350–354, 362–369).

125 *León* 1, doc. 17, pp. 28–29. Emilio Sáez identifies the recipient (Gundisalvus) with the son of Alfonso III, corrects the date—erroneously published by Sanchez Albornoz and Floriano as 906, and includes *Dauid presbiter* among the witnesses, though he had been mistakenly omitted by earlier editors.

witnesses of royal grants to Oviedo in 905 and 906, once titled *Radulfus ouetensis abba*.¹²⁶ These two privileges, in turn, are among five issued between 904 and 908 which, like that of Theodenandus, number Archdeacon Theodeguto among their witnesses. In three of these, his association with a diocese, possibly Baeza, suggests that he was a Mozarabic cleric, an odd detail unlikely to have been invented by a later forger.¹²⁷

Even if there had been the wherewithal, at a later date, to assemble such a sophisticated collection of formulas and represent so accurately a group of witnesses from the first years of the tenth century, there would have been little motive for concocting the modest dispositions of the charter of Theodenandus, and even less for cloaking them in such finery. By 1033, Samos held the church of Calvor, and there is no evidence that its possession was disputed.¹²⁸ In any case, the claims of Samos are singularly understated in the elaborate privilege and the church of Calvor is located in the *uilla Adilani* which all but disappeared from the documentary record by the eleventh century.¹²⁹ Conversely, its evident inspiration of the later privilege of Ordoño II to Samos is a powerful argument for the authenticity of the charter of Theodenandus.¹³⁰

The Forgery of the Privilege of Ordoño II and the Tenth-Century Restoration of Samos

Since the privilege of Ordoño II to Samos in 922 is clearly based upon the charter of Theodenandus, it may misrepresent the restoration of Samos and falsify its earlier history. In fact, the eclipse of Samos in the late ninth century probably led Theodenandus to seek royal support for restoring his own church, once subject to Samos. That affiliation was central to the short description of Adilani's foundation in the charter of 785, but only a passing clause in the prolix text of the charter of Theodenandus refers to it. It ceded the church and its endowment to Samos, so that the monks of Samos could be supported by its

126 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 175 (with title), 187, pp. 296–305, 350–354.

127 *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 2, doc. 174 (*baiciense sedis*), 175 (*biaciensis*), 181 (*biaciense sedis*), 187, 192, pp. 293–305, 326–329, 350–354, 362–369.

128 In 1033, the church, *istam domum Sancti Stephani de Caluor*, was leased to a layman, Odoario Randiniz, and the vicar of Samos received pledges from several sureties on his behalf: *TS/206*, f. 77v.

129 See n. 95.

130 Other monasteries made charters of other houses their own by replacing the recipient's name. For such an adaptation of a privilege of Ordoño II: *Sahagún* 1, p. 11.

temporalities while instructing the clerics of Calvor in the monastic life. This standard clause could easily be an interpolation: there is no other mention of Samos or the affiliation in the long charter, and no abbot is named.¹³¹ Significantly, the charter of 785 had located the *uilla Caluaria* in the territory of Samos, *inter terminos cenobium Samonense*, while that of Theodenandus simply placed the church *in territorio sarriense*.

Other evidence casts more doubt on the affiliation of Calvor in 902. The last document of the Mozarabic abbot Ofilón, one of the ninth-century restorers of the abbey, is dated 878, and closely links Samos with San Cristobo de Lóuzara, the center of a neighboring monastic congregation whose territory had likely taken shape before Alfonso II joined it to Samos.¹³² After this, the only document mentioning the abbey before its restoration by Ordoño II is an agreement in 909 with the men of Lóuzara. That text cites no abbot, and, in one part, it conflates the monastery with its subject houses of San Cristobo and San Xoán de Lóuzara, another sign of the crisis at Samos.¹³³

Alfonso III's endorsement of the restoration of Calvor explains why the cartulary of Samos includes no privileges from this king, who is conspicuously absent from the list of rulers whose privileges are cited in a charter from Ramiro II, issued in 933, within a generation of his death.¹³⁴ In royal privileges of the later tenth century, Alfonso III was inserted into the genealogy of the house's benefactors, a sign that the rewriting of the community's history had begun.¹³⁵ As part of that effort, the forgery of the magnificent privilege of Ordoño II made the revival of Samos seem more rapid and directed than, in fact, it had been.

131 The clause ends f. 15r with the last two words extending into the margin. The scribe of the cartulary could have squeezed a marginal addition to the earlier charter into its text.

132 The men, *habitantes in uillis de Samanos sanctorum Iuliani et Basillise, siue sancti Christofori ecclesia in uillas que dicitur Lauzara*, reach an agreement with *Offiloni abbati uel omni congregationi monasterii samonensis seu et ecclesie sancti Christofori* (TS/144, f. 59v). For the monasteries of Lóuzara and their relationship to Samos: López Alsina (1993), 170–179; D'Emilio (1997), 71–74.

133 In the body of the text, the men of Lóuzara make their agreement with *Visterlani diaconi uel ad tuos fratres de congregatione de Samonos*, but, in the introduction, the clerics are described as *nos Visterlani diaconi uel omnes fratres, qui sumus de monasterio de Samanos de sanctorum Iuliani et Basillise uel sancti Christophori uel sancti Iohannis* (TS/247, f. 87r).

134 *Sicut narrant testamenta regum pro auorum regis huius uel parentum, quorum nomina hec sunt, Adefonsus cognomento catholicus, et successor illius in regno Ranemirus; post quem Hordonius, alterque eius nepos Hordonius dinoscuntur* (TS/46, ff. 19v–20r). López Alsina (1993), 184, noted this point.

135 Privileges of Ordoño III, Sancho the Fat, and Vermudo II: TS/2 (952), 39 (962), 40 (993), ff. 1r, 17v–18r.

Other documents in the cartulary paint a sobering picture of the restoration and growth of the abbey in the first half of the tenth century. Besides the charter of Ordoño II and *Unde ditatum*, three documents describe or allude to the restoration of the abbey by Ordoño II in 922.¹³⁶ Together, they suggest that the monastic community there had virtually disappeared and the church was, at best, reduced to a simple parish. First, the cartulary includes a more modest privilege of Ordoño II, dated April 1, 922 and addressed to Abbot Senderico and the other monks.¹³⁷ In it, the king gave them the monastery founded long ago at a place where churches were dedicated to Sts. Julian and Euphemia. At the same time, he gave them the site (*locum*) so that they might construct a monastery, implying that the ancient house had disappeared or slipped into disrepair. This simple privilege does not detail the circumstances of the restoration, and it only hints at a larger endowment by alluding to possessions apparently listed in another charter.

Ten years later, the first of three charters issued by Ramiro II refers to the collapse of monastic discipline at Samos and its restoration by Ordoño II.¹³⁸ Except for the forged diploma of Ordoño II, this charter is the first, after the restoration, to list the eighth-century *presurae* which, throughout the tenth century, anchored the dispersed holdings of the monastery.¹³⁹ It describes the alienation of part of the saltworks, and omits the churches of all except Celaguantes and nearby Lúzara, perhaps because the others had fallen out of use. These details argue for its authenticity as part of the slow and tentative restoration of Samos.

136 *TS/37* (922), 34 (932), 43 (938), ff. 15v–16r, 17r, 18v–19r.

137 *...ut faceremus uobis textum scripture testamenti de monasterio quod ex antiquo fundatum esse dinoscitur in ripa de fluuio Sarrie, ubi sunt baselice fundate uocabulo sancti Iuliani et sancte Eufemie. Concedimus uobis sepe memoratum locum cum omnibus suis aiacentiis per suos terminos et cunctis suis prestationibus et omnia que in testamento resonat que ad ipsum locum pertinent cum omni integritate, illud uobis concedimus, ut habeatis et constructis monasterium in honore Dei...* (*TS/37*, corrected from f. 17r). In titling this document, the editor, Lucas Álvarez, describes Abbot Senderico as *designado por san Virila* (*Tumbo... Samos*, p. 130), but there is no mention of Berila—the abbot of Penna named in *Unde ditatum*—in this text. Similarly, he names Abbot Senderico in his heading for the more elaborate privilege of Ordoño II to Samos, *recientemente restaurado bajo la dirección del abad Sinderico*, though that privilege makes no mention of him (*Tumbo... Samos*, p. 443).

138 Ramiro II describes the reforms of his father, Ordoño II: *...genitor meus euacuauit exin scortum, fecitque domum orationis, euacuauit cateruas inpudicorum, et ordinauit degere congregatio fratrum* (*TS/34*, corrected from f. 15v). In the cartulary, it is dated 931, but it was convincingly redated to 932 in García Álvarez (1959), 145, 155–156.

139 For a careful reconstruction of the 8th-century *presurae* based on the lists in royal privileges and isolated references in other documents, see López Alsina (1993), 163–169.

Neither the charter of Ordoño II nor the first charter of Ramiro II mention the reserve or immunities granted to Samos in 811 by Alfonso II.¹⁴⁰ In 937, however, Ramiro II granted the abbey fiscal rights over the inhabitants within the circuit of a mile and a half (*miliarium unum et semis*) that constituted its reserve.¹⁴¹ This concession responded to the efforts of the newly-restored abbey to assert its rights in its immediate surroundings. In 933, the king had intervened to resolve a conflict between the abbey and the men of the nearby *uillae* of Pascáis and Castroncán (*TS/46*, ff. 19v–20r). Three years earlier, the men of the neighboring *uilla Astragis* (Estraxiz) had given the church of Santiago de Estraxiz to Samos (*TS/170*, f. 67r). They lamented the moral decline of the church's clergy, probably the result of the collapse of monastic discipline at Samos itself.

These incidents show the community acting on a narrow stage to regain its spiritual eminence and economic power. The donation of Estraxiz underscores the fragility of the monastery's restoration. The text locates the church *in commisso de Lausata*, and the unusual reference to a civil jurisdiction for a church in the heart of the monastic reserve suggests that Samos had not yet reclaimed the immunities of its mile and a half circuit.¹⁴² In addition, no abbot is mentioned, and the donors grant the church to *uobis fratribus qui nunc habitatis in cenobio Samonensi, fratri Adelfio et ceteris*.

The role of Abbot Adelfio, traditionally regarded as the second abbot of Samos after the tenth-century restoration, confirms the modest status of the monastery at that time. Only once is he titled abbot (*TS/119*, f. 51r), as a witness to a donation in 931, and he is not named at all in any of the three documents of Ramiro II. In his own testament of 938 (*TS/43*), Adelfio refers to himself only as *quasi*

140 *TS/36*, f. 17r. For the authenticity of the concession by Alfonso II of a circuit of a mile and a half and its relationship to similar privileges granted to Compostela: López Alsina (1993), 159–162, 179–187; (1988), 127–137.

141 *TS/38*, f. 17r/v. It follows that of Ordoño II (*TS/37*, f. 17r) and, like it, uses the titulation *eclesie sancti Iuliani et sancte Eufemie*, though the privilege of Ordoño II referred to two churches. This titulation only recurs twice (*TS/104*, 146, ff. 46r, 60r/v) and supports the authenticity of the two royal privileges, as evidence of an early stage in the restoration of Samos. In *TS/17* (f. 8v), the reference to St. Euphemia relates to the monastery of Santo Antolín, and in *TS/121* (f. 51r), Lucas Álvarez incorrectly omitted *et Basilisse* from his transcription.

142 The *territorio Lausata* is mentioned in the testaments of Abbots Ofilón (*TS/5* [872], f. 2r/v) and Adelfio (*TS/43* [938], ff. 18v/19r), and the dispute with Prince Fruela (*TS/44* [975], f. 19r/v). By the 11th century, *Lausata* simply designated the district of the two later parishes of San Román and San Martiño which bear that name, e.g., *TS/15*, 138, ff. 7v–8r, 58r/v. Cf. López Alsina (1993), 183–184; Baliñas (1992), 347–348.

abba.¹⁴³ The bequest focuses on the restoration of the monastery. Its inventory of the books and furnishings of the church, its endowment with lands and livestock, and its list of six of the original *presurae* are concise and unadorned. There is little evidence of the splendid endowment laid out in the forged privilege of Ordoño II or of any significant growth in the monastic patrimony.

Together, the documents of the 920s and 930s offer an unexceptional picture of the slow, contested growth of the monastery in the two decades after its restoration. This contrasts sharply with the magnificence of the forged privilege of Ordoño II and the elaborate tale of Abbot Berila contained in *Unde ditatum*. Both likely represent efforts to enhance the circumstances surrounding the restoration of the abbey, as it rose to pre-eminence later in the tenth century. The circumstances in which they were created and the concerns which motivated their authors remain obscure. In different ways, however, each casts light on the early history of Samos.

The privilege of Ordoño II borrowed its structure and much of its language from the charter of Theodenandus, but, within that framework, it summarized the history of Samos from Visigothic times through the restorations and endowments of the eighth and ninth centuries. It tells how it had now fallen to the rank of a mere parish, though a verse inscription, excerpted in the diploma, attested to the earlier cenobitic community. Next, the charter recalls the construction of the monastery by the priest and abbot Argerico and his sister Sarra, both exiles from the Iberian lands under Muslim rule. According to the text, Prince Fruela authorized the settlers and their community to occupy several estates dispersed across Galicia and the Bierzo. His son, Alfonso II, spent his youthful exile with the monks at Samos and at the estate of *Subregum in ripa Laure*. Once restored and anointed as king, he confirmed the privileges and possessions of the house. Finally, the arrival of Abbot *Ophilus* (Ofilón) and María in the time of Ordoño I introduces the concluding description of the collapse of the house adapted from the charter of Theodenandus.

This narrative finds corroboration in a variety of sources. The excerpt from a verse inscription has been related to a seventh-century inscription discovered at Samos in 1753.¹⁴⁴ The account of the arrival of Argerico and Sarra and

143 For the use of the similar phrase, *quasi presbiter*, for a specific clerical rank: Orlandis (1971c), 245–246.

144 Mundó (1962); González (1967); *Inscripciones cristianas*, no. 559, pp. 318–319. Díaz y Díaz had rejected the attribution of the quotation in the privilege to the 7th-century inscription ([1958], no. 679, pp. 162–163), but he (1992), 115, accepted the authenticity of the inscription. One may compare the monumental verse inscriptions attributed to Martín of Braga: *Inscripciones cristianas*, no. 349, 352, pp. 119–120, 122.

the description of the *presurae* are consistent with diverse documents of the cartulary.¹⁴⁵ References to the privileges of Alfonso II and the restoration of the monastery by the Mozarabic abbot Ofilón with the support of Ordoño I tailor with other texts in the cartulary whose language is independent of the inter-related series of tenth-century royal charters.¹⁴⁶ In fact, the author later mentions the circuit around Samos in a possible allusion to the concession by Alfonso II of a reserve of a mile and a half around the abbey.¹⁴⁷

Implicitly, the curious reference to the exile of Alfonso II explains his patronage of the house.¹⁴⁸ Although it is not cited elsewhere in the cartulary, this story gains credibility from the specific reference to Sobredo de Lor, since this remote site, one of the *presurae* of Argerico, had faded in importance by the tenth century.¹⁴⁹ More importantly, the episode parallels two different accounts in the Asturian chronicles of the exile of Alfonso II, though neither places the king in Galicia. According to both recensions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, he was expelled by Mauregato (c. 783) and fled to his mother's family in Alava. The *Chronicle of Albelda* dates his expulsion to the eleventh year of his own reign

-
- 145 For the *presurae*, see n. 139. Argerico is remembered in two privileges of Ordoño I (*TS*/3, 41, ff. 1v, 18r/v), a privilege of Ramiro II (*TS*/34, ff. 15v–16r), *Unde ditatum* (*TS*/35) and, with Sarra, in a dispute of 1080 over estates in the Bierzo (*TS*/172, ff. 67v–68r, and AHN Clero, carp. 1239, no. 18). The *Chronicle of Alfonso III* suggests the larger reforming context for Prince Fruela's sponsorship of monasteries in Galicia: ...*Gallecie populos contra se reuelantes superauit omnemque prouintiam fortiter depredauit. Iste scelus, quam de tempore Utizani sacerdotes huxores habere consueberant, finem imposuit. Etiam multis in scelera permanentibus flagella inferens monasteriis perligauit. Sicque ex tunc uetium est sacerdotibus coniungia sortire, unde canonicam obserbantes sententiam magna iam creuit eclesiam* (*Rot.* 16, p. 134).
- 146 *TS*/1, 3, 41 (Ordoño I), ff. 1r/v, 18r/v; *TS*/36 (Alfonso II), f. 17r. See also the reconstruction of Alfonso II's concession of Lóuzara: López Alsina (1993), 170–179.
- 147 *ipsum locum cum omnes suas adjacentias, uillas que in circuitu ejus sunt, per suos terminos per ubi eos obtinuerunt Argerigus Abba, seu et Ofilo, secundum fuit testamentum proauio meo jam supradicto, domnus Adefonsus.*
- 148 Besga (2002), 205–206, notes, as well, his construction of basilica of Santullano in Oviedo, also dedicated to Sts. Julian and Basilissa, the patrons of Samos. In both cases, Alfonso II was resuming the patronage of his father, Prince Fruela, whose foundation of Santullano is mentioned in the Testament of Alfonso II of 812: *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 1, doc. 24, pp. 118–141, with the reference to Santullano at pp. 120–121.
- 149 The church of San Martiño was last mentioned in 962 (*TS*/39, ff. 17v–18r). Sobredo's remoteness on the mountainous trails between Galicia and the Bierzo would have been advantageous in the insecurity of the 8th century, but could have recommended its abandonment once more accessible routes and districts had been opened.

(802) and names the monastery of Abelania as his refuge.¹⁵⁰ Linehan linked both versions to the expulsion of Alfonso II by Mauregato, and he contended that the author of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* shifted the king's exile to Alava as a way of suppressing evidence that he had received the tonsure.¹⁵¹

Linehan's advocacy of one period of monastic exile in the 780s is compatible with the reference to the king's youth, *in pueritia*, in the charter of Samos.¹⁵² If Samos was the young king's refuge, it is not surprising that the chroniclers of the late ninth and early tenth centuries changed the site. The monastic community at Samos had collapsed at that time, and Alfonso III had confronted a serious rebellion in Galicia upon his accession in 866.¹⁵³ In fact, his flight to Castile in the face of that uprising could have inspired the author of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* to move the exile of Alfonso II to the east. What's more, the chronicles silenced the most portentous Galician event of the reign of Alfonso II—the discovery of St. James's tomb at Compostela. That omission, their association of Galicia and the wicked Visigothic king Witiza, and their references to earlier clerical corruption and rebellion in the region all suggest an anti-Galician bias which could explain the neglect of Samos as well.¹⁵⁴ While Alfonso III's eventual promotion of the cult of Santiago—and perhaps his restoration of Calvor—represented an effort to consolidate his control over the troublesome province, the chroniclers showed little favor towards the region or its religious establishments.

Samos and Calvor

Thus, the forged privilege of Ordoño II is not a wholesale falsification of the history or privileges of Samos. Rather, it ennobles the humbler truth of its restoration by Ordoño II and asserts the continuities with an earlier history of

150 *Rot. and Ovet.* 19, pp. 138–139; *Albeldense* 9, p. 174.

151 Linehan (1993), 138–139.

152 Spanish authors have tended to regard the two accounts in the chronicles and the story in the Samos charter as referring to two or three separate events, e.g., Bango (1985), 13–14; Rúiz de la Peña (1995), 68–69, 79. Besga (2002) offers the fullest defense of the truth of the Samos account and exploration of its implications.

153 *Albeldense* 12, p. 176.

154 *Rot. and Ovet.* 5, 16, 18, 22, pp. 118–121, 134–137, 140–141; *Albeldense* 33 (*Ordo gentis gotorum*), 9, pp. 171, 175. Gil related the silence about Santiago to the concerns of the clergy of Oviedo: *Crónicas asturianas*, 71–72. Cf. López Alsina (1988), 127, 151–153. Linehan (1993), 111, also noted the silence of the chronicles about the episcopal role in the repopulation of the region, best exemplified by the controversial cycle surrounding Bishop Odoario of Lugo.

royal patronage which was, itself, frustrated and interrupted by the conflicts surrounding the integration of Galicia into the Asturian kingdom. Another controversial text, *Unde ditatum*, puts forward an explanation of how that history was reclaimed through the alleged recovery of a collection (*cartario*) of fifty-nine documents from the treasury of the cathedral of Oviedo. It is impossible to determine whether this account, like the forged diploma of Ordoño II, merely collapses into one event what the charters of Ramiro II record as a slower and more contentious struggle to regain earlier privileges which, in some manner, must have survived the breakdown of the community at the end of the ninth century.

Unde ditatum presents a fabulous tale of Abbot Berila's restoration of the monastery and the community's later struggle with the bishop of Lugo. Although most of it has left no trace in other documents of the cartulary, bits of historical truth are recoverable. The date of the restoration, for example, was surely based on the simple privilege of Ordoño II to Abbot Senderico issued in 922 (*TS/37*). Unfortunately, the remarkable series of events which the author inserted between the king's decision to restore the abbey and the appointment of Senderico as abbot could hardly have unfolded in a single year. Still, these embellishments cannot disguise the basic fact of the arrival of monks from another monastery.

One detail of *Unde ditatum* takes on new interest in the light of the relationship between the charter of Theodenandus and the privilege attributed to Ordoño II. It describes how Ordoño II learned of the deplorable conditions at Samos while he was at Loseiro. This site is barely one kilometer north of Calvor, and the incident is a tantalizing hint of a historical link between the restorations of the two monasteries. Did the restoration of Samos respond to another failure at Calvor? Were the monks of Calvor transferred to the more venerable site at Samos, giving rise to the legend of the arrival of monks from Penna? If so, the use of the charter of Theodenandus as the basis for the forged privilege of Ordoño II would have meant the appropriation of the foundation story of a nearby house whose own history was, in fact, the prehistory of the restoration of Samos.

Many centuries later, the organization of the documents in the thirteenth-century cartulary and the sequence of churches enumerated in the late twelfth-century privileges of Samos dimly reflected the intertwined histories of the two churches. The privilege of Theodenandus heads the most important section of the cartulary (*TS/33–57*), that containing most of the charters of monarchs and prelates.¹⁵⁵ Within that section, it is followed by two documents

155 The charter of Theodenandus is split between the end of the second quire (f. 14v, with a contemporary quire signature) and the beginning of the third quire (f. 15r), suggesting

concerning the tenth-century restoration of Samos: the first privilege of Ramiro II and *Unde ditatum*. The prominence of the charter of Theodenandus and its association with the next pair of texts preserve some memory of a historical connection between the restorations of each church.¹⁵⁶ In effect, its placement makes it a surrogate for the restoration charter of Ordoño II based upon it and never copied into the cartulary.

In two important lists of churches of the late twelfth century, Calvor receives special treatment as well. It leads off the list of forty-nine churches of the reserve in the agreement of 1195 between the abbey and the bishop of Lugo.¹⁵⁷ More subtly, the jump from Pascáis to Calvor in the papal privilege of 1175 marks the only interruption of a strict geographic sequence within a series of twenty-three contiguous churches of the reserve.¹⁵⁸ Theodenandus's monastery was all but forgotten, but the *pictacium*, so earnestly sought and carefully prepared, left its mark on the abbey of Samos.

The charter of Theodenandus provided the basis for the forged privilege of Ordoño II, but it also sheds light on the history of Samos in other ways. Its account of the collapse of the earlier community and its use of scripture and commentary to emphasize the importance of a stable cenobitic life and the careful stewardship of monastic property give a glimpse of the state of Galician monasticism on the eve of the career of St. Rosendo and the reforms of the tenth century. Today, it might seem odd that the monks of Samos used a privilege of the humble church at Calvor to embellish the circumstances of their monastery's restoration, but only the temptation to read history backwards prevents us from seeing how the splendid endowment charter of the tiny monastery at Calvor would have inspired the forgery of a royal privilege at what would one day be one of the greatest abbeys of Galicia. Ninth- and tenth-century documents offer many reminders of the precarious state of the

this grouping was not coordinated with the preparation of the cartulary at the end of the 12th century, but predated it. On the internal organization of cartularies: Walker (1971); Iogna-Prat (1992); Geary (1994), 81–107; and the papers in Guyotjeannin, Morelle, and Parisse (1993), especially the general remarks in Parisse, 507–508.

156 By contrast, the charter of 785 establishing the church of Calvor (*TS/137*) is obscurely placed among a small group of charters dealing with sites along the northern edge of the reserve.

157 *TS/49*, ff. 20v–21r, AHN Clero, carpeta 1241, no. 4, 1326A, no. 14. The edition of Lucas (pp. 145–148) omits two churches (*Sancti Romani de Humano* and *Sancti Martini de Louzara*). For the organization of lists of possessions: Lohrmann (1980); Constable (1986).

158 *TS/53*, ff. 22v–23v, AHN Clero, carpeta 1240, no. 15.

monastic foundations which dotted the Galician countryside. In the early tenth century, Calvor and Samos were simply two of these, and, for neither, was the future secure. That Samos did survive and develop into the ecclesiastical center of such a large area was due, in part, to a tradition of royal support which it successfully reclaimed in the tenth century. In this respect too, *Unde ditatum* preserves a fundamental historical truth when it declares that the abbey *semper de regibus fuit*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Africae concilia*, in *PL*, vol. 84, col. 179B–238C.
- Albeldense* = *Crónica Albeldense* [*Chronicle of Albelda*], in *Crónicas asturianas*, 151–188, 223–263.
- Antealtares* = Lucas Álvarez, Manuel (2001). *San Paio de Antealtares, Soandres y Toques: tres monasterios medievales gallegos*. Sada.
- Arlanza* = *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza*. Ed. Luciano Serrano. Madrid, 1925.
- Astorga* = *Colección documental de la catedral de Astorga*. Vol. 1: (646–1126). Eds. Gregoria Cavero Domínguez and Encarnación Martín López. León, 1999.
- [Augustine]. *De haeresibus ad Quoduultdeum. Liber unus*, in *Aurelii Augustini opera, pars 13.2* (CCSL 46). Eds. Roel Vander Plaetse and Clemens Beukers. Turnhout, 1969, pp. 286–345.
- [Augustine]. *De opere monachorum*, in *Opera sancti Aurelii Augustini (sect. 5, pars 3)* (CSEL 41). Ed. Joseph Zycha. Vienna, 1900.
- [Augustine] Sancti Aurelii Augustini. *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, in *Aurelii Augustini opera, pars 10* (CCSL 38–40). Eds. Eligius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont. 3 vols. Turnhout, 1956.
- Barlow, Claude W., ed. (1950). *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia*. New Haven.
- , ed. and trans. (1969). *Iberian Fathers*. Vol. 1: *Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville*. Washington D.C.
- (1972–1973). “Paschasius of Dumium, ‘Sayings of the Greek Fathers,’” *Classical Folia* 26: 289–314; 27: 3–27, 151–172.
- Barrau-Dihigo, Louis (1903). “Notes et documents sur l’histoire du royaume de León: chartes royales leonaises (912–1037),” *Revue Hispanique* 10: 349–454.
- (1919). “Étude sur les actes des rois asturiens,” *Revue Hispanique* 46: 1–191.
- [Beatus a Liébana] Sancti Beati a Liebana. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*. Ed. Eugenio Romero Pose. 2 vols. Rome, 1985.
- Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Trans. Leo Sherley-Price. London, 1990.

- [Benedict of Aniane] Benedictus Anianensis Abbas. *Concordia regularum*, in *PL*, vol. 103, col. 705D–1380B. Ed. Hugo Menardus.
- [Benedict of Nursia]. *Benedicti regula* (CSEL 75). Ed. Rudolphus Hanslik. Vienna. BN (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional), ms. 9892 = Sarmiento, Martín (not an autograph). *Copia del real privilegio gótico; notas...al privilegio gótico; reflexiones previas sobre archiveros*.
- Burgos = Documentación de la catedral de Burgos (804–1183)*. Ed. J.M. Garrido Garrido. Burgos, 1983.
- Campos, Julio, and Ismael Roca, eds. (1971). *Santos padres españoles*. Vol. 2: *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda. Los tres libros de las "Sentencias"* (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 321). Madrid.
- Cartulário...Coimbra = Livro Preto. Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra. Edição crítica. Texto integral*. Eds. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues and Avelino de Jesus da Costa. Coimbra, 1999.
- Cartulario...Covarrubias = Cartulario del infantado de Covarrubias*. Ed. Luciano Serrano. Silos, 1907.
- Cartulario...Liébana = Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana*. Ed. Luis Sánchez Belda. Madrid, 1948.
- [Cassian, John] Jean Cassien. *Conlationes* (Sources Chrétiennes 42, 54, 64). Ed. E. Pichery. 3 vols. Paris, 1955–1959.
- Cassiodorus. *Explanation of the Psalms* (Ancient Christian Writers 51–53). Trans. P.G. Walsh. 3 vols. New York, 1990–1991.
- Cassiodorus. *Expositio Psalmorum* (CCSL 97–98). Ed. Marc Adriaen. 2 vols. Turnhout, 1958.
- Catálogo de documentos reales de la alta Edad Media referentes a Galicia (714–1109)*. Ed. Manuel Rubén García Álvarez. *Compostellanum* 8 (1963): 301–375, 589–650; 9 (1964): 639–677; 10 (1965): 257–328; 11 (1966): 257–340; 12 (1967): 255–268, 581–636.
- Chartae: donationes ac testamenta pia, fundationesque episcoporum, abbatum...franciae francorumque...(annis 659–748)*, in *PL*, vol. 88, col. 1155A–1318C.
- Colección...Celanova 1 = Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842–1230)*. Vol. 1: (842–942). Eds. Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez. Alcalá de Henares, 1996.
- Colección...Celanova 2 = Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842–1230)*. Vol. 2: (943–988). Eds. Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez. Alcalá de Henares, 2000.
- Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Ed. José Vives. Madrid-Barcelona, 1963.
- Condes de Castilla = Colección diplomática de los condes de Castilla*. Ed. Manuel Duque Zabalza. Salamanca, 1998.
- Consensoria monachorum (Regulae clericis traditae fragmentum)*, in *PL*, vol. 32, col. 1447–1450.
- Crónicas asturianas*. Ed. Juan Gil Fernández, trans. José L. Moralejo, and with an introduction by Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña. Oviedo, 1985.

- Dias, Paula Cristina Barata (2001). *'Regyla monastica commvnis' ou 'Exhortatio ad monachos?'* (Séc. VII, Explicit). *Problemática. Tradução. Comentário*. Lisbon.
- Diego Santos, Francisco (1994). *Inscripciones medievales de Asturias*. Oviedo.
- Dipl. esp.* = *Diplomática española del período astur: estudio de las fuentes documentales del reino de Asturias (718–910)*. Ed. Antonio Floriano. 2 vols. Oviedo, 1949, 1951.
- DRH* = Roderici Ximenii de Rada [Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada]. *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue historia gothica* (CCCM 72). Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout, 1987.
- Eugenius III Toletanus. *Oratio ad Deum*, in *PL*, vol. 87, col. 359B–C.
- Fernando I* = *Colección diplomática de Fernando I (1037–1065)*. Ed. Pilar Blanco Lozano. León, 1987.
- Ferreira de Pantón* = *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Santa María de Ferreira de Pantón*. Ed. José Ignacio Fernández de Viana y Vieites. Lugo, 1994.
- Ferreolus Ucetiensis. *Regula ad monachos*, in *PL*, vol. 66, col. 959A–976D.
- Freire, José Geraldes (1971). *A versão latina por Pascásio de Dume dos Apophthegmata Patrum*. 2 vols. Coimbra.
- García Álvarez, M. Rubén (1965). "Más documentos gallegos inéditos del periodo asturiano," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 19: 3–40.
- [Gregory I the Great (Pope)] Gregorius Papa. [*Dialogi*] *Dialogorum libri IV, de vita et miraculis patrum italicorum, et de aeternitate animarum*, in *PL*, vol. 77, col. 149–430A.
- [Gregory I the Great, (Pope)] Gregorius Magnus. *Moralia in Job* (CCSL 143, 143A, 143B). Ed. Marc Adriaen. 3 vols. Turnhout, 1979–1985.
- [Gregory of Elvira] Gregorius Iliberritanus. *Opera que supersunt* (CCSL 69). Eds. Vincent Bulhart and Jean Fraipont. Turnhout, 1967.
- Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*. Ed. José Vives. Barcelona, 1969.
- Inscriptions romaines* = Arias Vilas, Felipe, Patrick Le Roux, and Alain Tranoy. *Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo*. Paris, 1979.
- Irish Litanies*. Ed. Charles Plummer. London, 1925.
- [Isidore of Seville] Isidorus Hispalensis. *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (CCSL 113). Ed. Christopher M. Lawson. Turnhout, 1989.
- [Isidore of Seville] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. [*Etymologiae*] *Etymologiarum libri XX*, in *PL*, vol. 82, col. 73–728C.
- [Isidore of Seville] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, in *PL*, vol. 83, col. 179B–200C.
- [Isidore of Seville] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. *Liber secundus de differentiis rerum*, in *PL*, vol. 83, col. 69–98A.
- [Jerome] Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri. *Epistolae*, in *PL*, vol. 22, col. 325–1224.
- [Leo I the Great, Pope] Leo Magnus Romanus Pontifex. *Sermones*, in *PL*, vol. 54, col. 137–467.

- León 1* = *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*. Vol. 1: (775–952). Ed. Emilio Sáez Sánchez. León, 1987.
- Lucas Álvarez, Manuel (1995). *El reino de León en la alta Edad Media*. Vol. 8: *La documentación real astur-leonesa (718–1072)*. León.
- Orsiesius abbas Tabennensis. *Doctrina de institutione monachorum*, in *PL*, vol. 103, col. 453B–476C.
- Otero de las Dueñas* = *Colección diplomática de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (León) (854–1037)*. Ed. Gregorio del Ser Quijano. Salamanca, 1994.
- Ovet.* = *Crónica de Alfonso III (Ovetense/ad Sebastianum)* [*Chronicle of Alfonso III, Oviedo version*], in *Crónicas asturianas*, 113–149, 189–221.
- Oviedo* = *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo*. Ed. Santos García Larragueta. Oviedo, 1962.
- [Paschasius of Dumium] Paschasius Diaconus. *De vitis patrum*, in *PL*, vol. 73, col. 1025A–1062C.
- Paschasius of Dumium. “Questions and Answers of the Greek Fathers,” in Barlow (1969), 111–171.
- Piñeiro y Cancio, José Vicente. “Colección diplomática y memorias para la historia de la ciudad e iglesia de Lugo.” 5 vols. (manuscript, Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral).
- Pombeiro* = *El priorato benedictino de San Vicenzo de Pombeiro y su colección diplomática en la Edad Media*. Eds. Manuel Lucas Álvarez and Pedro Lucas Domínguez. Santiago de Compostela, 1996.
- La règle du maître* (Sources Chrétiennes 105). Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé. Paris, 1964.
- RC* = *Regula communis*, in Campos and Roca, 163–211.
- RF* = *Regula sancti Fructuosi*, in Campos and Roca, 127–162.
- RI* = *Regula sancti patris Isidori episcopi*, in Campos and Roca, 77–125.
- RL* = *Regula sancti Leandri*, in Campos and Roca, 9–76.
- Rot.* = *Crónica de Alfonso III (Rotense)* [*Chronicle of Alfonso III, Roda version*], in *Crónicas asturianas*, 113–149, 189–221.
- Rosweyde, Heribert. (1615). *Vitae Patrum*. Antwerp.
- Sahagún 1* = *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (siglos IX y X)*. Ed. José María Mínguez Fernández. León, 1976.
- Sahagún 2* = *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1230)*. Vol. 2: (1000–1073). Ed. Marta Herrero de la Fuente. León, 1988.
- Smaragdus. *Expositio in regulam S. Benedicti* (Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 8). Eds. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert. Siegburg, 1974.
- Tombo...Celanova* = *O Tombo de Celanova: estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX–XII)*. Ed. José M. Andrade. 2 vols. Santiago de Compostela, 1995.
- TS* = *Tombo de Samos*, Archivo histórico de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Clero, lib. 1173 (manuscript).

- Tumbo A...Santiago* = *Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago*. Ed. Manuel Lucas Álvarez. Santiago de Compostela, 1998.
- Tumbo...Lorenzana* = Rodríguez González, Angel, and José Angel Rey Caiña, eds., "Tumbo de Lorenzana," *Estudios Mindonienses* 8 (1992): 11–324.
- Tumbo...Samos* = *El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII–XII)*. Ed. Manuel Lucas Álvarez. Santiago de Compostela, 1986.
- Tumbos...Sobrado* = *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*. Ed. Pilar Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano. 2 vols. Madrid, 1976.
- Tumbo viejo...Montes* = *Tumbo viejo de San Pedro de Montes*. Ed. Augusto Quintana Prieto. León, 1971.

Secondary Sources

- Agúndez San Miguel, Leticia (2010). "Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Sahagún: la respuesta de las fórmulas 'inútiles' (904–1230)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40: 847–888.
- Andrade Cernadas, José Miguel (1991). "El monasterio de Samos y la hospitalidad benedictina con el peregrino (siglos XI–XIII)," *Studia Monastica* 33: 247–257.
- (1997). *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia medieval (siglos X al XIII)*. Sada.
- Arias, Maximino (1981). "El monasterio de Samos desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XI," *Archivos Leoneses* 35: 267–350.
- (1983). "El monasterio de Samos durante los siglos XI y XII," *Archivos Leoneses* 37: 7–81.
- (1988). "'Addenda et corrigenda' a dos artículos sobre el monasterio de Samos," *Archivos Leoneses* 42: 167–173.
- (1992). *Historia del monasterio de San Julián de Samos*. Samos.
- Atkinson, J.E. (1992). "Out of Order: The Circumcellions and Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 52," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 41: 488–499.
- Baliñas Pérez, Carlos (1992). *Do mito á realidade, a definición social e territorial de Galicia na alta Idade Media (séculos VIII e IX)*. Santiago de Compostela.
- Bango Torviso, Isidro Gonzalo (1985). "L'Ordo Gotorum et sa survivance dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Âge," *Revue de l'Art* 70: 9–20.
- Besga Marroquín, Armando (2002). "La estancia de Alfonso II en el monasterio de Samos," *Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 56: 201–217.
- Bishko, Charles Julian (1948). "The Date and Nature of the Spanish 'Consensoria Monachorum'," *American Journal of Philology* 69: 377–395. Repr. in Bishko (1984a).
- (1967). "Episcopus sub regula or episcopi sub regula? St. Fructuosus and the Monasticized Episcopate in the Peninsular West," *Bracara Augusta* 21: 63–64.
- (1984a). *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300*. London.

- (1984b). “The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism,” in id., *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History*, 1–43.
- (1984c). “Portuguese Pactual Monasticism in the Eleventh Century: The Case of São Salvador de Vacariça,” in id., *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History*, 139–154.
- Blaise, Albert (1975). *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi*. Turnhout.
- Bonnerue, Pierre (1995). “Elements de topographie historique dans les règles monastiques occidentales,” *Studia monastica* 37: 57–78.
- Bragança, Joaquim de Oliveira (1967). “A Carta do Papa Vigílio ao Arcebispo Profuturo de Braga,” *Bracara Augusta* 21: 65–91.
- Branco, Maria João Violante (1999). “St. Martin of Braga, the Sueves and Gallaecia,” in *The Visigoths. Studies in Culture and Society*. Ed. Alberto Ferreiro. Leiden, pp. 63–97.
- Brugnoli, Giorgio (1964). “Il *Liber de differentiis rerum* di Isidoro di Siviglia,” *Vetera Christianorum* 1: 65–82.
- Caner, Daniel (2002). *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.
- Cañizares del Rey, Buenaventura (1942). “El Monasterio de San Martín de Lalín,” *Museo de Pontevedra* 1: 177–217.
- Clément, Jean-Marie (1978). *Lexique des anciennes règles monastiques occidentales*. Steenbrugis.
- Constable, Giles (1986). “Les listes de propriétés dans les privilèges pour Baume-les-Messieurs aux XIe et XIIe siècles,” *Journal des Savants* 97–131.
- (1995). *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*. Cambridge.
- David, Pierre (1947a). *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIIe siècle*. Paris.
- (1947b). “La liturgie dans la province de Braga au VIe siècle,” in id., *Études*, 83–118.
- (1947c). “Le Sanctoral Hispanique et les patrons d’églises entre le Minho et le Mondego du IXe au XIe siècle,” in id., *Études* 185–256.
- Davies, Wendy (2007). *Acts of Giving. Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain*. Oxford.
- D’Emilio, James (1997). “La formación de la parroquia en la Galicia medieval,” *Relaciones: Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 18: 59–85.
- (2005). “The Legend of Bishop Odoario and the Early Medieval Church in Galicia,” in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone. Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*. Eds. Therese Martin and Julie Harris. Leiden, pp. 47–85.
- Díaz Martínez, Pablo (1987). *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo*. Salamanca.
- Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C. (1958). *Index scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevi hispanorum*. Salamanca.

- (1965). “El latín de la liturgia hispánica,” in *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe*. Ed. Juan Francisco Rivera Recio. Toledo.
- (1972–1974). “Tres ciudades en el código de Roda: Babilonia, Ninive y Toledo,” *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45–47: 251–263.
- (1983). *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*. León.
- (1989). “El testamento monástico de San Rosendo,” *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 16: 47–102.
- (1992). “La cristianización en Galicia,” in *La romanización de Galicia*. 2nd ed. A Coruña, pp. 105–120.
- Duro Peña, Emilio (1977). *El monasterio de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil*. Ourense.
- ES, vol. 14 = Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*, vol. 14: *De las iglesias de Abila, Caliabria, Coria, Coimbra, Eborá...* Madrid, 1758.
- Ewig, Eugen (1960). “Der Petrus- und Apostelkult im spätrömischen und fränkischen Gallien,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71: 215–251.
- Fernández de Viana y Vieites, José Ignacio (1973). “Franquila, primer abad del monasterio de Celanova,” *Compostellanum* 18: 41–58.
- Ferreiro, Alberto (1991). “A Reconsideration of Celtic Tonsures and the Ecclesia Britonensis in the Hispano-Romano-Visigothic Councils,” *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 23: 1–10.
- Fichtenau, Heinrich (1957). *Arenga. Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln*. Graz.
- Fletcher, Richard (1984). *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford.
- Floriano Llorente, Pedro (1972). “Los documentos reales del periodo astur. Su formulario,” *Asturensia Medievalia* 1: 157–176.
- Fontán, Antonio (1974–79). “Martín de Braga, un testigo de la tradición clásica y cristiana,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9: 329–342.
- Foot, Sarah (1992). “‘By Water in the Spirit’: The Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*. Eds. John Blair and Richard Sharpe. Leicester, pp. 171–192.
- Fortacín Piedrafita, Javier (1983). “La donación del diácono Vicente al monasterio de Asán y su posterior testamento como obispo de Huesca en el siglo VI. Precisiones críticas para la fijación del texto,” *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 47–48: 7–15, 52–70.
- Freire, J. Gerald (1967). “Os ‘Apophtegmata Patrum’ no mosteiro do Dume,” *Bracara Augusta* 21: 298–308.
- Freire Camaniel, José (1998). *El monacato gallego en la alta Edad Media*. 2 vols. A Coruña.
- Frend, William H.C. (1969). “Circumcellions and Monks,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 20: 542–549.

- Gaddis, Michael (2005). *There is no Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*. Berkeley.
- García Álvarez, M. Rubén (1959). "Sobre la cronología de Ramiro II de León," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 29–30: 125–166.
- (1965). "Los libros en la documentación gallega de la alta Edad Media," *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 20: 292–329.
- García de Cortázar, José Ángel (2006). "Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Arlanza: la respuesta de las fórmulas 'inútiles' (años 912 a 1233)," in *La península en la Edad Media: treinta años después. Estudios dedicados a José-Luis Martín*. Salamanca, pp. 143–158.
- (2008). "Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Samos: la respuesta de las fórmulas 'inútiles' (años 785 a 1209)," *Inter-American Music Review* 18: 87–97.
- García de Cortázar, José Ángel, and Leticia Agúndez San Miguel (2009). "Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Celanova: la respuesta de las 'fórmulas inútiles' (años 842–1165)," in *Castilla y el mundo feudal: homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*. Eds. María Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Pascual Martínez Sopena. 3 vols. Valladolid, vol. 3, pp. 251–267.
- García y García, Antonio (1994a). "Contenidos canónico-teológicos de los diplomas leoneses," in *El reino de León en la alta Edad Media* 6. León, pp. 8–132.
- (1994b). "Las imprecaciones en los diplomas leoneses," *Atalaya. Revue Française d'Études Médiévales Hispaniques* 5: 57–66.
- García Rodríguez, Carmen (1966). *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda*. Madrid.
- Geary, Patrick (1994). *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton.
- Gil, Juan (1971). "Textos olvidados del código Roda," *Habis* 2: 165–181.
- (1972). *Miscellanea wisigothica*. Seville.
- Godoy Fernández, Cristina (1995). *Arqueología y liturgia: iglesias hispánicas (siglos iv al viii)*. Barcelona.
- González, Victorino (1967). "S. Fructuoso en la restauración de Samos por el obispo Ermefredo," *Bracara Augusta* 21: 322–327.
- Guyotjeannin, Olivier, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse, eds. (1993). *Les cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)* (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39). Paris.
- Hahn, Traugott (1900). *Tyconius Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des 4. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig.
- Herwegen, Ildefons (1907). *Das Pactum des Hl. Fructuosus von Braga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Suevisch-Westgothischen Mönchtums und seines Rechtes*. Stuttgart.

- Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio (2004). "La arenga en los diplomas leoneses de los siglos IX a XII," in *Orígenes de las lenguas romances en el reino de León. Siglos IX–XII*. Ed. José María Fernández Catón. León, vol. 2, pp. 365–406.
- Horn, Walter (1973). "On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister," *Gesta* 12: 13–52.
- Iogna-Prat, Dominique (1992). "La geste des origines dans l'historiographie clunisienne des XIe–XIIe siècles," *Revue Bénédictine* 102: 135–191.
- Joest, Christoph (1994). *Bibelstellenkonkordanz zu den wichtigsten älteren Mönchsregeln*. The Hague.
- Laffón Álvarez, Luisa (1989). "Arenga hispana: una aproximación a los preámbulos documentales de la Edad Media," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 16: 133–232.
- Lange, Wolf-Dieter (1966). *Philologische Studien zur Latinität westhispanischer Privaturkunden des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*. Leiden.
- Lawless, George (1987). *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*. Oxford.
- Linage Conde, Antonio (1973). *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la península ibérica*. 3 vols. León.
- Linehan, Peter (1993). *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford.
- Little, Lester K. (1993). *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*. Ithaca.
- Lohrmann, Dietrich (1980). "Formen der *Enumeratio bonorum* in Bischofs-, Papst- und Herrscherurkunden (9.–12. Jahrhundert)," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 26: 281–311.
- López Alsina, Fernando (1988). *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta Edad Media*. Santiago de Compostela.
- (1993). "Millas in giro ecclesie: el ejemplo del monasterio de San Julián de Samos," *Estudos Medievais*. Oporto, pp. 159–187.
- Mansilla Reoyo, Demetrio (1994). *Geografía eclesiástica de España. Estudio histórico-geográfico de las diócesis*. Rome.
- Mattoso, José (1971). "Sanctio (875–1100)," *Revista Portuguesa de Historia* 13: 299–338.
- Miralbes Bedera, Rosario, María Pilar de Torres Luna, and Rafael Rodríguez Martínez-Conde (1979). *Mapa de límites de las parroquias de Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela.
- Morris, Richard (1989). *Churches in the Landscape*. London.
- (1991). "Baptismal Places: 600–800," in *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600. Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*. Eds. Ian Wood and Niels Lund. Woodbridge, pp. 15–24.
- Mundó, Anscari (1962). "La inscripción visigoda del monasterio de Samos," *Studia Monastica* 3: 157–164.
- Nichols, Aidan (1991). "The Roman Primacy in the Ancient Irish and Anglo-Celtic Church," in *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio. Recherche e testimonianze. Atti del Symposium storico-teologico, Roma, 9–13 Ottobre 1989*. Ed. Michele Maccarrone. Vatican City, pp. 473–491.
- Noack-Haley, Sabine (1991). *Mozarabischer Baudekor*. Vol. 1: *Die Kapitelle*. Mainz.

- Núñez, Manuel (1978). *Arquitectura prerrománica*. Santiago de Compostela.
- O'Donnell, James J. (1979). *Cassiodorus*. Berkeley.
- Orlandis Rovira, José (1971a). *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales*. Pamplona.
- (1971b). “Las congregaciones monásticas en la tradición suevo-góticas,” in id., *Estudios*, 95–123. Originally published in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964): 97–119.
- (1971c). “‘Traditio corporis et animae’, laicos y monasterios en la alta Edad Media española,” in id., *Estudios*, 217–378. Originally published in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 24 (1954): 95–280.
- Parisse, Michel (1993). “Les cartulaires. Copies ou sources originales?” in Guyotjeannin, Morelle, and Parisse, 503–512.
- (2000). “Préambules de chartes,” in *Les prologues médiévaux. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Academia Belgica et l'École française avec le concours de la F.I.D.E.M. (Rome, 26–28 mars 1998)*. Ed. J. Hamesse. Turnhout, pp. 141–170.
- Pérez González, Maurilio (1998). “El latín del siglo X leonés a la luz de las inscripciones,” in id., ed. *Actas. II congreso hispánico de latín medieval (León, 11–14 de Noviembre de 1997)*. 2 vols. León, vol. 1, pp. 157–174.
- Puertas Tricas, Rafael (1975). *Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*. Testimonios literarios. Madrid.
- Rodríguez, Pablo (1804). *Diploma de Ramiro I*. Madrid.
- Rodríguez Muñiz, Victor (2010). *O mosteiro de Santa Cristina de Ribas de Sil na idade média* (Anexos de *Boletín Auriense* 32). Ourense.
- Romero Posé, Eugenio (1979). “Gregorio de Elvira en el Comentario al Apocalipsis,” *Burgense* 20: 289–305.
- Ruiz de la Peña Solar, Juan Ignacio (1995). “La monarquía asturiana, 718–910,” in *El reino de León en la alta Edad Media*. Vol. 3: *La monarquía astur-leonesa de Pelayo a Alfonso VI (718–1109)*. León, pp. 9–127.
- Sáez Sánchez, Emilio (1948). “Los ascendientes de San Rosendo: notas para el estudio de la monarquía astur-leonesa durante los siglos IX y X,” *Hispania* 8: 3–76, 179–233.
- Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio (1946). “Documentos de Samos de los reyes de Asturias,” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 4: 147–160.
- (1966). *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*. Buenos Aires.
- Sandoval, Prudencio de (1615). *Historias de Idacio obispo... Isidoro obispo de Badajoz... de Sebastiano obispo de Salamanca... de Sampiro obispo de Astorga... de Pelagio obispo de Oviedo [Cinco obispos]*. Pamplona.
- Santos, Maria Jose Azevedo (2001). “O ‘ornamento literario’ em documentos medievais: o preambulo ou arenga (773?–1123),” in *Estudos de diplomática portuguesa*. Coimbra, pp. 167–190.
- Steinhauser, Kenneth B. (1987). *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence*. Frankfurt.

- Studtmann, Joachim (1932). "Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12: 251–374.
- Thompson, E.A. (1969). *The Goths in Spain*. Oxford.
- Valdés Gallego, José Antonio (2010). "Los notarios de los diplomas de Alfonso III," in *MC aniversario de la muerte de Alfonso III y de la tripartición del territorio del reino de Asturias*. Eds. Alfonso García Leal, Ramón Gutiérrez González, and Clara Elena Prieto Entrialgo. Oviedo, pp. 111–177.
- Vázquez de Parga, Luis (1950). "Los documentos sobre las presuras del obispo Odoario de Lugo," *Hispania* 10: 635–680.
- Verheijen, Luc (1967). *La règle de Saint Augustin*. vol. 1: *Tradition manuscrite*. Paris.
- (1979). *Saint Augustine's Monasticism in the Light of Acts 4.32–35*. Vilanova.
- Vives, José (1948). "Las actas de los varones apostólicos," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*. Vol. 1. Rome, pp. 33–45.
- Walker, David Grant (1971). "The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies," in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*. Eds. Donald. A. Bullough and Robert L. Storey. Oxford, pp. 132–150.
- Yepes, Antonio de (1615). *Corónica general de la orden de San Benito*. Vol. 3. Valladolid.
- Yzquierdo Perrín, Ramón (1995). "Arte románico," in *Galicia: Arte*. Vol. 10: *Arte Medieval* (1). Ed. Francisco Rodríguez Iglesias. A Coruña, pp. 157–517.
- Zabalza Duque, Manuel (1995). "Escrituras de fundación de los monasterios de Arlanza y Silos. Problemas sobre su autenticidad," *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 211: 333–361.
- Zaragoza i Pascual, Ernesto (1996). "Abadologio del monasterio de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII–XX)," *Estudios Mindonienses* 12: 469–503.
- Zimmermann, Michel (1974–1975). "Protocoles et préambules dans les documents catalans du Xe au XIIe siècle: évolution diplomatique et signification spirituelle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 10: 41–76; 11: 51–79.
- (1994). "Le vocabulaire latin de la malédiction du IXe au XIIe siècle. Construction d'un discours eschatologique," *Atalaya. Revue Française d'Études Médiévales Hispaniques* 5: 37–55.
- (2003). *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IXe–XIIe siècle)*. 2 vols. Madrid.