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THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF LUGO IN THE
TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES:
REFORM AND RETRENCHMENT*

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Richard Fletcher sketched the landscape of ecclesiastical change in his book, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. There, he explored the consequences of what he called "a radical assault upon a whole ecclesiastical way of life": the wide-ranging changes urged by the papacy and implemented by an army of clerics from across the Pyrenees. In the last thirty years, the bolted doors of ecclesiastical archives have been pried loose, innumerable documents have been edited, and there has been an avalanche of Spanish publications on medieval Spain. Yet many of the issues Fletcher raised have not been pursued. To a degree, his opening remarks about the treatment of Spanish history still ring true: "too many have been seduced by the flashy glamour of the Reconquista into a neglect of what went on behind its lines, into the mischievous error that the history of the Reconquista is the history of medieval Spain." Since then, the idea of the Reconquista and the national narrative it sustained have been shaken by changing ideological winds and the competing pressures of European integration and increased autonomy for the regions of Spain. Nonetheless, historians are still drawn in large numbers to the relationships among Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and the ways these experiences have shaped Spanish history and identity.

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2 Ibid., p. 1.
With this, it also remains true that, as Fletcher observed, “ecclesiastical history has been curiously little cultivated in modern Spain.” Ecclesiastical documents have been thoroughly mined in efforts to map, graph, and tally the estates and income of medieval dioceses and monasteries, and examine their roles as seigneurial lords wielding political and economic power. Historians in Spain have devoted less attention to other facets of the ecclesiastical life of cathedral clergy. Partly, this is due to the disproportionate weight of charter evidence, and the scarcity of narrative sources or texts more revealing of cultural and intellectual life. Beyond that, it attests to lingering divisions in modern Spanish society and education, the strength of an apologetic tradition within the church itself, and the problematic place of Spain’s Catholic heritage in contested narratives of the Spanish past.

Studies of cathedral chapters in the medieval kingdoms of León and Castile reflect these trends. Monographs have stressed the acquisition and administration of lands and income, with a decided emphasis on the later Middle Ages. Fletcher’s book centered on the episcopate, but his comments on the obscurity that shrouds the bishops are even more apt for the canons whose careers must be constructed from terse charters. For these men, his caution still applies. “Until a great deal more work shall have been done, we can make only more or less ill-informed guesses about the sort of men who made up the cathedral chapters, and about the means by which they were chosen.”

The Galician cathedral of Lugo offers excellent opportunities for such work. Fletcher himself appreciated the value of its numerous charters. He chose a diploma of Bishop Pedro III to illustrate the episcopal acta, transcribed six others, and remarked on the long series of charters by the notary, Román. The spare notices in such documents do not easily yield a narrative: tantalizing bits of information remain opaque, and they are altogether silent about much of caputlaria life. Nonetheless, the shadowy profiles of the canons and the dim outlines of a story of reform and retrenchment can be teased from them. These remarks are but a tentative sketch of that tale of one cathedral chapter. It is an example, not a model. If anything, this story attests to the weight of local circumstances, and the role of accident and idiosyncrasy, untimely deaths and remarkable longevity, in shaping one corporate institution, against the background of the steadier rhythms of generational change and the ebb and flow of ecclesiastical reform.

The rich collection of documents from Lugo cathedral is sadly, perhaps the largest ensemble of their date from the kingdom of León-Castile to linger unpublished. In 1841, the state seized most of the...
medieval documents, and they were taken to Madrid and deposited in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in 1896 and following years. For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these include more than fourteen hundred charters, mostly well-preserved originals with various archival classmarks and endorsements; the mid-thirteenth-century cartulary known as the Tumbo Viejo; and the Memorialis Antiquiserrorum, a three-volume calendar of anniversaries written in the late 1220s and followed by capitular acts that begin erratically in the late 1240s, become more systematic later in the century, and end in the 1340s. The archive of Lugo cathedral retains a few charters, a lengthy report of a mid-thirteenth-century suit with the see of León over Tricastela, and a fine set of royal and papal privileges. Several late eighteenth-century collections of copies of medieval documents were compiled, probably as part of the project for España Sagrada for which two volumes on Lugo were published in 1796 and 1798.

Pilar Solís Parga, Estudio y catalogación de las fuentes documentales y historiográficas de la Catedral de Lugo (725–1217): a Universidad Complutense de Madrid thesis, published online at Licenciado de la ciudad de eglise de Lugo, 2 volumes, 1804 and including a chronological list of documents; and 593 transcriptions by a twentieth-century canon: Colección diplomática de D. Buenaventura Cañizares del Rey, 4 volumes. The so-called Tumbo Nuevo (AHN, Cód. 2678) is a heterogeneous assemblage of documents from Lugo and Samos, seemingly gathered for a more systematic collection. Joaquín Antonio Camino and Orella, canon of Lugo (1795–1819), annotated the margins of the Tumbo Viejo and the versos of charters.

Jean Pérez is last cited as treasurer on 23.3.1213 (AHN 1326GII). "Pelage" held the office by 26.6.1215 (1326G19). His identification with P. Baldouino, canon since 11.7.1192 (1325H122b), is confirmed by the anniversaries he set up ("frater eius thesaurarius Pelayo Baldouinus") for his brother, Pedro Sobrino Baldouino: AHN, Cód. 1040B, fol. 4 (5.1.1226). After writing a will "infirmate grauatus" (14.10.1227, 1327G9), he last appears as treasurer ("P. thesaurarius") in a witness list in which Pelayo Sobrino was among the canons (8.1.1230, 1327D12, 13). As treasurer, Pelayo Sobrino endowed an anniversaries for his brother, Pedro Sobrino "de Oruezan," dated 10.7.1231 (Cód. 1041B, fol. 16v). By 13.4.1233, he witnessed documents as treasurer: 1327F7, 8. publ. José Ignacio Fernández de Viana y Vieites, "Documentos sobre pergaminos gallegos a Jerusalén en la Edad Media," Estudios Mendiocentes, 7 (1991), 419–20. Pelayo Pérez (Baldouino) retained a canonry and revised his will "senetute [sic] grauatus": (26.6.1234, 1327C9). His anniversary, which he endowed as a canon, was dated 13.3.1236 (Cód. 1040B, fol. 20v). Alfonso Martínez is entitiled among the canons in a witness list written by the episcopal notary (27.7.1205). As canons, they witnessed an episcopal lease (20.9.1207), and last appeared witnessing leases issued by the chapter and bishop (1.2.1214, 3.12.1214): AHN 1326E4, 11; 1326C10, 11. Archdeacon Alfonso is listed between 29.1.1216 and 9.1.1226 (1326G24, 1327C1). When Miguel Pérez became bishop, he succeeded him as coarchimaster, an office he held between 30.6.1226 (1327C5) and 13.4.1228 (ES 41, ap. 31). His anniversary is dated 8.9.1228 (AHN, Cód. 1041B, fol. 30v). His namesake, possibly the "Alfonso Martini clericus" in a witness list of 1239, was a priest by 1246 (titled "presbyter et canonicus," the latter probably in error), porioriary by 1251, and canon from at least 1254 to 1268 (1327H25, 1133/14, 1326G7, 1328H10, 1339F23); he was coarchimaster by 1275 when rival factions of the chapter elected him and Dean

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Few individual documents stand out as signposts in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century history of the cathedral chapter of Lugo, and its study must depend mostly upon charters. The most abundant—if laconic—sources are witness lists naming canons and providing clues to their interests, families, social ties, and standing within the chapter. Using such sources is laborious, progress slow, and the pitfalls many. Tracing the more than fifty-year career of Pelayo Pérez, alias Pelayo Sobrino, as scribe, royal clerk, episcopal notary, treasurer, and arbiter of conflicts between local religious houses involves first distinguishing him from his equally long-lived predecessor as treasurer, Pelayo Pérez Baldouino, who, like his namesake, had a brother called Pedro Sobrino. The tenures of two men named Alfonso Martínez as choirmasters (cantores) were, helpfully, half a century apart. It is less easy to split the successive tenures
of Juan Pérez and Juan Bermúdez as judge. Uncovering the origins of Bishop Ordoño in the chapter means, first, sorting out the three canons of that name (two of them archdeacons) who simultaneously held office in the early thirteenth century. Cases like these indicate the need for caution in picking out men like Pedro Yáñez, an episcopal notary, or Juan Pérez, the scribe who signed the Tumbo Viejo, from amongst the crowd of clerics sharing their names. Conversely, one must be careful lest figures like the canon and notary Román Bermúdez, the priest and scribe Juan Rolán, or the scribe and archdeacon Pelayo Sebastiánez stand out simply because their less common names brighten the trail through their fifty-year careers.

The cathedral clergy of Lugo comes into view in the eleventh century as a largely undifferentiated community of nearly thirty clerics.

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Juan Rodríguez to succeed Bishop Fernando Arias: García Conde and López Valcárcel, Episcopología, pp. 239-40. He endowed his anniversary, as co-heir, on 18.5.1220: Cód. 1040B, fol. 22r.

18 Judge Pedro is last cited on 20.8.1171 (AHN 1126/19), and Juan Pérez appears as judge on 1.4.1174 (1325F/13). No patronymic is used after 1195 (1326A/14) until Juan Bermúdez "judex lucensis" heads a witness list on 29.8.1208: Pilar Loscertales de C. del Valdeavellano, ed., Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes (Madrid, 1976), 2: doc. 506. He was last cited as judge on 23.2.1240 (1085/4), and his will (9.4.1239, 1327H/22) sparked a dispute (29.5.1240, 1328A/9) after his death.

19 Ordoño Míguez appeared as subdeacon in 1193, episcopal notary from 1200 to 1214, and canon from 1202 to 1215: D’Emilio, “Scribes,” p. 400. His anniversary is dated 30.10.1220: AHN, Cod. 1042B, fol. 4v. Archdeacon Ordoño appears often in witness lists, beginning on 14.7.1196: AHN 1326A/23. He is titled magister on 4.2.1199 (1214/16), and, on 28.5.1201 (1326C/10), “Magister Ordoñoius lucensius archidiaconus” follows “Ordionius Veremudi lucensis archidiaconus.” Therefore, Magister Ordoño must be Ordoño “Suárez,” titled “Archidieaconus in Pedroso” in 5.1206 (1215/2). The Magister Ordoño, Master Ordoño, set up an anniversary dated 4.5.1211 (Cod. 1040B, fol. 33v), so later citations likely refer to Ordoño Bermúdez whose patronymic is only used again on 26.1.1211: 1326F/2. Ordoño Bermúdez appeared as canon from 11.7.1192 to 26.5.1201, and was last mentioned, as Archdeacon Ordoño, on 4.6.1218: 1325H/22b, 1326C/9, 1327A/6. Significantly, Archdeacon Ordoño Bermúdez has no anniversary, and, three months after he last appeared (following the death in a witness list), a calendar clause cites Bishop Ordoño: Miguel Romani Martínez, ed., Colección diplomática del mostrejo cisterciense de Santa María de Oseira (Ourense), 1025-1310 (Santiago de Compostela, 1989), 1: doc. 182, 27.9.1218. He succeeded Bishop Rodrigo II Fernández whose anniversary is dated 16.6.1218: Cod. 1041B, fol. 10v.

20 Mosquera Agreló mistakenly assigned to Lugo ("Diocesis de Lugo," p. 27) the archdeacon, abbot, treasurer, and primicierius, cited in 902 (Manuel Lucas Álvarez, ed., El Tumbo de San Julian de Samos (sieglos VIII-XII), (Santiago de Compostela, 1986), doc. 33). This diploma was issued in Oviedo at the court of Alfonso III, and contemporary documents link Archdeacon Theodogustus with a Mozarabic see, and the others with Oviedo: Antonio C. Floriano, Diplomática española del periodo astur, 2 (Oviedo, 1951), docs. 146, 152, 174, 175, 181, 187, 192; Emilio Sáez, ed., Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de Leon (775-1230), 1:775-92 (León, 1987), doc. 17.

21 AHN 1325B/7 (5.7.1042), 13 (12.10.1068). The primicerius or primicierius was documented in Lugo by 15.5.974: 1325A/10.

22 E.g., AHN 1325B/14 (5.3.1070), 17 (13.1.1084).


Vistarrío, were added to a codex of the Visigothic canons at Lugo. In the aftermath, one incident is particularly revealing. In 1070, a village priest, Pelayo Vimártiz, making amends for fornication, was ordered to submit to the monastic life, and he described the recipients of his penitential gift to the cathedral as "monachi qui ibi fuerint et in uita sancta persistenter." Whether or not he was nettled in a reforming campaign to enforce clerical celibacy, his story underlines the monastic character of the cathedral clergy in more than name. The errant priest first confessed to Abbot Sesegutus. This abbot later joined Judge Pedro and the primicierus, Gudeseo Gundissalís, when the king heard the bishop's dispute with Counts Vela and Rodrigo Óváquez in 1078. There, he was described as governing the churches of the circuit, and Abbot Fidelis likely did the same in the neighboring county of Pallares. Sesegutus, Fidelis, and two other abbots witnessed the settlement; three of them had witnessed a document written by the primicierus in 1073. Apparently, these abbots—members of the cathedral clergy—supervised local priests, a role later assumed by the archdeacons.

The cathedral clergy began to be called canons after the accession of Bishop Amor in 1088. The new title heralded more far-reaching developments. The bishop took office after the king put down a revolt led by Count Rodrigo Óváquez. The royal merino in Lugo was slain, and the city suffered a siege. The king needed a reliable ally to secure a vital stronghold in a troublesome region, and, in 1089, the new prelate received a royal grant of lordship over the town. Over the next two decades, his church earned privileges strengthening episcopal authority, protecting capitular property, and regulating markets. Bishop Amor's actions link him with the reformers favored by Alfonso VI. In 1095, he attended the Council of Clermont with Bishop Dalmatius of Compostela and one or two other French-born prelates of Leonese sees. There, he won papal support for his suit over large territories in dispute with neighbouring seces. He was also one of the first Leonese bishops to divide the temporalities with the chapter, for Bishop Pedro III later cited Amor's grant.

Witness lists reveal further reforms within the chapter. Beginning in 1089, archdeacons replaced the abbots who had overseen parish clergy. The new office responded to Bishop Amor's efforts to assert control over diocesan territories, reform the liturgy, and collect revenues. Initially, there were continuities: Leouegild, titled abbot in 1088, is cited as archdeacon the next year. Changes in personnel, however, were not slow in coming. Of the four archdeacons listed in 1089, only Pelayo appears again. By 1094, a new cadre of archdeacons had formed whose prominence over the next twenty-five years suggests they were younger

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28 AHN 1325B/14.
29 TV, doc. 81, fols. 37r–38r, publ. Andrés Gamba, Alfonso VI: cancellería, curia e imperio, 2: Colección diplomática (León, 1998), doc. 57.
30 "...Sesegutus abbas qui ecclesias regebat in giro. Fidelis abba de compostulo Pallares..." The giro likely refers to the sees reserve (cautum) surrounding the city of Lugo.
31 AHN 1325B/15 (21.2.1073).
32 E.g., AHN 1325B/18 (29.4.1091); Cód. 417B, fol. 133 (6.12.1094).
36 Fletcher, Saint James' Catapath, p. 51; idem, "Las iglesias del reino de León y sus relaciones con Roma en la alta edad media hasta el Concilio IV de Letrán de 1215," in El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media, 6 (León, 1994), pp. 468–69.
37 The papal letter and a subsequent one are in: TV, docs. 83–84, fols. 38v–39r, The first (28.11.1095) is publ. García Conde and Lópea Valcárcel, Episcopologio, p. 157.
38 For other dioceses: Fletcher, Episcopate, pp. 148–49; Pérez Rodríguez, Iglesia de Santiago, p. 29.
39 Gamba, Alfonso VI, 2: doc. 95 (21.7.1088).
40 Leouegild, Pelayo, Guizeri, and Ouegild, TV, doc. 130, fols. 64v–65r (17.6.1089). If "Ouegild" is the Abbot "Ouegildus" who signed the testament of Bishop Pedro I in 1042, he would have been elderly. Pelayo is so common a name that it is not certain that one cleric continued in the office. Archdeacons Rodrigo and Juan, cited on 3.3.1092, are probably of the diocese of Mondómedo: AHN 1325B/19.
men. Bernardo was one, and, by 1118, he was prior of the canons. His sign differs from traditional Leonese monograms, and his name identifies him as a foreigner, evidently appointed to direct the reform of liturgy, script, and language.

Learning the new script was a path to advancement under Bishop Pedro III (1113–33), a former chaplain of Queen Urraca and vigorous governor of the see under whom further differentiation of capitular offices took place. The earliest charter issued under the new prelate is the first to display the new script. The scribe, Pelayo, was titled episcopal notary in 1122, and, six years later, he wrote a charter as archdeacon. His career anticipates the cursus honorum of canons later in the century, but there are differences. Early twelfth-century witness lists include few but the dignitaries, indicating a narrow avenue for promotion. The advent of a new liturgy and script posed formidable challenges that took more than a generation to overcome. Significantly, another foreigner, Guido, with no trace of an earlier career at Lugo, became prior in 1130, and succeeded Pedro III as bishop. Twenty-five years later, two of three magistri in Lugo were foreigners. For their part, older dignitaries, like treasurer Martin, Rodrigo primicerius, or judge Pelayo, trained in the Visigothic script, wrote charters themselves, a sign there was not a deep pool of clerical talent.

"Archdeacon Nuño was titled prior on 5.8.1130: AHN 1325C/17 (see also n. 42). Judge Pelayo was titled archdeacon in 1119: AHN 1325C/9, publ. Fletcher, Episcopate, pp. 230–31.
49 Martin primicerius: AHN 1325C/5; tassaurarius: 1325C/8, 10; sacrista: 1325C/9 (as previous note).
50 Rodrigo armarius: AHN 1325C/8; primicerius Rodrigo: 1325C/10. He held the office through 24.10.1130: 1325C/20.
51 Suario albergarius: AHN 1325C/9 (as n. 48).
52 Santos García Larrañeta, ed., Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo (Oviedo, 1963), doc. 163.
53 In 1119, the bishop leased a church "de illa canonicâ" with provision for its return "ad illam canoniciam"; AHN 1325C/9 (as n. 48). In 1132, a house is located "circa atrium capitis ecclesiis sancte marie inter canonican et palacieum pontificale" (1325C/22); another property borders the "orrum palaici et orrus canonice" (1325C/21bis, publ. Fletcher, Episcopate, pp. 118–19).
54 TV, doc. 104, fols. 49r–50r, publ. ES 41, app. 2. The author of the Tumbo Viejo titled it, "Testamentum diuisionis inter episcopum lucesen et canonican." The publication adds a final section, dated 1120, from an unidentified source. Mosquera Agrelo linked a reference in the past tense to churches unjustly held by Oviedo to the intervention of papal legates in 1129 and 1130, "Dioecesis de Lugo," pp. 43, 45–46. Portions of the church of San Xoán de Pena, included in the list, were donated to the bishop and canons in 1123 and 1129 (TV, docs. 120, 123, fols. 60r–61r).
stake in the see's possessions. Nonetheless, the thoroughgoing distinctions between the episcopal household and the canons were novel. Within Lugo, the bishop ceded jurisdiction over a quarter adjoining the cathedral, shares of revenues and offerings, and the entire tithe. Beyond the city, he expanded his predecessors' concessions, confirming or granting episcopal revenues from most lands east of the Miño river, the territory of Ullola straddling the pilgrimage road (iter francorum), and an area northwest of Lugo characterized as the archdeaconry of Archdeacon Pelayo. Finally, he gave or confirmed at least fifty-two *uillae*, twenty-six churches, shares of others, and smaller estates. Most are listed again in an inventory, probably of the 1150s, of thirty-three churches, shares of twenty others, part or all of more than one hundred *uillae*, and other properties.46

Despite these ample endowments, the chapter faced financial troubles in the middle of the twelfth century. In 1142, the canons cited a famine gripping virtually all of Galicia, when they sold a property for the modest sum of 90 *solidi* to help provision the refectory.47 Bishop Guido's gift to the canons seems meagre; and, in 1155, Bishop Juan raised 120 *solidi* for the canons, complaining that daily rations were scarce and the cathedral lacked ministers.48 He blamed famine and marauding knights, but his church's poverty had deeper roots. Protracted litigation with neighboring dioceses limited the ability to collect revenues. The dispute with Oviedo was particularly costly for it involved large tracts of the diocese, long suits at the papal curia, and, in 1150, a huge payment of 300 *maravedíes* to King Alfonso VII.49 The debt was still being paid in 1168 when the bishop earmarked 50 *solidi* from the sale of a house to the settlement with Oviedo.50 The case is a pointed reminder that royal gifts may not have made up for the seizures of estates and treasure that periodically took place when monarchs, pressed for resources, despoiled the see.51

Monarchs were not the only lay persons to threaten church property. At all levels, the church of Lugo struggled to protect ecclesiastical rights and enforce its civil jurisdiction over the town. In the early twelfth century, provisions for lay donors nibbled away the canons' income.52 By the middle of the century, civil conflicts pitted an emerging commune against the seigneurial powers of the bishop and chapter, whose authority was only secured at the end of the century with royal intervention.53 Throughout the diocese, the laity held churches. Many had been lay foundations, but a mid-twelfth-century list tallies those lost to the canons "per rapinam et sacrilegium."54 This dreary litany of part or all of twenty-four churches, twenty-one *uillae* and other estates—some only recently acquired—provides sobering testimony to the chapter's inability to profit from its endowments.

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46 AHN carp. 1325E/18 (17.7.1168).

47 In return for lands, Queen Urraca seized church plate to pay her troops: Diplomatario de..., Urraca, doc. 39; in 1159, Ferdinand II retracted a charter extorted by the burguers and infringing the church's rights: Justino Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros de la ciudad de Lugo," *Archivos Lusones* 33 (1979), doc. 1; Alfonso IX demanded 270 *maravedíes* to confirm the see's possession of the church of Diamondi, and a privilege of Ferdinand III suggests the pact had not held: Julio González, Alfonso IX (Madrid, 1944), 2; doc. 35; idem, Reino y diplomata de Fernando III, 2: Colección diplomática (Cordoba, 1960), doc. 311.

48 Gómez Froylas promised "adulatorum in uicta et utu...et rationem in ipsa canonical et hospitale in uita mea honorifice," AHN 1325C/5 (4.1.1118). Similar arrangements in twelfth-century Salamanca were formalized in a lay charter, the concilium latorum Beata Mariae; Martín Martín, El cabildo...de Salamanca, pp. 17–19. For lay canons at Vic: Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp. 22–25.


50 AHN 1326C/3; TV, doc. 108, fol. 51rv. The original is attributable to the episcopal notary, Pedro, active as a scribe between 1148 and 1171: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 381–83.
Against this background, the reforms of Cardinal Hyacinth in 1173 were aimed explicitly at guaranteeing adequate revenues. Directed to Bishop Juan and Dean Rodrigo, the legate's letter blamed the shortage of provisions on the size of the chapter. The bishop swore to limit it to thirty canons and twenty prebendaries. Twelve members were to be assigned months for collecting revenues and distributing allowances, arrangements were made for the use of income from vacant canonsries, and additional income and endowments were set aside for the dean. The statutes find parallels across Iberia, testifying to a coordinated movement for capitol reform in the years surrounding the legate's visit.

At Lugo, change was underway before the legate's actions. The statutes were one part of a broader program, motivated by local pressures and linked with reforms in Braga, Compostela, and monastic communities closely associated with the see. New statutes were adopted at the metropolitan see of Braga in 1165, and the title of dean was introduced. In 1167, Bishop Juan, a former abbot of Samos, mediated an agreement between monks and monks: a detailed division of revenue met the needs of the forty monks, and any increase in numbers was to be tied to an increase of income. Abbot Vidal of Meira led the witnesses, signaling the involvement of the newly arrived Cistercians. This accord mirrored and anticipated developments in the cathedral chapter. In fact, the witness list offers the first evidence of the new office of dean, held by Rodrigo Menéndez, a clerk of King Ferdinand II and an archdeacon since at least 1165.51 At about the same time, Pedro Miguélez succeeded another Archdeacon Rodrigo as prior of the canons, but this position was now redundant. By 1171, Pedro had the new title of cantor or choirmaster, an office that replaced the primicierus, last mentioned in 1168.52 The appearance of the minor offices of sacrista and ministri canonico rum is a further sign of reorganization.

The capitular reforms assigned territories to the new dean, and defined those of the archdeacons. Forty years earlier, the division of temporalities had identified several districts as part of the archdeaconry of Archdeacon Pelayo.53 That is the only description of an archdeaconry before 1177, and the naming of a prelate, instead of a territory, suggests that districts were grouped and assigned on an ad hoc basis. In 1173, the legate earmarked revenues for the dean from a large area west and south of Lugo where later deans acted as archdeacons. The demarcation of archdeaconries soon followed: in 1177, the archdeacons of Abencos, Deza, Sarria, and Neira were named in the calendar clause of the dean's endowment of an annuity. This was precisely the year when the archbishop of Santiago fixed the boundaries of the four archdeaconies

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51 The identification of "Rudericus" as "Rudericus Menendi," future bishop of Lugo, is confirmed by the witness list of an episcopal charter written by Pedro, the episcopal notary, AHN 1325E/18 (17.7.1168). See D'Eimilio, "Scribes," p. 389. He was associated with Lugo by 1155 when his name followed "Pelagius Bennadi" (a future archdeacon) and the dignitaries among the witnesses of an episcopal act 1325E/9.
52 "Petrus prior eiusdem ecclesie" follows the dean at Samos. He is identified as Pedro Miguélez on 9.4.1168: AHN 1325E/17. Archdeacon Rodrigo last appeared as prior 24.1.1166 (1325E/12bis); he was archdeacon until 9.6.1176 (1325F/19bis), the year of his anniversary: Cód. 1041B, fol. 24v.
53 AHN 1325E/24 (18.2.1171). Diego was primicerius between 27.12.1147 (1325D/3, 4) and 17.7.1168 (1325E/18).
55 "totum archidiaconatum archidiaconis domni pelagius... il est de nala et de parrega et gaudiosi ac bravos et terram de aquilam": TV, doc. 104, fol 49v.
56 The deanery included Monterroso, with the archpresbytery of Lamela, Ulloa, Repostia, and Novelda; the districts flanking the Asma river; and the archpriestberate of Camba. Dean Juan Arias disciplined a knight for striking a priest in the church of San Miguel de Cervera: AHN 1325E/12 (26.1.1190), the case is discussed in Fletcher, Episcopate, p. 161. Later, he led witnesses to two charters ceding shares of San Xián de Campo to the bishop: 1326E/4 (27.7.1205), 1326E/12 (22.2.1212).
57 Suarío (Abencos), Pelayo "Beregoar" (Deza), Juan (Sarria), and Pelayo "Benedatus" (Neira): AHN 1334/4 (12.10.1177).
and deanship of his archdiocese. For Lugo, no such document exists, and only a few scribes added the circumscriptions over the next twenty years. In 1195, Bishop Rodrigo II, formerly abbot of Samos, capped the drive to restructure the territorial administration of the diocese by granting the abbeys of Samos the authority and duties of an archdeacon within their monastic reserve.

After 1195, the territories of the archdeaconsies are not—to my knowledge—named until 1235, despite the increasing documentation. After that, they return with more regularity and new nomenclature. The silence is particularly puzzling for a period when several archdeacons enjoyed long tenures, and the number serving concurrently reached five. To a degree, one may map jurisdictions from indirect evidence.

Pelayo Sebastián, for example, is named in several charters of the monastery of Penamaior, suggesting that he held the archdeaconry of Neira. However, he is also cited once as "archidiaconam lucensem in archipresbyteratu de Ferraria," and this archpresbyterate, far to the south, lay outside of the four circumscriptions. That is true of other districts, including the reserve of Lugo where Sancho Muñoz was once included in a calendar clause. The dean and archdeacons doubtless aided in the consolidation of diocesan authority throughout the see in the last quarter of the century, but the absence of references to specific archdeacons for forty years raises questions: did territorial circumscriptions remain fixed or had the titles simply responded to Compostelan practices while masking more fluid jurisdictions?

The capitular reforms of the 1170s found their most visible expression in the regular institution of anniversaries. Their endowment ensured a steady income and their celebration affirmed the continuity of the cathedral community and its central role in the town. The earliest dated entries in the Memoriale Anniversarium are from 1176, and the dean set an example in 1177 with a magnificent charter of donation whose flowery preamble exhuborated clerics to give to their churches. None of the undated entries appear to predate the reform of 1173 with one telling exception: the commemoration of Judge Pelayo with the relatively large sum of 30 solidi that he had dedicated for a splendidly catered dinner for the canons on Holy Thursday. More than a mere anniversary, this special event, emulating the Lord's supper, was a climactic moment in the annual liturgy, reminding the canons that they were successors of...
the apostles. That idea was underlined by the carving of the Last Supper, probably in the 1170s, on the pendant capital of the north transept portal, the principal entrance to the cathedral.

The three-volume Memoriale replaced an earlier book of which one leaf survives with six anniversaries spanning three weeks. The five datable ones fall between 1198 and 1225. After 1225, the book was abandoned, and the anniversaries were transferred to the Memoriale. Preparing the new book involved more than merely copying the older necrology. The authors added the dates of endowments and expanded descriptions of properties by gathering information from other records. That work was going on after 1226, since an entry of 1223 followed one of 1226 in the space allotted to a single day. Likewise, the endowment by Velasco Rodriguez, dated 1222, must have been entered after 1227, because he is titled as dean. The consistent handwriting and layout make the new entries of the 1220s and 1230s indistinguishable from those of the previous fifty years, confirming that the Memoriale was produced in the late 1220s. By the 1240s, changes in style and layout are plain, and the variety of hands betrays a less systematic maintenance of the calendar.

Deterioration has obliterated a few notices, but nearly six hundred are legible. Their variability, however, frustrates statistical analysis, and their idiosyncrasies defy simple categories. Dates may mark a benefactor's death or an earlier endowment. More importantly, nearly half of the entries are not dated, although dates can be estimated from the script or contextual information. Some patterns, though, do emerge. Endowments began slowly, and most early donors were clerics or women. The pace quickened in the 1190s and then eased. In the 1210s, anniversaries increased sharply. That high rate was sustained for two decades, before tapering off in the 1230s. Over the next three decades, endowments subsided. Finally, interest revived in the last quarter of the century.

That sketch needs qualification. Taken together, dated anniversaries are slightly delayed markers of earlier trends, since some record deaths for which gifts were already pledged. Secondly, fewer endowments from the 1270s onwards were left undated. That softens, but does not eliminate, the increase in that period.

The rhythm of endowments, the language of the notices, and the nature of clerical gifts chart changes within the chapter and its relationships with the laity. Endowments peaked during the short tenure (1218–25) of Bishop Ordoño who reinvigorated the institution. He took the lead by setting up anniversaries for two earlier prelates, Bishop Juan and Archdeacon Juan Rodriguez, and authorizing one for his predecessor, Rodrigo II, arranged by the dean. With new formulaic clauses, the bishop and chapter promised lay donors the dividends of their collective liturgy as an alternative to the canon's portion they had coveted a century earlier. An archdeacon and veteran of twenty-five years in the chapter, Ordoño Bermúdez belonged to a cohort of men who entered the reformed chapter in their youth and went on to attain dignities and educate other offices, and they actively supported the institution of anniversaries. The treasurer, Pelayo Baldouino, and the episcopal notary, Pelayo Sobrino, for example, spread endowments for themselves and their relatives. Like Ordoño, both were first documented among the cathedral clergy in 1192: Pelayo Baldouino as a canon and the younger Pelayo Sobrino as an untitled witness among the canons.

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89 A notice, probably of the third quarter of the thirteenth century, mentions the ceremony of the washing of the feet: Cód. 1042B, fol. 23v.
90 For the date: James D'Emilio, "Tradición local y aporaciones foráneas en la escultura románica tardía: Compostela, Lugo y Carrión," in Actas. Simposio internacional sobre: "O Pórtico da Gloria e a Arte do seu Tempo" (Santiago de Compostela, 1991), pp. 87–89.
92 Cód. 1040B, fol. 29v.
93 Cód. 1041B, fol. 23bis r.
94 Cód. 1040B, fol. 4v.
95 Cód. 1040B, fol. 4v. 10v.
96 "uos ipsose recipimus imparticipuum orationem et beneficii lucensem ecclesie ut usus in utia usstria defendamus cum omnibus rebus stbastianis et ad obtin uextrum uelut proquolubet de nostris canonicis pro ubosis faciamus," AHN 1327A/23 (5.1.1221). For related examples, all by the episcopal notaries, Pelayo Sobrino or Juan Núñez: 1327A/12 (8.3.1219), 15/16/17 (13.4.1220), 1327B/2 (28.9.1221).
97 Pelayo Baldouino set up anniversaries, totalling 25 solidi, for his parents (1199), brother (1226) and himself (1238): Cód. 1040B, fols. 4v, 20v; 1041B, fols. 20v, 23bis r. Pelayo Sobrino gave a house and fisheries to fund anniversaries for his paternal uncle, father, mother (1224f), brother (1231), and himself (1236): Cód. 1040B, fol. 31v; 1041B, fols. 7r, 13v, 16v.
98 For Pelayo Sobrino: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 395–97, 401. For Pelayo Baldouino, see n. 16.
were men who, like Bishop Ordoño, had ascended through the chapter. By the 1240s, these men had died, the number of priests and magistri among the canons was declining, fewer canons witnessed charters, and few of the new dignitaries would be men who had climbed through the ranks. New statutes in the early 1240s, largely overlooked by modern historians, hastened this reshaping of the chapter.

Bishop Miguel's own career anticipates that of later dignitaries. His parents belonged to wealthy landed families from both ends of the diocese. His maternal uncle, Fernando Ovédquiz, was a canon from 1190 to 1214. He acted on behalf of the chapter, and frequently witnessed episcopal documents. Miguel himself studied in Palencia. He may have held a canony during his studies, perhaps that vacated by his uncle, but he is first cited as a canon in April 1218. By January 1219, six months after the accession of Bishop Ordoño, Miguel had replaced the aged Lope Suárez as choirmaster. Notwithstanding his training, family standing, and connections in the chapter, this was an unusual

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89 The others are the sacristan, Pelayo "Piquetu" (1190); the canons, "Reginaldus Petri" (1211); Magister Juan Rodriguez (1223), Bernaldo de Fonte (1223), Suero Martínez (1224), and Pelayo Yáñez (1237); and the episcopal notary, Ordoño Miguel (1220); Cód. 1040B, fol. 34v; 1041B, fol. 1r, 8r, 15r, 16r, 33r; 1042B, fol. 4v. Not surprisingly, the fullest expression is in a gift of Pelayo Sobrino, "astuto dominus meus concanonici", Cód. 1040B, fol. 31v.

90 AHN 1327G/9 (14.10.1227).

91 Cód. 1040B, fol. 27r; 1041B, fol. 12v.

92 Cód. 1041B, fol. 28v. publ. ES 41, app. 35. His mother, Ermesenda Ovédquiz, had set up her own anniversary (1236); Cód. 1040B, fol. 20r. Miguel established anniversaries for himself and his maternal uncle and aunt: Cód. 1041B, fol. 3r; 1040B, fol. 20r; 1042B, fol. 14v.

93 "La brillantez de su gobierno y la efectividad de la organización establecida durante su obispado suponen una auténtica actualización de los sistemas tradicionales de la Iglesia de Lugo," Mosquera Arego, "Córdice y catedral." p. 932.

94 It is a small detail, to be sure, but it bespeaks a sense of fellowship that also bound the generations. In his will, Pelayo Baldouino bestowed his choir cape on Pelayo Sobrino, his younger colleague and successor as treasurer.

95 By the middle of the century, this collective identity was weakening. After 1237, the term, concanonici, is not to be found, but a new practice catches the eye. In 1285, Dean Juan Rodríguez, a frustrated aspirant to the episcopacy, mandated a procession on the feast of St. John the Baptist; later, Pay Rodríguez, archdeacon of Deza, subsidized one with a hundred solidi for St. Mary Magdalene's feast. Such public displays of individual status are in line with a shift from the collective celebration of anniversaries to the endowment of private chapels, and Bishop Ordoño's successor, Miguel, led the way. The anniversaries he set up were dwarfed by his construction and endowment of a chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, in the cathedral cloister in 1254.

96 The length of Miguel's episcopate (1226-1270) has led some to hail it as a period of stability, a notion encouraged by the commissioning of the Tiempo Viejo and Memoriales. In fact, the Memoriales tells a different story. Its creation responded to at least a decade of heightened activity, and the origins of this surge of piety lie in the good work of an earlier generation of reformers. Under Bishop Miguel, endowments tailed off, the chapter changed, and local clerics lost status. For the first decade of his episcopate, the dean, treasurer, choirmaster and three archdeacon
promotion to a dignity more typically reserved for experienced clerics. Lope Suárez had been episcopal chaplain and treasurer, while Miguel’s successor, Alfonso Martínez, had been in the chapter at least twenty years, ten as archdeacon. After seven years as choirmaster, the dazzling ascent of Miguel Pérez culminated in his election as bishop in 1226.

The young bishop was surrounded by a close-knit group of older capillary officers who ensured the continuity of the late twelfth-century reforms. For two generations, the reformed chapter had invested in improving the spiritual and intellectual life of the diocese. Work on the cathedral, interrupted by conflicts and shortages in the middle of the twelfth century, resumed in the 1170s. A new portal is mentioned in 1189, and, by the end of the century, an office of the cathedral works staffed by clerics supervised steady activity, as bequests, concentrated in the 1210s and 1220s, supplied modest gifts. This made it possible to turn to the dependencies. Earlier, outbreaks of civil unrest had made it prudent—or necessary—to shore up the episcopal palace. Now, construction of a cloister raised the profile of the cathedral clergy, refurbished the cemetery, and reminded the wider community of the crucial intercessory role of the anniversaries. A few gifts were ear-

109 Lope was titled episcopal chaplain on 11.4.1184 (Rodríguez Fernández, “Pueras,” pp. 339–40), treasurer between 20.1.1188 and 18.1.1189, and choirmaster between 16.5.1191 and 1.4.1218: AHN 1325H/1, 8, 16; 1327A/1bis. For Alfonso Martínez, see n. 108.

110 He is cited as bishop on 8.2.1226 (AHN 1327C/2), and, in royal documents, as bishop elect on 2.3.1226: González, Alfonso IX, 2, doc. 474.


113 The bishop spent 20 solidi “in opere domorum palatii” in 1168 and gave Pedro Yáñez a plot of land in 1171 for his carpentry work on the episcopal palace: AHN 1325E/18 (7.7.1168), 25 (27.3.1171).

marked for this project in the early thirteenth century, and it is cited in a description of an urban lot in 1228.

The key initiative for the cloister had come in 1202 from a lay woman, Sancha Rodríguez. She left the considerable sum of 679 solidi to begin its construction, and to repair or replace the great bell damaged in the tower (presumably of the cathedral). The monies were to be administered by the choir master, Lope Suárez; the priest, Nuño Peláez; and her brother, Velasco. The choir master and priest had been custodians of Sancha’s money, and this sort of management of liquid assets would have allowed them to extend loans and invest in the urban real estate market. Nuño received bequests from Sancha and two other women. Velasco Rodríguez, Sancha’s brother, was a prominent canon whose relatively frequent appearance in witness lists of the first decade of the thirteenth century augured his distinguished career as archdeacon and dean.

The gifts from Sancha Rodríguez and her diverse relationships with the cathedral clergy underline the key role of women in the reforms. There were no nunneries near the city of Lugo, and those of the diocese were few and struggling. Within the city, women contributed significantly to the institution of the anniversaries, and their gifts underwrote building campaigns, the furnishing of the cathedral, and numerous charities. Nuño Peláez was not the only teacher rewarded in women’s testaments, and the bequest by Jimena Frolaz of “unum quaternum scriptum” for the “libro Sancti Marti” hints that she wrote the folios herself. Moreover, women were crucial partners in clerical dynasties, as canons prepared positions in the chapter for their sisters’ sons, much as Fernando Oviedo likely did for the future Bishop Miguel. If their part of this story is yet to be written, it is largely because women’s absence from witness lists, their lack of titles and smaller pool of names, and the prevalence of patronymics make it a harder tale to weave.

114 AHN 1327C/13 (11.2.1228).

115 I could not find the testament in the ACL, nor could García Conde and López Valdecas who cited it in Episcopología, p. 213. Buenaventura Carrión, transcribed it, Colección diplomática, 3, doc. 331 (ms. ACL), and there is a microfilm of poor quality in the AHN.

116 The bequests were from Jimena Frolaz (AHN 1326B/13et), 15.6.1199) and, directed “magistro meo” from Urraca Pérez (1327A/1, 16.3.1218).

117 Juan Rolán is named as a teacher in the will of Mayor Peláez (28.3.1195, AHN 1326A/15). Earlier, Sancha Osorio referred to Martin the treasurer as her “magister”: 1325C/22bis-24 (23.8.1137). Will of Jimena Frolaz: 1326B/13et.
One figure, Urraca Fernández, is prominent enough, and her activities illustrate a different kind of relationship with the cathedral clergy. She was the daughter of a leading nobleman, Count Fernando Pérez de Traba, and the wife of Dean Juan Arias. The dean was a knight from Monterroso, a guardian of Alfonso IX when infante, and the protagonist in the establishment of the Galician priory of the Order of Santiago at Vilar de Donas in 1194. Urraca's extraordinary piety and benefactions were exemplified by her pilgrimage to Oviedo and her testament of 1199 with sizeable bequests to confraternities, clerics, and nearly one hundred and fifty monasteries, cathedrals, and parish churches. Her exceptional standing explains her visibility, but closer scrutiny of charters will yield more evidence of canons' wives and offspring, not surprising, perhaps, in a diocese in which Bishop Miguel had to seek papal dispensations for the numerous priests censured for relaxing their celibacy.

The tenure of Juan Arias as dean illustrates, to a degree, the secularization of the Spanish church, but the couple's generous patronage underscores the deep current of lay religiosity in the diocese in the two generations following the capitular reforms of the 1170s. Efforts to reform the system of proprietary churches are another manifestation of this. This institution remained strong in Galicia, but traditional structures of lay control could be harnessed to ensure upkeep of the fabric, the appointment of a suitable cleric, and the distribution of a share of revenues to the bishop and chapter. Fletcher published a remarkable document of 1182 in which Bishop Rodrigo II leased a church to a lay woman with specific mandates for its construction. In fact, the vast number of Romanesque churches built between the 1160s and 1220s is mute testimony to the efficacy of efforts to hold the laity accountable for the possession of rural churches.

The rhythm of transfers of churches tells a story like that of the Memoriale Anniversariorum. From the late twelfth through the thirteenth century, gifts of churches to the bishop or chapter rise steadily. A closer look, however, sharply distinguishes earlier and later acquisitions. Between 1190 and 1229, documents from the cathedral archive record twenty-eight transfers—none of them outright sales—that involved shares of more than seventy churches from across the diocese. Nine large gifts included three or more churches. In the 1250s, thirty-seven transfers—fourteen of them as sales of one type or another—involved only twenty-nine churches. Thirty-two refer to single churches, and fifteen transfer fractions of the churches of Mazoi, Muris (San Vicente de Burgo), or Sta. Marta, within eight kilometres of Lugo. In fact, most acquisitions in the 1250s are minuscule shares of nearby churches obtained in a drive to consolidate the patrimony of the cathedral, not to challenge lay ownership of churches.

Among the earlier gifts, only a few cite canonical provisions or imply the sinfulness of laymen holding churches. Fletcher highlighted one instance in which Dean Juan Arias disciplined a knight for striking a priest in a church, and accepted, as part of the reparations, the layman's shares of that church. He rightly cautioned that the scribe might be responsible for the citation of canon law, but that makes this case even more interesting. The scribe, Magister Rodrigo, was soon appointed archdeacon, and the elevation of magistri to that dignity attests to
lists of one hundred and of fifty-one burghers who did homage to the bishop in 1184 and 1207. The two communities mirrored one another, and, in the first decades of the century, achieved a measure of coexistence, expressed in the increasing participation of notable burghers in the endowment of anniversaries, an institution whose roots remained in the city and its environs.

The cathedral clergy participated in and benefited from a broader reform movement that encouraged lay religiosity. Across the diocese, foundations of the newly arrived Cistercians and military orders multiplied and amassed large estates. Traditional institutions adapted to changing times: proprietors ceded churches to ecclesiastical institutions or invested in their construction, and the ancient monastery of Samos was associated with the territorial archdeacons whose consolidation strengthened oversight of parish clergy. The canons cooperated closely with the bishop and there was little distinction between the prelate’s household and the chapter. In 1218, shortly before his death, Bishop Rodrigo II made a generous gift to the chapter including a house and vineyards in Villanueva del Bierzo. Earlier, King Alfonso IX, shocked to find the canons drinking cider instead of wine, had made his own contribution of vineyards and wine from the royal cellars in 1213 and 1216. Together, these grants secured a supply of wine and a foothold in a lucrative market.

A degree of prosperity sustained the reforms, but also proved their undoing. The composition of the chapter and the careers of its members are good measures of the success of the reforms, and of the retreat that began in the 1240s under Bishop Miguel. One indicator of the religious life of the chapter is the number of canons ordained as priests and their status. In the early 1190s, six priests were regularly documented among the thirty-six priests. Three of them had died or left the chapter by 1203. By 1215, six priests are again documented. Over the decade, new canons

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129 Magister Rodrigo is cited as archdeacon between 13.11.1193 and 16.8.1194; AHN 1326A/2, 98a. Magister Urbano “Suaris” was appointed archdeacon by 1196, see n. 19.
131 E.g., the pilgrimage of the priest, Juan Bermúdez, to Jerusalem (AHN 1326E/19/20, 20.4.1210, publ. Fernández de Viana y Vistetés, “Documentos sobre peregrinos,” p. 418), or the gift of another of the knights evidently setting out to fight the Muslims in 1222 (1327B/10).
132 Priest’s charter: AHN 1326E/19/20, cited above; will of Dean Sancho: 1327A/13 (2.8.1219); knight’s gift: 1327B/3.
134 AHN 1334/7 (22.11.1194); 1326A/14 (28.1.1195); Fletcher, Episcopate, p. 94.
entered as priests, and others received ordination, increasing the total to nine under Bishop Ordoño, in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council. After the bishop’s death in 1225, the numbers declined, remaining at four through the 1230s, all of them priests who had entered the chapter earlier. By 1246, these four men had died, and, in the next twenty-five years, only two canons were titled as priests: Alfonso Martínez, the future choirmaster, and Domingo Yáñez, the episcopal chaplain.¹³⁹

Not only were priests relatively numerous among the canons from the 1190s to the 1230s, but they played important roles. Several had long and distinguished careers in the chapter. Their skills as scribes and judges were valued, and some attained important offices. Juan Frolaz was delegated by the archdeacon of Abeancos to arbitrate a dispute between the monasteries of Sobrado and Breamo.¹⁴⁰ Juan Rolán began his career as a scribe for the dean in the 1170s. Fletcher remarked on the extraordinary series of charters by the notary, Román Bermúdez, who was a priest and canon. His sixty-year career as a scribe spanned two generations of reform, and he played a key role in the education of a generation of clerics.¹⁴¹

Their work as teachers gave these priests, and other learned clerics, status as well as influence over some of those who held capitular dignities. García Eriz, for example, served as episcopal chaplain, and received a bequest in 1219 from Dean Sancho Muñoz, who described him as his teacher, though he had been a canon for more than twenty years—sixteen of them as archdeacon—when García Eriz first comes into view.¹⁴² Priests, like Nuño Peláez, and other clerics were acknowledged in numerous wills as teachers. More formally, a growing number of canons earned the title of magister through university study at Palencia and other sites. Bishop Miguel had studied at Palencia with Pedro Yáñez, and the latter returned to Lugo in 1213 and served as episcopal notary.¹⁴³ Between 1219 and 1239, ten magisti entered the chapter. Some, however, served short tenures and rarely appear in local documents. By the 1250s, there were only four magistri among the canons, and two of them entered the chapter in that decade.¹⁴⁴

The careers of two episcopal chaplains, García Eriz and Domingo Yáñez, highlight differences in the chapters of the early and late thirteenth century. García Eriz is first documented as an episcopal chaplain in 1212. By 1216, he was a canon, and in 1229, under Bishop Miguel, he rose to be choirmaster, an office he held for at least fifteen years.¹⁴⁵ Domingo Yáñez first appears as episcopal chaplain in 1241. He was a portionary by 1246, but only in 1255 did he gain a canonry.¹⁴⁶ Juan Pérez was less fortunate: documented as a priest from 1220 and a member of the choir from 1247, he served as a scribe and is likely the one who signed the Tumbo Viejo. His work as a scribe and his presence in numerous witness lists for more than twenty-five years demonstrates a close association with the influential notary, Fernando Peláez, but his efforts never earned him a canonry.¹⁴⁷

The waning status of priests is more important than the reduction in their numbers. Priests remained numerous among the portionaries, scribes, and clerics of the choir, but, in the later thirteenth century, the road to preferment was difficult for local clerics. Their employment typically began, and ended, in the burgeoning households of the bishop and prominent dignitaries with their chapels and writing offices. Family ties within the chapter helped, but only to a degree: one nephew of García Eriz attained a canonry, but another had to content himself with serving Archdeacon Gonzalo Rodríguez as notary.¹⁴⁸ Another cleric of their

¹³⁹ For Alfonso Martínez, see n. 17.
¹⁴⁰ AHN 540/8 (15.9.1235).
¹⁴² Will of Dean Sancho: AHN 1327A/13 (2.8.1219). Sancho Muñoz was cited as canon from 1.8.1191 (1325H/1608h), archdeacon from 14.7.1196 (1326A/3), and dean from 22.9.1215 (1326G/21).
¹⁴³ For Pedro Yáñez: D’Emilio, “Scribes,” pp. 400–01; see n. 107.
¹⁴⁴ The magistri in the chapter between 1220 and 1260 are: Viviano (1220–43, archdeacon 1228–43), Juan (1225–35), Simón (1225–26), Pedro (1229–30), Pedro (1229–44, priest and episcopal chaplain), Pedro Alfonso (1229–62), Alfonso García (1230–37, archdeacon), Pedro Arias (1237–45, archdeacon), Sancho (Vivianes) (1237–46, episcopal clerk and portionary), Pedro Frolaz (1239–46), Pedro Yáñez (1242, the title was only used in his will and anniversary), Lope Pérez (1244–61), Dean Juan (Alfonso) (1251–61), Fernando (1251–66 or later, prior of Acoba).
¹⁴⁵ For García Eriz: see n. 103.
¹⁴⁶ Domingo Yáñez was episcopal chaplain from 20.7.1241 (AHN 1328A/18), portionary from 24.6.1246 (1328C/17), canon from 17.8.1255 (1329A/7).
¹⁴⁷ There are numerous references in AHN 1328A–H, 1329A–H, 1330A–H. He is likely the acolyte mentioned on 11.8.1232 and 8.1.1237: 1328F/Ster, 1327H/4. He had a brother by the same name “clericus frater eius” who may also have become a priest “alias prebibiter de choro”: 1329B/2 (16.1.1257), 1330A/26 (30.3.1262).
¹⁴⁸ Pedro Yáñez and Pelayo Pérez, each titled “clericus de choro,” are described as “nepotes cantoris” on 28.6.1238: AHN 1327H/19. Pedro Yáñez is recorded as the notary of Archdeacon Gonzalo Rodríguez in 121259; 1329A/18. The canon, Pelayo Pérez, had a share in the house whose rent funded the anniversary of García Eriz in 1244: Cód. 1041/B, fol. 21v.
generation, Pelayo Froilaz, was documented as an acolyte between 1227 and 1236, and as a member of the choir from 1239 to 1250. Despite more than two decades of writing for the bishop, judge, archdeacon, and monastic houses, his anniversary confirms that he never rose to be more than a portionary.148

These distinctions were not new: the statutes of 1173 had provided for twenty prebendaries, and wills regularly remembered priests or clerics who were not canons, or had no prebend at all. The term porcionarius, however, only begins to appear in witness lists in 1231, and grows common after the 1240s.149 The explosion in the numbers of clerics and priests who remained portionaries or held even lower ranks is a mark of sharper social divisions within the chapter and one sign of the different ways in which capellan offices were filled in the early and later thirteenth century. In the first four decades of the thirteenth century, Bishop Ordoño and many dignitaries rose from the ranks. Several had begun their careers as scribes, and witness lists disclose an inner circle of canons serving the bishop and conducting capellan affairs. Long before men like Velasco Rodríguez, Pelayo Baldouino, Pelayo Sobrino, or Pelayo Sebastiánez attained dignities, their path was marked out by their assiduous participation in ecclesiastical business.150

Where the family origins of such men can be determined, many are found to belong to the landed gentry of parishes surrounding Lugo, evidently a recruiting ground for the cathedral clergy and the growing numbers of laymen employed by the bishop and chapter to collect rents and administer justice. The pattern changed under Bishop Miguel, as more offices were filled with men, like himself, from powerful landed families throughout the diocese who had spent little time in the chapter before their appointment. Fernando Yáñez is named only once as canon, in 1243, before his appearance as archdeacon in 1248.151 Juan García, archdeacon of Sarria from 1245 to 1272, was first named as a canon only in 1241, and he eventually held a canonry in Mondómedo as well.152 He replaced his brother, Magister Alfonso García who appeared as archdeacon in 1230, but died prematurely.153 The contrast between the capellan dignitaries of the early and later thirteenth century is nicely summed up in the roles they exercised. Early in the century, distinguished canons and dignitaries arbitrated disputes and served as papal judges delegate.154 Later, they appear more often as sureties for agreements.155

There are, of course, exceptions. Gil Sánchez served as an absentee dean in the 1220s, at the very moment when, I have argued, two generations of reform reached their climax. Later in the century, when Nuño Odoariz became choirmaster in 1249, he could look back on twenty years of service, beginning as a pupil of the cathedral treasurer.156 On closer inspection, these exceptions confirm the rule. During the tenure of Dean Gil, mentioned only once in the documents of Lugo, the seasoned cleric Archdeacon Velasco Rodríguez acted as uicedecanus and, eventually, succeeded him, while Bishop Ordoño, himself a product of the chapter, guided the course of reform.157 By contrast, Nuño Odoariz had hardly worked his way up through the ranks. As an acolyte, he had received a benefice in the parish of Lincora in 1230, and, in 1235, shortly

148 For his work as a scribe and service to the bishop and dignitaries: AHN 1083/19 (6.4.1227), 1132/12 (21.8.1234), 540/8 (15.9.1235), 1327/H/23 (9.4.1239), 1328C/22 (1246), 1528D/29 (21.10.1249). His anniversary, Cod. 1041B, fol. 11r.
149 Once the term is introduced, it immediately finds wide application. Seven different porcionarius are named in the first six instances between 1231 and 1233: AHN 1327E/13, 17, 19, 24, 1327E/13, 7.
150 Fletcher noted the core group of canons and dignitaries who witnessed episcopal acta: Episcopate, p. 94; see D'Emilio, "Scribes."
151 Fernando Yáñez as canon: Cod. 1042B, fol. 22v (18.4.1243); as archdeacon: Cod. 1042B, fol. 23v (8.3.1248); as archdeacon of Abeacens: AHN 1134/7 (6.4.1249).

152 Juan García as canon: AHN 1242/7 (13.6.1241); archdeacon from 22.10.1245 (1328C/3) until his death in 1272, the date of his anniversaries (Cod. 1041B, fol. 23r, 1042B, fol. 5v). Canony in Mondómedo: Enrique Cal Pardo, Catálogo de los documentos medievales, escritos en pergamo, del Archivo de la Catedral de Mondómedo (871-1492) (Lugo, 1990), p. 164.
153 Magister Alfonso García was cited as archdeacon between 8.1.1230 (AHN 1327D/12) and 10.3.1237 (1327H/8). His anniversary, endowed by his brother and sister, is dated 1241: Cod. 1041B, fol. 16v.
154 Juan Miguel, canon between 1202 and 1225, arbitrated a dispute between Ferreiras de Palair and the Templo (AHN 1083/19; 1084/3), and served as a papal judge delegate in a dispute between Breame and Sobrado (540/8). For Pelayo Sobrino D'Emilio, "Scribes," p. 395.
155 Fernando Yáñez was pledging surety in each of the three appearances cited above (see n. 152). Juan García frequently pledged surety, both as canon and as archdeacon, e.g., AHN 1134/7, Cod. 1042B, fol. 11r, 29v.
156 He was likely the "Nilunni alumnno mend." to whom the treasurer, Pelayo Baldouino, left books ("prostrarium meum et librum hymnorum"): AHN 1327C/9 (14.10.1227). He is cited as choirmaster between 19.3.1249 (1328D/18) and 11.5.1263 (Cartulario... de Carraizo, 1: doc. 492/11).
157 Gil Sánchez was dean between 2.8.1219, the last mention of Sancho Muñoz as dean (AHN 1237A/13), and 6.4.1227, the first mention of Velasco Rodríguez as dean (1237A/13). He is only named as dean in one document of the cathedral 1327C/5, 30.6.1226) where a calendar clause describes Rodrigo Fernández as exercising the dean's authority in Portomarin. Archdeacon Velasco is termed uicedecanus on 15.3.1221 (1083/10) in a dispute over a church within the deanery.
after becoming a canon, he received the important capitular holdings at Atán.159 These benefices were in the prosperous wine-producing regions of the southern part of the diocese where his family held large estates, and three brothers (all knights) witnessed charters of Bishop Miguel.160

By the time Bishop Miguel died in 1270, the church and chapter of Lugo had been transformed. Far from a time of stability, his long tenure saw enormous change. His first years brought earlier reforms to fruition in the preparation of the Memoriale and Tumbo Viejo, the completion of the cathedral cloister, and the settlement of disputes within and among local religious communities.161 By the 1240s, those initiatives were ending, the men who sustained them had died, and the tide of reform had ebbed. Signs of financial crisis and divisions within the clergy multiplied. The regular use of the title of portionarius accents the widening gaps among the clergy. A stream of documents concerning the administration of monthly income betrays growing anxiety and contentiousness about the distribution of revenue.162 A restructuring of the archdeaconries and a renewed emphasis on their circumscriptions reflects a tightening of territorial administration. This is the background for the new statutes of the 1240s, and it awaits further investigation.

The impact of the changes is clear enough: in the second half of his episcopate, Miguel relied more on an expanding episcopal household, the town notary, and his own family for conducting episcopal business. Distinctions between the ecclesiastical patrimony and that of his family fade in the numerous transactions of his brother, Arias Pérez, a knight of Parga, and his nephews, the knight, Pedro Arias, and Bishop Miguel’s successor, Fernando Arias. Within the chapter, an elite circle of canons from powerful landed families shared the dignities with papal appointees and ambitious clerics of other dioceses. Fewer canons appear in witness lists, but the number of portionaries and clerics of the choir swelled. With slim hopes of gaining a canony, such men flocked to the households, chapels, and writing offices of the bishop or dignitaries.

Bishop Miguel’s death ushered in a difficult period of strife and instability in Lugo, but the changes that occurred during his tenure led to this. Ironically, the spiritual aims of the earlier reformers were undermined by their success. The stabilization of income made capitular office a more attractive prize, transforming the composition of the chapter, the role of its dignitaries, and its relationship to the bishop. In 1290, new statutes formally sanctioned these changes, reducing the number of canons to ten, but maintaining twenty portionaries. Meanwhile, the new configuration of the chapter made it an arena for factional strife, fuelling conflicts over episcopal elections and the settlement of the mendicants.

Bishop Miguel’s long episcopate straddles a time of change within the chapter that mirrors dramatic events in the wider world. Miguel assumed the episcopate under the Leonese king, Alfonso IX. He took office in the wake of the reforms and legislation of Popes Innocent III and Honorius III, and he saw the frustrated efforts of the legate John of Abbeville to bring those reforms to the Iberian peninsula in 1228 and 1229. By the end of his episcopate in 1270, Rome was no longer providing an impetus for ecclesiastical reform, and the geography of the peninsula had been redrawn by the reunification of León and Castile and the southern conquests of Ferdinand III and Alfonso X. Galicia had lost the privileged place it had enjoyed in the kingdom of León and the heyday of the pilgrimage to Compostela.

At the same time, the events of the thirteenth century should not obscure the aspirations and achievements of the late twelfth-century reformers. They have suffered too from a kind of historiographical neglect. Even among the few devotees of Spanish ecclesiastical history, the drama of the Gregorian reform, the tumultuous narrative of the Historia Compostellana, and the thirteenth-century comings and goings between Rome and the peninsula have diverted attention from the quieter reforms to both sides of the year 1200. The Spanish churches in this period deserve a closer look. Richard Fletcher opened a door upon this world, and he invited others to follow. To be sure, his judgement upon the prelates he studied was severe. “An air of mediocrity,” he said, “hangs over these bishops.”163 He conceded, however, that the sources

159 Acolitus: AHN 1327D/19 (24.2.1230); clericus Sancti Petri de Ligua: 1327D/21, 22 (28.2.1230); canonicius: 1327G/2 (24.5.1234); canonicius tenens ipsam ullam de Atan: 1327G/23 (27.12.1235).
160 Velasco, Rodrigo and Oveco Odoaria: AHN 1327D/19, 20, 21; 1327E/22 (15.3.1232).
161 Bishop Miguel mediated distributions of rents at Samos (ES 41, app. 31) in 1228 and Ferreira de Pallares (AHN 1084/8, 12.10.1231); he arbitrated a dispute between the Templars and Ferreira de Pallares: 1083/18, 19 (6.4.1227); 1084/3 (15.1.1229).
162 An undated reckoning of the daily allotments of bread and wine for a year follows the Memoriale, and several succeeding entries record agreements with the monthly administrators: Cód. 1042B, fol. 20v.
163 Fletcher, Episcopate, p. 224.
were scanty, and the challenges these churchmen faced formidable. Piecing together shreds of evidence begins to yield a more complete narrative, and it may be that the clergy of provincial sees made the best of their straitened circumstances, finding avenues of collaboration with the laity, reinvigorating their religious life, and creating—for a time—a sense of community.\footnote{The following important study appeared too late to be used in this article: Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, "Los obispos y sus sedes en los reinos hispánicos occidentales." in La reforma gregoriana y su proyección en la cristianidad occidental, siglos XI-XII (Semana de Estudios Medievales 32. Estella, 18-22 de Julio 2005) (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 195-288.}

FUENTES ISIDORIANAS EN *DE ALTERA UIITA* DE LUCAS DE TUY

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Al participar en este merecido homenaje al Prof. Richard Fletcher, lo hago sirviéndome de la obra que tengo ahora entre manos: el tratado antihéretico de Lucas de Tuy, De altera uita, conocido también por el título que le dio su primer editor, el padre Mariana: *De altera uita fideique controversiis adversus Albigenium errores libri III* (Ingolstadt, 1612),\footnote{Con Richard Fletcher compartí el interés por dos grandes figuras del Medievo español: el Cid y Diogenes, de quienes nos ocupamos desde puntos de vista diferentes, él desde una perspectiva histórica (Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gutierrez of Santiago de Compostela (Oxford, 1984) y The Quest for El Cid (London, 1989) y yo desde un punto de vista filológico, pues edité los textos relacionados con ambos personajes para el Corpus Christianorum (la Historia Compostelana en CCCM, 70 (Turnhout, 1988) y la Historia Roderici enCCCMM, 94 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 1-98. Después de haber cruzado algunas cartas con él, finalmente lo conocí en el verano de 1995 en York, donde disfruté de su hospitalidad. Lo vi por última vez en Cambridge en St John's College en el año 2003.} en el que nos encontramos ante otra faceta de don Lucas, distinta a la del cronista que escribe el *Chronicon mundi*, o la del hagiógrafo que nos transmite los milagros de San Isidoro, la del teólogo, cuya preocupación por la herejía queda reflejada en este texto, que tiene la particularidad de ser el primer tratado antihéretico de la España medieval.

Esta obra doctrinal cuenta, entre otras cosas, un caso de herejía sucedido en León en los años 1232-1234, en el que quizás intervino don Lucas personalmente, tal como parece sugerir el texto; aunque no está citada su participación de manera expresa, se hace referencia en él a *quidam diaconus* que podría identificarse con el propio autor. En esta posibilidad ha pensado la mayoría de los autores que se han acercado

\footnote{Esta edición fue publicada un poco más tarde en Bibliotheca Patrum, XII (Colonia, 1618) y posteriormente en Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, XXV (Lyon, 1677), pp. 193-251.}

\footnote{Sobre los puntos de contacto de las tres obras de don Lucas, véase P. Henriet, "Sanctissima patria. Points et thèmes communs aux trois œuvres de Lucas de Tuy," Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales 24 (2001), 248-77 (p. 277).}